# WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 19

1 January to 16 December 1988
(Issues Nos. 443-467)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 443 | 1 January 1988


## As Contra Terrorists Strike at Nicaragua, Afghanistan

# Gorbachev Talks "Peace" With War-Crazy Reagan

It almost seemed like the fulfillment of a Christmas wish: peace on earth, goodwill toward men. Here was Rambo Reagan glad-handing and joking with the head of the Soviet "evil empire," raising toasts to peace and disarmament. The Marriott Hotel temporarily renamed its restaurant the Cafe Glasnost. And Washingtonians who had lined the streets for days to get a glimpse of the Soviet leader cheered when Gorbachev forayed out from his ZIL limousine to meet them in the flesh. Little kids hoisted on their fathers' shoulders waved the American flag in one hand and the Soviet red flag in the other.

To hard-core right-wingers the sight of government workers at the Department of Commerce taking down the Great Seal of the United States and replacing it with an emblem showing the stars and stripes combined with the hammer and sickle must have seemed like the anti-Communist soap opera *Amerika* come true. Jeane Kirkpatrick warned Reagan not "to set aside a lifetime of caution concerning what communists are like and how we should deal with them"—to wit, the only good 'un is a dead 'un. The day before Gorbachev arrived, the Zionists staged a demonstration of 200,000. But on this one, die-hard Russia haters were out in the cold, leaving right-winger Howard Phillips to complain that Reagan was serving as a "useful idiot for Kremlin propaganda."

That the year 1987, which began with the screening of *Amerika*, ended with Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev filling television screens singing rounds of the Russian ballad "Moscow Nights" in the White House over and over, is testimony to how far the Reagan

*continued on page 8*

Heikes/U.S. News & World Report

**At the summit: Toasting "peace" treaty won't stop rapacious imperialist war drive against Soviet Union.**

# Palestinian Rebellion Against Zionist Jackboot

## Gaza Revolt Spreads to West Bank, Israel

Day after day, Israeli troops firing live ammunition into crowds of unarmed Palestinian Arab teenagers in the Gaza Strip: these scenes of racist savagery brought to mind apartheid butchers shooting down black students in Soweto and Hitler's SS clearing out the Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto. In the 20 years since Israel conquered the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian Arab population of these regions has been subjected to what their Zionist overlords themselves call an "Iron Fist." The tiny Gaza Strip has been one huge refugee camp for 40 years, cramming 650,000 officially "stateless" people into one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Ground down in concentration camp-like conditions, forgotten by the world, disowned by their Arab neighbors, denied their birthright, they exploded in rage and desperation. "Come and kill us or get out!" shouted demonstrators at their Zionist tormentors.

Murderous military repression has not quelled this rebellion of despair, but only fueled it. On December 21 the Zionist fortress-state was hit from within, when for the first time the 170,000 Palestinian Arab workers

*continued on page 6*

Bar-Am/NY Times

**Palestinian youth rise up against 20 years of Zionist occupation. Israel out of Occupied Territories!**

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Holiday Appeal Success

With your support this year's Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners has surpassed our expectations—raising over $6,000 for our program of monthly stipends and holiday gifts for the class-war prisoners and their families. This financial support enabled us to send holiday gifts worth more than $1,600 to the prisoners and their loved ones, and has given us a firm financial foundation to continue our stipends and work on the prisoners' behalf in the coming year.

Much of the money was raised through December fund-raising parties. In New York, some 150 people including trade unionists from the TWU and CWA, and students from Cornell, Boston and New York, came out for a benefit on December 5, cosponsored by the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL). "DJ Henry" had the joint jumping to his mix of calypso, salsa, reggae and rock. Over 350 people bought tickets for the event, many knowing they would be unable to attend but wishing to express their solidarity with the class-war prisoners. Quite a few bought tickets after seeing Geronimo Pratt on the "60 Minutes" TV program, to express support for his struggle for freedom.

Internationalist greetings were conveyed in a taped message from El Salvador by ASTTEL telephone workers union leader Humberto Centeno, whose sons José and Jaime were recently released from Mariona prison. Centeno conveyed his thanks to the PDC for our efforts in freeing his sons.

Speakers included Marjorie Stamberg for the Spartacist League and Ed Kartsen on behalf of the LBL. PDC spokesman Darlene Fujino told of the 21 class-war prisoners across three continents. "We're very proud of these prisoners. They've maintained their spirit despite the horrible brutality with which they are treated." *The PDC holiday appeal is not charity.* As New York PDC chairman Richard Dundy noted, "There can be no movement for liberation unless we remember and extend our arms in solidarity to these brothers and sisters." In all, the New York benefit cleared over $2,700.

More than 90 people turned out for our Chicago benefit on December 6 which, in addition to raising money for the class-war prisoners, mobilized support for black bus driver Cassandra Seay and her mother Callie Bryant, victims of a racist assault by seven white cops who invaded their home last summer. Callie Bryant, a member of AFSCME Local 1006, told the crowd, "Everything that they did to us they charged that we did to them. We stand the chance of going to jail for 15 years." Kevin Quirk, a militant in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, called on everyone to pack the courtroom. Two weeks later members of ATU Locals 241 and 308 mobilized at the courthouse in support of their union sister, a show of labor power leading to acquittal on all charges on December 23.

WV Photo

**PDC spokesman Darlene Fujino addressing New York benefit December 5. Holiday Appeal benefits in New York and Chicago helped raise over $6,000 for stipends and holiday gifts for class-war prisoners and families.**

Also attending the benefit were Ethyl and Roosevelt Hawkins, mother and brother of Larry Hawkins, a disabled black auto worker gunned down in his own home by Chicago cops one week after the assault on the Seay home. Actress Alma Washington read excerpts from *Carry On! Lucy Parsons*, her one-act play based on the life of the labor organizer and widow of Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons. Other speakers included Ed Clarkson, member of the Central Committee of the SL, and Mark Kelly for the PDC. More than 240 tickets were sold and the benefit cleared over $2,000. Through the energetic efforts of long-time contributors to the PDC and supporters of the SL in building this benefit and mobilizing defense for Cassandra and her family we consolidated a core group of active participants in our work.

Critical legal battles face several class-war prisoners in the next two months. The trial of Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, who faces the death penalty for exposing Israel's nuclear arsenal of 100-200 bombs, resumed December 23 and a verdict is expected next month. Appeal papers on behalf of Geronimo Pratt have been filed in federal appeals court in California and oral argument is expected in February. Three thousand miles away on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal will be argued in the state supreme court on January 19. These courageous fighters must not stand alone! Raise their cases in your unions, civil rights and civil liberties organizations. Make their freedom your fight!

We would like to thank all who have assisted us during the Holiday Appeal. Labor support for the class-war prisoners is vital. We are proud that in addition to the individual trade unionists who contributed we received donations of $25 from SEIU Local 535 in Oakland and IAM Local 739 in Alameda, California. In the past six weeks we have enlisted over 20 new sustaining contributors, leaving us just short of our year-end goal of 100. In addition to the money raised for the Holiday Appeal, during the last two months we have also received over $6,000 from our monthly sustainers, and from old and new contributors, to support our ongoing struggle against the many faces of capitalist repression—from fighting obscurantist attacks on teaching science in the schools to defending the right of a workers party to organize.

But it's just a start. We want your help to build a class-struggle defense organization the workers movement sees as its own—one that can mobilize millions of workers around the globe in defense of all victims of capitalist repression. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Lenin vs. Gorbachev on "Peaceful Coexistence"

*During the hoopla over the Washington summit, Soviet leader Gorbachev tried to sell the Stalinist illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism by referring to Lenin. However, Lenin had no illusions that imperialist attack would be prevented by paper treaties. As he stated in his 7 March 1918 report to the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), delivered days after the signing at Brest-Litovsk of what he called the "robbers' peace" with Germany in World War I:*

International imperialism, with the entire might of its capital, with its highly organised war machine, which is a real force, a real stronghold of international capital, could not, under any circumstances, under any conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class embodied in it, because of commercial connections, of international financial relations. In this sphere a conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem—the need to solve international problems, the need to evoke a world revolution, to effect the transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution.

—V.I. Lenin, "Political Report of the Central Committee" (March 1918)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 443** **1 January 1988**



## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
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Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
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Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

# Free Former Black Panther!

# "60 Minutes" Exposes Frame-Up of Geronimo Pratt

For 17 years former Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt has been locked away in San Quentin prison for a crime he did not and could not have committed. Thousands have raised their voices to demand freedom for this courageous man, America's foremost class-war prisoner, who remains unbowed and unbroken to this day. Dozens of trade-union, civil rights and community organizations supported a demonstration organized by the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense in Oakland last February to demand: Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up! Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!

Now millions of television viewers who watched CBS-TV's "60 Minutes" on Sunday, November 29 have been able to see that, beyond the shadow of a doubt, *Geronimo Pratt is the victim of a continuing vicious, vindictive, racist vendetta by the FBI and the "Justice" Department.* It is no surprise that a major American TV network would present only a partial account of the overwhelming evidence of Pratt's innocence, but even that points to the power of Geronimo Pratt's case. Former Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey, now a lawyer for Pratt, said: "I don't think there's a more important case I'll handle in my lifetime than this case." He noted how the LAPD, who arrested Pratt, worked closely with the FBI.

"60 Minutes" correspondent Harry Reasoner exposed two key lies in the frame-up conviction of Pratt for the 1969 murder of a white Santa Monica schoolteacher:

• Julio Butler, the government's key witness against Pratt, lied on the witness stand when he denied that he had been an FBI informant, part of the COINTELPRO attempt to "neutralize" the Panther leadership. Yet the government's entire case rested on FBI fink Butler's testimony that Pratt had confessed the murder to him.

WV Photo

CBS-TV

**CBS-TV gives millions of viewers evidence of FBI/COINTELPRO vendetta against black militant Geronimo Pratt (above).**

• The surviving victim of the murder/robbery had made a positive identification of another man, who at the time of the crime was in prison, a year before the police even showed him Pratt for positive identification. Yet the results of the previous lineup "disappeared" from the case file. Larry Rivetz, attorney in the previous case, explained that "in my 20 years of experience where there has been a lineup, I have never run across an instance where they've lost the lineup card."

This is on top of decisive evidence vindicating Pratt which "60 Minutes" did not reveal. At a January 1985 hearing, Wesley Swearingen, a retired high-level FBI agent who was active in COINTELPRO-type operations, came forward to testify that he saw wiretap logs of four telephones proving that Pratt was 500 miles away at the time of the crime, visiting Panthers in an Oakland house heavily bugged and under surveillance by the feds. The FBI "lost" those wiretaps. As Swearingen flatly stated: "Pratt was set up" (see "Former Panther Leader Fighting for Black Freedom," *WV* No. 421, 6 February 1987).

Yet Geronimo Pratt has repeatedly been denied either parole or an appeal for a retrial. At the last parole hearing in May, the state's attorney smeared Pratt as a "walking time bomb," pointing to his valorous refusal to repudiate his ideals. California deputy attorney general, now judge, Michael Nash, who successfully opposed Pratt's last two appeals for a retrial, arrogantly denied that the overwhelming evidence of a rigged trial "would have had an impact on the jury in any way." But four of the five jurors CBS was able to interview were adamant that they would have voted Pratt not guilty had they known then what they know now.

The program showed Geronimo Pratt as the heroic and principled fighter he is, a man who even in his prison torment has earned the respect and admiration of fellow inmates and favorable reports by prison psychologists and other officials. Reasoner asked if he had ever killed anybody:

> "PRATT: I killed a lot of people, a lot of people. Probably got a whole graveyard of people I killed, you know. But I'm talking about Vietnam. That's a different thing....
> REASONER: You get medals for it
> PRATT: Yeah, you get medals for it, and you get back here, it's used against you.... But no, I never killed anyone since the last killing right outside of Phu Bai in Vietnam 1968.
> REASONER: In 1968, Elmer Pratt was a sergeant in the 82nd Airborne, a war hero with a chest full of medals, including two Purple Hearts."

It was only when, like many other black Vietnam vets, Pratt turned to fighting for black freedom *against* racist U.S. imperialism that he was deemed a "criminal" in the eyes of this truly criminal ruling class.

Geronimo Pratt was an early victim of the Reagan/Meese gang now in the White House. As California governor Reagan's top legal aide, Meese spearheaded the government conspiracy against the Panthers. The rogues' gallery of frame-up artists, like Nash and others who railroaded Pratt, used his case as a steppingstone. All of them share with their godfathers Reagan and Meese a deep vested interest in keeping Pratt behind bars. Who but the Reagans, the Meeses and the racist ruling class they represent benefit from the continued imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt? But the many millions who have felt the lash of Reagan reaction have a vested interest in seeing Pratt freed.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, fights to rally all labor and the oppressed to the cause of Geronimo Pratt's freedom. As we said 12 years ago in "Panthers Rot in Prison Hellholes" (*WV* No. 88, 5 December 1975): "Freedom for imprisoned black militants will not be doled out in return for 'changes of heart' and exemplary rehabilitation in prison hellholes. It can only be won as part of the struggle to smash racial oppression through proletarian revolution."■

# Sweep Jack Barnes Into the Dumpster of History!

On December 19, a Spartacist comrade dropped by the New York SWP bookstore on Leonard Street to check out their used book sale. The Socialist Workers Party was once the Trotskyist party in the U.S., and as they have become under Jack Barnes a virulently *anti*-Trotskyist outfit they've decided to "junk the old Trotskyism"... literally. Recently, the *Militant* (27 November 1987) announced they were skipping an issue in order to "reorganize" (i.e., purge) their Library of Social History.

We had already picked up a number of invaluable titles from the disorganized mess thrown on tables, including books with names of founding American Trotskyist James P. Cannon and other veteran cadre like Farrell Dobbs and Bea Hansen inscribed on the flyleaf. There were first editions of Trotsky, many volumes of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Romanian, Yiddish.

But this Saturday the tables were cleared, apparently to make way for Barnes' talk that night. The clerk comes over to say the sale was finished. For good? Yes. So all the books were sold? Well, no. Then where are they? He turns his head toward the door. Sure enough, when our comrade stepped outside he found himself staring at a dumpster filled to overflowing with... books! He went to get a couple of other SLers and a handcart.

By the time they got there, a half dozen people were crawling all over the thing—they turned out to be ISOers—cramming boxes full with hooks. A couple of minutes later a truck arrived to drag the dumpster away and an SWP woman came out trying to shoo people off. Even the Shachtmanites exclaimed: This is incredible, this is disgusting, they're throwing out Cannon! Somebody shouts out. Does anybody read Russian? Our comrades grab it. Another shouts: Hey, this is Cannon's copy of Trotsky's *What Next?* first edition. A couple of SWPers gazed on looking embarrassed.

It happened so fast that it could only have been deliberate. Clearing the books out and having them destroyed is their way of paying tribute to Barnes and his pronouncement that "Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term." Not to him, certainly. They showed their disdain for Cannon by selling off his books. But to throw them all into a dumpster, to make sure nobody else got them, to make sure they were destroyed, is an act of hatred and spite against history, against Trotskyism, against the revolution. Truly disgusting and criminal.

It is Barnes' SWP which is destined for the dustbin of history, not the revolutionary works of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. To those archivally-minded comrades still in and around the SWP, we repeat with added urgency our earlier appeal, "Preserve the Trotskyist Heritage!" (*WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983). If you wish to contribute your materials on the early American Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement, please contact: Prometheus Research Library, Box 185, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.■

V. Oeni and M. Cheremnykh

**In 1920 Soviet poster Lenin sweeps away capitalists, royalty and clerical reaction. Barnes dumps Marxist classics into trash bin.**

## In Solidarity with Salinas Strikers

# Watsonville Cannery Workers Won't Touch Scab Broccoli

Watsonville, California cannery workers have struck a blow for genuine labor solidarity by *hot-cargoing* (refusing to handle) scab produce from the struck United Foods plant in nearby Salinas. When United asked Norcal Frozen Foods (formerly Watsonville Canning) to process four million pounds of broccoli that the struck plant couldn't handle, Watsonville unionists were outraged. Women workers who are veterans of the hard 18-month Watsonville Teamster strike said, "We'd rather starve than run scab products," union activist Chavelo Moreno told *WV*. Each shift held an in-plant assembly in early November, and the workers voted by 195 to 5 to refuse to handle the scab broccoli. United Foods got more than it bargained for when it took on the 400 combative Salinas strikers, mainly Mexican women.

This class-struggle *action* speaks louder than all the hot air from union bureaucrats who talk solidarity while they practice betrayal. The Watsonville workers' courageous decision is particularly impressive given that work is very scarce in the canneries these days. Many are working only sporadically and are hurting for money this Christmas season. Hundreds more have not been called back to work at all since the Watsonville strike ended in March 1987. The scab deal would have provided a month or more of work.

Moreover, United Foods worked scab produce during the Watsonville strike, and hoped to have the favor returned to help weather its own strike today. But the courageous unionists couldn't be bought, and threw the strikebreaking deal back in the bosses' faces. As a result, Salinas Teamster Local 890 officials told us, the company was unable to get its broccoli processed, and had to sell it raw on the open market.

Meanwhile the bosses' courts continue to mete out capitalist class "justice" to cannery strikers. Watsonville striker Carlos Hernández recently served 45 days in jail on phony "assault" charges, while Miguel González has been sentenced to 30 days in jail and forced to pay exorbitant "restitution" payments because he was framed for the burning of a scab-transport van during the bitter Watsonville strike. Arrested United Foods strikers continue to face the frame-up system in the bosses' courts. The Partisan Defense Committee has aided Watsonville strike militants railroaded for defending their union. The entire labor movement must *defend arrested cannery strikers!*

WV Photo

**Watsonville cannery workers join Salinas strikers at October 4 rally.**

Watsonville workers know a solid victory in the United Foods strike is key to defeating their "own" bosses' plans for new attacks when the Watsonville contract expires in February. There is an urgent need for *united strike action* by all cannery workers, linking up with the thousands of area farm workers facing the threat of wage and benefit cuts at the same time as the growers are screaming their heads off about a so-called "labor shortage." Strike action must be backed up by *hot-cargoing* (first and foremost by Teamster truckers) and *mass pickets* from the entire labor movement. With key sections of California's huge agribusiness industry in turmoil, the stage is set for some strikes that *win* for a change. The key is forging a class-struggle leadership.

A recent farm workers strike against the Jack T. Baillie company—a grower/shipper that slashed wages and benefits at its Salinas and Bakersfield farms—showed the potential for hard class struggle industrywide. Not one of the 380 Baillie workers crossed picket lines during the November 12-18 strike. Local labor contractors were leery of tangling with the strikers, so the company brought in two busloads of "replacements" from Mexicali, Mexico. Independent Union of Agricultural Workers president Pete Maturino told *WV*: "The company didn't tell the people from Mexicali what was going on. They arrived and saw 230 people with red flags," traditional in Mexican labor struggles. "They went over to where the red flags were"—over to the strikers' side! *None* went in to scab.

Instead, 25 decided to return to Mexico with money the strikers raised among themselves. *The rest joined the union.* This organizing of workers from across the border stands in stark contrast to the shameful history of collaboration with the hated *migra* cops by Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers. And it should set an example for all labor against the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who with their protectionist poison set worker against worker across the border or across the Pacific. Labor militants must fight for full citizenship and union rights for foreign-born workers! The very next day the company caved in, restoring the full wage, paying back wages (retroactively to last June) to make up the money lost through the wage cut, and improving benefits. The guys from Mexicali who refused to scab then went in to work with their fellow unionists. On December 18, the union followed up by beating the company 93 to 0 in a representation election in Yuma, Arizona.

The Salinas strike began when 250 Modesto United Foods strikers sent *flying pickets* to shut down the Salinas plant last July. Now Watsonville workers' hot-cargoing has set an example of courage and sacrifice for the common cause of labor. The example must be followed and extended, but that means forging a class-struggle union leadership committed to a program of breaking the ties that bind labor hand and foot to the bosses' parties, and fighting for a workers party. While the capitalists have attacked unions from coast to coast, the sellout labor bureaucracy prepared defeat after defeat by bowing down before the bosses' rules. During the 1986-87 Watsonville strike, the Teamster tops kept members of the same local at other area canneries on the job, and even kept the struck plant's freezer operators working "under a separate contract"!

The Bay Area's powerful unions, meanwhile, continued to transport the struck plant's products (hiding behind the Taft-Hartley law outlawing "secondary boycotts") while their leaders blew hot air at weekend "solidarity" rallies and plugged their favorite Democratic Party politician. (The Teamsters hacked Republican Reagan, who has returned the favor by trying to throw the entire union into government receivership.) It was the Watsonville strikers' hard-bitten courage and determination on the picket line, in the face of cop attacks and bureaucratic backstabbing, that saved their union. Their hot-cargoing of scab produce from Salinas is the kind of militant labor action that could have won a solid *victory* in the Watsonville strike, and *points the way to victory today.* ■

## Eastern Flight Attendants Defend Air Safety

# Ice? No Dice!

The 109 passengers on an Atlanta-bound Eastern flight could have died in the frigid early morning hours of Monday, December 14 had their plane tried to take off from Denver's Stapleton airport as scheduled. On the runway the temperature plunged below 15 degrees and snow began to pile up on the airliner's wings. But four flight attendants walked off the plane after the pilot refused their urgent request to de-ice. According to a spokesman for the airline, the pilot finally de-iced the plane in order not to "inconvenience passengers by having to cancel" the flight.

The flight attendants had won a round for the labor movement and the safety of the beleaguered traveling public. The plane arrived safely in Atlanta 65 minutes late. But the flight attendants were not given the hero's welcome they deserved. Two days before Christmas, the management of Eastern, owned by union-buster Frank Lorenzo, suspended the four attendants without pay because they refused to risk the lives of all aboard.

One month earlier at the same airport in similar weather conditions, 28 people perished in a Continental jet which crashed on takeoff. That DC-9 was not equipped with forward wing flaps for extra takeoff lift, and had ice accumulation on the wings. Continental is also run by the corporate raider Frank Lorenzo (see "Death on the Runways," *WV* No. 442, 11 December 1987).

Eastern and Continental are the two airlines that pilots consider to be the least safe. Eastern Air Lines was fined a record $9.5 million by the Federal Aviation Administration for safety violations. Eastern pilots have recently testified in Congress that they have been pressured to fly unsafe aircraft. The Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) has launched a "Max Safety" campaign against Eastern, instructing captains to delay or refuse flights when repairs have not been made.

The growing danger in the skies coincides with the mergers, buyouts, rate wars and union-busting which began with deregulation under Democrat Carter and took off with Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air controllers union. Lorenzo has threatened, and indeed begun, to sell off and cannibalize Eastern assets if he cannot wrest massive wage and personnel cuts from the unions. The International Association of Machinists (IAM) contract is up December 31, and after the airline laid off 3,500 employees in November the IAM notified its membership that Eastern "intends to force a strike."

According to their union, the flight attendants acted after "passengers pointed out snow accumulation on the wings." Transport Workers Local 533 has received hundreds of phone calls from the traveling public applauding the flight attendants. Even the FAA, which has consistently rejected stringent time limit standards for de-icing, has instructed that takeoffs not be attempted if "snow or ice is adhering to the plane's wings." But Eastern brazenly stated, "We don't do it under all conditions" (*Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 19 December 1987). The unions ought to form safety committees at every airport to put a stop to these deadly dangerous, profit-driven practices.

On December 28, the TWU International threatened a strike unless the flight attendants are reinstated. The IAM is investigating the case. But as Eastern's anti-union offensive comes to a head, a unified and militant strike by all the airline unions could be a springboard to husting Lorenzo and reversing the slew of labor defeats since PATCO. In a dramatic threat to shut down American Airlines at the height of the Christmas rush, flight attendants forced the company to reverse its "two-tier" wage slashing. Solid strike action at Eastern now could tap broad support among the riding population who reject Lorenzo's and capitalism's death wish for them. ■

Young Spartacus

## Communist Party Attacked at UMass Amherst

# Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting

Veteran Communist Party leader Gus Hall was the target of a premeditated, violent right-wing attack at UMass Amherst on December 7 where he spoke to an overflow crowd of 700 on "The Decline and Fall of Reaganism." The provocation against the CP was the work of a web of rightists including operatives of "Accuracy in Academia," a nationwide network of defective, ultrarightist Uriah Heeps; "Students for America," a Southern-based clot of Christian fundamentalists; as well as College Republicans, UMass Amherst's homegrown "Conservative Alliance," the staff of a reactionary sheet called the *Minuteman*, and members of the student government.

For this crew, the idea of a Communist public meeting is, literally, an incitement to riot. And, like their leader Ronald Reagan who "jokes" about "bombing Russia in five minutes," rationality is not their strong suit. Convinced that Reagan had gone "soft" on Communism by hosting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the nation's capital that same evening, the campus contras ran amok against Gus Hall, a convenient "surrogate" of the Soviet "evil empire."

One half hour before the forum was scheduled to start, the chief of campus security was informed that the campus yahoos planned to make a "citizen's arrest" of CP general secretary Gus Hall. This "citizen's arrest" tactic is a favorite trump card of the Reaganite fringe at UMass—something on the order of a collective mugging designed to directly prevent an event from taking place or to provoke an intervention by campus security to shut an event down. But that night the Communist Party's own security team made sure these creeps never even got close to Hall, and the large audience that turned out to hear him had the opportunity to do so. David Olson, a CP member, was physically attacked and now faces frame-up criminal charges for being the *victim* of the anti-Communist provocation that evening.

People's Daily World

American Communist Party leader Gus Hall.

Reagan's junior buddies harangued people going into the meeting and passed out a McCarthyite smear job linking Gus Hall's speech to a photo of someone being gunned down, allegedly while crossing the Berlin Wall. When one Michael D. Ross, a member of the Conservative Alliance and the Student Union Board of Governors, broke inside the meeting to pass out this slime sheet, David Olson told him to distribute it outside. Ross grabbed Olson by his necktie, dragged him several feet and started pummeling like crazy. One observer said it took 15 people just to pull this frenzied thug off Olson. Campus cops intervened—after the damage was done—and hauled away Ross *and his victim*, charging both with assault and battery and disorderly conduct. David Olson returned to the meeting with a swollen face and red welts around his neck, after being bailed out of jail by a sympathetic professor. Commenting on the charges, he scoffed, "Yeah. My face assaulted his [Ross's] fists."

At UMass Amherst we also had a run-in with some of the same Reaganite bad actors. On October 19 they tried, without success, to break up a Spartacus Youth Club forum commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Something ought to happen to these self-appointed "thought police." They've tried to intimidate so many different groups on campus that united action to stop these bully boys may be as popular as it is necessary. We demand: Drop all charges against David Olson!

### Fight the New McCarthyites!

What the *Minuteman* crowd idolizes and identifies with was displayed on the front page of the September issue: a pinup of Ollie North. But by December, the front page featured Rodney Dangerfield who, like this crew, "can't get no respect." A university official at UMass Amherst, when phoned by our reporter, described the campus rightists as "William F. Buckley meets *Animal House*." That captures something, but these guys are no mere nuisance that can be overlooked or ignored. They are Reagan's junior McCarthyites—right-wing extremists with direct ties to the forces that run the international contra death squads from Afghanistan to El Salvador. Purging the campuses of leftists and even liberals is just part of their battle for the "home front."

According to the *Minuteman* (16 December 1987), staff member and anti-Communist goon Michael D. Ross says that "all he wants to do is go down to Nicaragua and be a freedom fighter but he has to go to school." One of Ross's co-conspirators is W. Greg Rothman, a leader of the Conservative Alliance and also on the staff of the *Minuteman*. It is no accident that Rothman is also Accuracy in Academia's big man on campus. It seems like the far right is firmly in the saddle of the student government as well. But where they really strut their stuff is in "extraparliamentary" activities such as their attack on the CP's meeting. On November 20, Rothman, Ross & Co. erected a "Sandinista prison camp" bedecked with slogans insulting local leaders of the CP's youth group, the Young Communist League, and lauded the CIA-backed contras' murderous methods and crimes with a brazen placard proclaiming "I shot Ben Linder!"

Reagan's Amerikkka has been a petri dish for the growth of this McCarthyite syphilis. AIA really grooved on the full-scale racist riot against 20 black students which erupted at Amherst after the NY Mets defeated the Boston Red Sox in the sixth game of the 1986 World Series. Since then seminars designed to discuss racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, etc., have been instituted in UMass dormitories. The October issue of AIA's *Campus Report* denounces and threatens a lawsuit against such "political indoctrination," charging that tolerance of blacks, Jews, gays and other minorities is a religion and thus these seminars violate the separation of church and state!

The provocation against Gus Hall at Amherst on December 7 had "Accuracy in Academia" stamped all over it. This ultraright outfit tried to mess with the Spartacist League recently and lost (see "Spartacists Sue 'Accuracy in Academia'—AIA: Reagan's McCarthyites," *WV* No. 423, 6 March 1987, and "AIA Witchhunters Retract Deadly Libel," *WV* No. 431, 26 June 1987). In a pamphlet titled *Appeasing the Censors*, the misnamed "Accuracy in Academia" ran a deadly, libelous charge that Spartacist publications "urge... the killing of police officers." We took these sinister creeps to court and forced them to print a retraction, prominently displayed in AIA's own *Campus Report*, conceding the statement was utterly

*continued on page 9*

Crazed rightists run defense campaign for prepple anti-Communist thug Michael D. Ross in the Minuteman.

# Palestinian Rebellion...

*(continued from page 1)*

who live in Israel joined 100,000 day laborers from the Occupied Territories in a one-day general strike. As the *New York Times* (22 December 1987) reported, "the great numbers of Arab laborers who wait on tables, pick vegetables, haul garbage, lay brick and perform most of Israel's menial work stayed home." Not since the overt barbarity of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon repelled a significant section of Israeli Jewish society has Israel seen an internal crisis of these dimensions. Even mainstream Zionist commentators like *Jerusalem Post* "Arab-affairs specialist" Yehuda Litani called it "the first stages of a civil uprising."

All wings of the squabbling "Labor"/Likud coalition government united around the need to bloodily suppress the rebellion. (The so-called "Labor Alignment" is in no sense a working-class formation but rather a conglomerate of bourgeois Zinnist parties.) Indeed, the Gaza rebellion, and particularly the strike by Israel's Arab citizens, was seized upon by those elements who have been pushing for forcible expulsion of the Arab population. Significant sections of Zionist ruling circles are also pushing for war with Israel's well-armed and Soviet-backed Syrian neighbor, which could well be the trip wire for World War III. In their annexationist drive to create a "Greater Israel" through conquest and occupation, the Zionist rulers are digging their own grave. In addition to the two million Arabs within Israel and the Occupied Territories, there are 100 million in the neighboring countries. But the Zionists—with their arsenal of 200 nuclear weapons—have the means and certainly the mentality to drag the whole world down with them.

If the entire region is not to be consumed in a Zionist-engineered nuclear holocaust, the Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel must be shaken out of their chauvinism to champion the just national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and join forces in *revolutionary class struggle*, to sweep away their own rulers and oppressors as well as the sheiks and colonels of the Arab East. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation of the Near East!

### Gaza Rises Up

The revolt was triggered on December 8, when an Israeli army truck in Gaza rammed into oncoming traffic, killing four Palestinian laborers, as "retaliation" for the fatal stabbing of an Israeli businessman. This was no "accident" but a typical instance of the Zionist "master race" policy of "collective punishment," which exacts massive retribution for the life of every Israeli Jew. Outraged Gaza youth took to the streets with stones, emboldened by a daring hang glider attack a month earlier in which one Palestinian fighter killed six of the "invincible" Israeli soldiers in an army border settlement. The army met the unarmed youths with live ammunition and undisguised brutality.

Troops fired into a hospital courtyard—killing at least four—where several hundred people were seeking shelter from the hail of bullets, then invaded the hospital, smashing X-ray and anesthesia equipment, beating doctors and nurses and dragging 40 people off. Palestinian youth were tied to the hoods of Israeli army jeeps and used as a "shield" against stone throwers. While old women covered from head to toe in Islamic veils broke up rocks for their children to throw, loudspeakers from a minaret blared, "God is great. Liberate Palestine. It doesn't matter how many of us get killed" (*New York Times*, 19 December 1987).

AP

**Israeli soldiers club and kick unarmed Palestinian youth near Shifa Hospital in Gaza Strip. Soldiers fired into crowd, killing at least four.**

By December 17 the rebellion spread to Arab East Jerusalem, officially annexed by Labor prime minister Levi Eshkol following its conquest in 1967. For years, ultrarightist and religious Zionist fanatics, operating with government connivance or acquiescence, have tried to violate the most sacred Muslim sites like the Al Aksa mosque, with the intent of provoking a bloodbath in the Old City that would leave it "cleansed" of Arabs. The latest provocation came when Ariel Sharon—a Likud cabinet member and former "defense" minister, architect of the 1982 massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon—rented an apartment in the Muslim Quarter. Accompanied by hundreds of troops, Sharon then staged a "Chanukah party" with such guests as Rabbi General Shlomo Goren, the former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi who publicly flaunts plans to raze the Muslim holy site and rebuild the Biblical Temple!

Arab merchants shuttered their shops as they had in Gaza, despite the attempts of Israeli troops to forcibly open them and despite the knowledge that they are literally marked for victimization by Israeli troops, who paint marks on the shutters much as Nazi hooligans painted Stars of David on Jewish shops in Hitler's Germany before pogroms. Several days later, Israeli troops fired tear gas while thousands worshiped at Al Aksa. At the end of two weeks of rebellion and repression, the official death toll stood at 22 (a figure rejected even by Israeli newspapers as too low), though PLO leader Yasir Arafat claimed that 62 protesters had been killed, over 500 injured and more than 6,000 arrested. At least 700 are being held in the army's Ansar 2 prison camp, notorious for its torture of prisoners, where more than 80 prisoners are packed into one small room. The East Jerusalem Arabic-language newspaper *Al Quds* was banned in the West Bank and Gaza and some 900 schools were shut down.

### Zionists Debate "Final Solution"

As the confrontation escalated and spread, compelling protests from America's anti-Soviet allies among the Arab regimes, the U.S. began openly criticizing its Israeli clients, urging them to adopt more "refined" methods of "riot control"—the way the British army terrorizes the Catholic population in Northern Ireland—like water cannons and rubber bullets. Having just approved over $2 billion in new aid for Israel, an increasingly frustrated Reagan administration showed its displeasure by refusing to veto a UN Security Council resolution which denounced Israel's "killing and wounding of defenseless Palestinian civilians."

The Zionists contemptuously dismissed the "advice" of their American quartermasters as "unfortunate." Foreign minister and Labor leader Shimon Peres, taunted by the Likud prime minister Yitzhak Shamir for being "soft on the Arabs" by talking of a negotiated "demilitarization" of the Gaza Strip, swore: "There are disagreements and arguments, but not on the subject of the struggle against terrorism." In the eyes of the Zionists every Arab is a "terrorist." Labor defense minister Rabin raved about the government's "supreme responsibility" to crush the "violence" and another military official ranted: "Where the law allows us to arrest, we will arrest. Where we are allowed to expel, we will expel. There will be no mercy shown" (*New York Times*, 24 December 1987).

It is not only rabid right-wing militarists or outright fascists like Meir Kahane who are pushing forced population transfers and expulsions of Palestinian Arabs from the Occupied Territories. The 1947-48 War of Independence was in large measure aimed at *driving out* the indigenous Arab populations through the sort of mass terror exemplified by Begin/Shamir's massacre of the Arab community of Deir Yassin. For years successive Israeli regimes have allowed or encouraged scores of fortified settlements to spring up in the West Bank (and to a lesser extent in the barren Gaza Strip). Even "liberal" Zionists today call the West Bank by its Biblical name, Judea and Samaria, accepting the "created fact"

# Free Mordechai Vanunu!

International protest must be mobilized to free Mordechai Vanunu now! After a short adjournment, the trial of the heroic Israeli nuclear technician resumed December 23. Charged with "espionage," passing secrets and "aiding the enemy," i.e., the rest of the world, Vanunu faces the death penalty for exposing the peril of Israel's nuclear arsenal of 100-200 bombs—targeted on Arab capitals and the Soviet workers state.

For 14 months Vanunu has been in solitary confinement in Israel's notorious Shin Beth secret police dungeon at Ashkelon—all legal proceedings have been closed to the public and the world press. On December 1, the court denied Vanunu's motions to dismiss the charges. But in a stunning development the court ordered Shimon Peres, Israeli foreign minister, and Abba Eban, chairman of the Israeli parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defense committees, to testify.

Support for Vanunu has been growing throughout the world. In Australia protesters arrested for demonstrating against the CIA's spy station at Alice Springs gave their name in court as "Mordechai Vanunu," and he recently received the Right Livelihood Award, known as the "alternative Nobel Prize." But time is running out. The secret show trial is expected to end in January. The Zionist terrorists who gun down Palestinian protesters in the West Bank and Gaza want Vanunu's blood.

Vanunu did a great service to humanity in his courageous exposure of Israel's doomsday machine. Now working people and all opponents of Zionist terror and imperialist war worldwide must champion the cause of freeing this heroic man from the hands of the arrogant Israeli butchers who threaten to plunge the world into nuclear Armageddon.

The international Spartacist tendency and the Partisan Defense Committee have joined in the international outcry over the victimizatinn of Vanunu and have sought to publicize his case internationally. In the U.S. and Canada, the PDC has collected 600 signatures on a petition sponsored by the Mordechai Vanunu Defense Committee. Raise this issue in your unions, civil rights and civil liberties organizations, *now*! Send your protests demanding Vanunu's freedom to: Embassy of Israel, 3514 International Drive NW, Washington, D.C. 20008. Send contributions and messages of support to: Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145.

Independent

**Mordechai Vanunu faces death penalty for courageously exposing Israel's nuclear arsenal.**

that it is already effectively incorporated into "Greater Israel."

Recently, a debate has been raging within Israel over how to win the "demographic war"—by the year 2000, the Arab population of Israel and the Occupied Territories will outnumber the roughly four million Jews—and it's quite clear the difference won't be made up by "freeing" a relative handful of Soviet Jews, who see their "land of milk and honey" in New York, not Tel Aviv. Reserve general Rehavam Ze'evi, a self-avowed "leftist" who affirmed, "All the views I now express are those of the Labour movement," said recently:

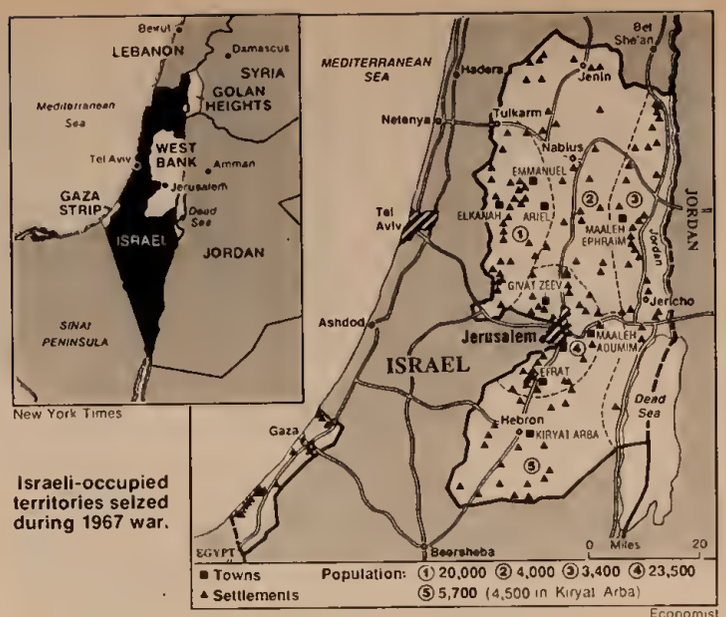
> "There is, therefore, a need to transfer all the Arabs of Judea and Samaria to across the Jordan river, by a common agreement, by a joint recognition of the two nations that by this the future will be good for both of them."
>
> —*Ma'ariv*, 5 July 1987, translated by Israel Shahak

In the 25 December 1987 *New York Times*, former editor and raving Zionist Cold Warrior A.M. Rosenthal called for a "Jordanian Solution": "There is an almost mad irony in this struggle for a Palestinian homeland. It already exists and everybody knows it. Peace in the Arab-Israel struggle lies in building on that reality of the existing Palestinian state, which is called Jordan." He calls for an autonomous West Bank under joint Israeli-Jordanian suzerainty. (Arafat's PLO, in turn, calls for a West Bank "mini-state," which could only be a glorified bantustan.) But Rosenthal well knows that Israel is not about to surrender the West Bank. His "Jordanian Solution" dovetails neatly with plans for mass expulsion.

### Israel's Bantustans

The Achilles' heel of the Israeli ruling class is that they want to maintain a theocratic "Jewish state" but the economy has grown increasingly dependent on superexploited Arab labor. For years, the dirtiest, most menial labor was forced upon the Arab-derived Sephardic Jews, whose loathing for the European-centered racist Ashkenazi Labor Zionist ruling elite drove them into the arms of Begin and Shamir's right-wing Likud. Today this work is the preserve of Arab labor, as Israeli society comes more and more to resemble South African apartheid, but with a qualitatively narrower economic and population base.

The 750,000 Palestinian Arabs who are Israeli citizens—who refused to be driven out by the terror of 1947-48—are second-class citizens in this theocratic state. Their passports are stamped with their religious affiliation—marking them as aliens within the "Jewish state"—and they are excluded from universal conscription and thus from the significant social benefits (like housing and child subsidies) which are granted only to army veterans. But the workforce from the Occupied Territories is treated as little better than slave labor; indeed, the illegal labor exchange which operates outside of the military occupation authorities is known as the "slave market."



New York Times

**Israeli-occupied territories seized during 1967 war.**

Economist

Some 50,000 Palestinians are trucked into Israel from Gaza daily. By law they must return, South Africa-style, to their bantustan before nightfall or face arrest. They are forbidden to stay within the "green line" (the pre-1967 borders) at night except if they are locked from outside in their rooms, like animals in cages. The law guarantees them a minimum wage, but in practice they are forced to take what the rapacious employer gives them, earning as little as $90 a month including overtime. They have deductions taken out of their pay for social security benefits (old age, illness, unemployment, etc.) they are not entitled to collect—their taxes end up paying for the occupation army! On top of this, the Histadrut deducts a 1 percent "organization tax" which is simple extortion.

Despite severe military repression, these barbaric conditions have fueled a growth of trade unions among the Gaza workforce. For instance:

> "In violation of a military directive prohibiting union elections, the Carpenters and Building Workers Union organized elections on February 21, 1987. Israeli soldiers, who apparently had not expected a major turnout, were posted in relatively small numbers in and around the entrance of the one and only union building in the city of Gaza. But seventy-one workers did in fact show up and, accompanied by foreign press and the leaders of the Rakah [Israeli Communist Party] bloc in the Histadrut, pushed past the surprised soldiers, who could not utter more than token objections."
>
> —Joost R. Hiltermann, "Palestinian Unions—Force for Change in the West Bank," *Nation*, 3 October 1987

As the general strike demonstrated, Palestinian Arab labor is today an increasingly powerful force. In the West Bank, upwards of 35 percent of the workforce is organized in "illegal" trade unions—with which the employers are nonetheless compelled to deal—again largely under the influence of the Stalinists. Yet the Stalinists corral Palestinian unions into the racist Histadrut—the corporatist "labor" federation which is also Israel's largest employer—that was built through breaking Arab workers' strikes in the name of "Jewish only" labor.

Wedded to tailing nationalism and the futile search for a bourgeois-democratic solution, the Rakah simultaneously bows to Zionism and Palestinian nationalism, defending the existence of the Zionist state while supporting the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). If nationalism is a political dead end in the best of circumstances, it is patently so in the Near East, where the interpenetrated Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples lay claim to the same sliver of territory.

The suicidal despair which drives unarmed Palestinian Arab youth to throw themselves at the Zionist occupation forces is the product of decades of racist provocation and degradation. But it is also the result of the absence of revolutionary leadership. The PLO preaches reliance on the Arab bourgeois regimes, which have treated the Palestinian Arab masses with scarcely less brutality and contempt than have the Zionist rulers. For 20 years the Gaza refugee hellhole was under the direct rule of Egypt. The PLO has not even attempted to organize the dispossessed masses of Gaza, instead capitalizing on the despair to recruit to its futile strategy of individual terrorism. Thus in recent years it has been the mosque which has gained increasing influence over the Palestinian masses.

There is a double tragedy in this, for not only can petty-bourgeois nationalism and, worse yet, the reactionary politics of Islamic *jihad* ("holy war") do nothing to free the Palestinian people from their oppressive yoke, but it squanders one of the richest potentials for revolutionary cadre in the Arab East. The Palestinian Arabs are among the best educated, most cosmopolitan peoples in the region. There is no progressive road out of the Near East quagmire short of proletarian internationalism, which alone can transcend the clash of competing nationalist claims.

The Zionist fortress-state must be exploded from within, through revolutionary class struggle. And there are fissures to be exploited, even within the virulently chauvinist Hebrew-speaking population. Not all Israeli Jews want to be like Nazis. Fifty Israeli teenagers about to be drafted into the Israeli army and then 100 reservists last week announced that they will refuse to serve in the West Bank and Gaza. Off-duty soldiers have joined demonstrations demanding Israel out of the Occupied Territories. Last month a conference of Sephardic Jews in Israel eloquently expressed their desire for tolerance and peace with their erstwhile Muslim Arab neighbors. The Lebanon invasion led to a sizable "Peace Now" movement propelled by Israeli casualties. But these "peace" lovers exclude Arabs, and are fundamentally committed to defending the Zionist state. At a December 26 "Peace Now" demonstration of 2,000 in Jerusalem, marchers chanted "Zionism is not occupation!" Wrong—Zionism has always meant occupation, expansion and expulsion of Arabs!

Bar-Am/NY Times

**Israel's Gaza Strip bantustan: Superexploited Palestinian workers line up at "slave market" to be transported into Israel.**

There has been much talk within the Zionist regime of a punitive strike against "terrorist bases" in the Bekaa Valley as a diversion from the protests, "even if that threatens to bring in the Syrians themselves" (*Jerusalem Post*, 15 December 1987). A conflict with Syria could easily escalate into a world war. The Hebrew-speaking workers must break from the chauvinism of their Zionist rulers if they are to avert the deathtrap Zionism has prepared for them. The Zionist rulers will not have a thousand-year reign: none of their policies have yet brought them the "security" they murder and wage war for. But these madmen who proclaim themselves "the chosen people" are fully prepared to take the world with them if their bunker is threatened with destruction. And they have the wherewithal, as revealed by Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu—now on trial for his life for his courageous exposure of the extent of the Israeli nuclear arsenal.

With the genocidal logic of Zionism starkly revealed, in the intricate mosaic of interpenetrated peoples in this region the only progressive road lies through transcending the murderous logic of nationalism on all sides, forging revolutionary Trotskyist parties which defend the right of self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking nations in fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Independent

**Ariel Sharon (lighting candle), Israeli prime minister Shamir (near right) and Rabbi Goren (far right) provocatively "celebrate" Chanukah in Muslim Quarter of Old City of Jerusalem.**

# War-Crazy Reagan...

*(continued from page 1)*

administration's fortunes have fallen. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (11 December 1987) remarked: "Americans compare him [Gorbachev] not only to his doddering predecessors, but to their own president, twenty years Mr. Gorbachev's senior, who is so clearly in the twilight of his career." In fact, a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll following the summit found that more Americans had a favorable view of Gorbachev than of Reagan. As one conservative Republican quipped, "The good news is Gorbachev got out of town and didn't win the nomination."

The popular euphoria over the Reagan/Gorbachev summit demonstrated the superficiality of the anti-Communist Rambo mentality in the U.S. population. People overwhelmingly desire peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. But the war-crazed nuclear nuts who rule the declining American empire have no such intentions. If they are willing to limit some existing (particularly Soviet) arms, it's because they're madly developing new weapons systems themselves. "Arms control" is a hoax, which in no way reduces the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind. The Soviet Union should build and acquire the weapons it considers necessary without

AP

**Nicaraguan Sandinista woman soldier demonstrates Soviet-made SAM-7 missile launcher to students in Managua.**

encumbering defense of the land of the October Revolution by "arms control" agreements with its implacable imperialist enemy.

Behind the euphoria there is a fundamental conflict: the Stalinists in the Kremlin want *coexistence*, the imperialists in the White House want *counter-revolution*. Just a week before Gorbachev's arrival, Reagan denounced "Communist tyranny" in a speech to the ultraright Heritage Foundation. Before the summit Reagan declared that the Soviet leader had better come prepared to "bargain" over "regional issues" such as Afghanistan and Nicaragua. But when Gorbachev obligingly sweetened his terms for a Soviet withdrawal from Kabul and offered to cut off military aid to Managua, Reagan pretended not to hear. And on the heels of the summit, the Pentagon set off a nuclear blast in Nevada. Moscow, which had been observing a unilateral testing moratorium, countered with a test of its own.

For 70 years—under Republican and Democratic administrations, in periods of Cold War and "détente" (the unmentionable "D-word" in Washington for most of Reagan's presidency)—U.S. imperialism and its allies have maintained their goal of overthrowing the Russian workers revolution which shook the world. From the American expeditionary force sent to Arkhangelsk in 1918 to snuff out the newborn Soviet state, to the deployment of contra cutthroats in Nicaragua and Afghanistan today, the imperialist rulers have waged bloody war against the USSR. There can be no peace on this planet until capitalist exploitation, the source of imperialist war, is rooted out. The road to peace lies through defending and extending the gains of October through world socialist revolution.

### Afghanistan, Nicaragua: Crush Reagan's Contras!

In Washington, the Kremlin bureaucracy once again made clear its willingness to sacrifice other people's revolutions on the altar of "peaceful coexistence." Gorbachev reportedly told Reagan that the Soviet Union would cut off military aid to the embattled Sandinista regime in Nicaragua—restricting arms shipments to "small arms for police work"—if the U.S. stopped supplying the contras. This would represent a betrayal of the Nicaraguan Revolution, for which more than 50,000 workers and peasants have already given their lives. Nicaragua faces a host of U.S. bases and airfields just over the border in Honduras and is besieged by the CIA's mercenary terrorists striking from Honduras and Costa Rica. A cutoff of vital Soviet aid would be a green light to the U.S. warmongers.

Even as the ink was drying on the missile treaty, Reagan was pushing hard for renewed aid to his killer contras. The White House surfaced a Nicaraguan traitor, former Sandinista Army major Roger Miranda Bengoechea, putting in his mouth tales of Nicaraguan plans to conquer Central America with Soviet support. Congress agreed to $14 million in contra aid (not $8 million as widely reported) and delivery of "previously purchased" arms shipments. Emboldened by these measures, on December 20 the contras launched a bloody attack on three gold and silver mining towns, Bonanza, Rosita and Siuna, in the jungles of northeastern Nicaragua. The attacks were timed so that the contras could withdraw under the cover of a Christmas truce which other contra forces freely violated. Residents implored the "freedom fighters" not to destroy their mining works. The contras' response was 19 villagers killed and nearly 100 injured (*New York Times*, 25 December 1987).

The mounting pressure against Nicaragua has highlighted tensions inside the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime. Defense Minister Humberto Ortega announced plans to enroll 600,000 Nicaraguans in the army and reserves. This would mean that virtually every able-bodied adult man and woman would be armed, a formidable obstacle to a U.S. invasion and occupation of Nicaragua. His brother, President Daniel Ortega, said this was only a "proposal," but warned: "Let the right tremble before the justice dealt by our people." The Nicaraguan masses, he said, could "invite those that have property and riches to hand them over to the workers" (*New York Times*, 17 December 1987). Managua broke off cease-fire negotiations with the contras under the Arias "peace" plan. And next door in El Salvador, guerrilla leader Fermán Cienfuegos declared: "It would be political idiocy to disarm.... They would annihilate us. There would be a bloodbath."

Novosti

**Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would lead to bloodbath of women, leftists, intellectuals by CIA-armed, mullah-led reactionaries.**

On Afghanistan, Gorbachev trumpeted his willingness to strike a deal for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the formation of a government of "national reconciliation" including representatives of the CIA-backed feudalists. Reagan was literally walking Gorbachev down the Rose Garden path when the Soviet leader said that from the moment the U.S. announced a stop to arming the Islamic rebels, Soviet troops would refrain from military operations. The State Department only acknowledged Gorbachev's offer two weeks after the summit, claiming that "tired" American officials hadn't "fully grasped" the statement at the time. But Washington isn't interested in "negotiating" over Afghanistan, because Reagan—solidly backed by the Democrats—wants to keep the blood of Soviet soldiers flowing. They figure that thousands of Afghan reactionaries willing to fight a "holy war" against Communism while the West whips up its "human rights" propaganda is too good a deal to pass up.

It will be difficult indeed for the Moscow bureaucrats—who from Stalin on have sold out countless revolutionary struggles around the globe in their search for a *modus vivendi* with imperialism—to reach a settlement with forces so reactionary that some of them see the deposed Afghan king as some kind of commie dupe. Yet Gorbachev's efforts to strike a deal with the mullahs and their patrons in Washington, rather than mopping up the *mujahedin*, have already needlessly prolonged the war, leading to rising frustrations inside the Soviet Union. On December 26, some 16 people were arrested in Moscow for protesting Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Even worse, the Kremlin tops may actually pull out their troops, setting the stage for a massacre of leftists, workers, women and indeed anyone leading a modern lifestyle—as well as threatening the Soviet Union's vital southern flank.

The status of women is everywhere a barometer of social progress, and in Afghanistan the Red Army stands between the bloodthirsty Islamic reactionaries and women who for the first time have been given an opportunity for liberation from medieval oppression. An article in the *Toronto Star* (29 November 1987) detailed some of the gains for women under the Soviet-backed government, including "the freedom to dress as they please, to work in the civil service, to join the armed forces and other institutions." The article quoted a 26-year-old woman fighter, "Commander Roziya":

> "I command 5,000 Tajik tribesmen, a thousand of whom are armed. I usually carry my Kalashnikov, but I know how to use a pistol, rifle, hand grenades and all other weapons... I like the Russians. They help us."

And the general secretary of the All-Afghanistan Women's Council noted that there were now some tens of thousands of women working in factories, in government offices, and some at high levels in the ruling party:

> "Before the revolution, women did not have the opportunity to get to such high positions. The majority of university students are women or girls. There are also 15,000 women in the Afghan army."

Any Soviet pullout that puts in danger the present limited reforms would be a bloody betrayal of Afghan women. Victory to the Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

### The Road to Peace

The only tangible result of the Washington summit was the signing of the already concluded intermediate nuclear forces (INF) treaty specifying the destruction of all shorter- and medium-range missiles. Chief among them are the Soviet SS-20s and American Pershing 2s which can hit Moscow in a mere six to eight minutes after firing. For *Pravda*, the treaty was nothing less than "a watershed dividing the era of a growing nuclear threat from the era of the demilitarization of man's existence." Liberal peaceniks joined Stalinists in a sigh of relief: the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* even moved the hands of their Doomsday Clock back, from three minutes to six minutes before the midnight of nuclear annihilation. In fact, this so-called "zero option" was first conceived by the Reagan regime as a propaganda ploy, a deal so unfavorable to the Soviets that they would have to refuse it.

Under the INF treaty, the Soviets must destroy four warheads to every one of the U.S. The weapons scheduled for elimination cover only a tiny percentage of the total nuclear arsenals,

Sweets/Washington Post

**Homeless in capitalist America: protester in Washington, D.C. during summit.**

however. More serious could be the propusal for an across-the-board 50 percent strategic arms reduction treaty (START), supposed to be the centerpiece of a projected Reagan visit to the USSR. Eliminating half the Soviet missile fleet could mean a qualitative weakening of its deterrent effect and an invitation to the nuclear cowboys in Washington to launch a first strike. It's precisely the Reaganauts' fevered dream of regaining first-strike capability that is behind the "Star Wars" program. Here, also, Gorbachev acquiesced at the summit, agreeing to treaty language allowing for widespread testing of space weapons. The Stalinists may be gambling on disarray in the Reagan administration, Congressional resistance to junking the ABM treaty, and the high glitch rate of the technologically improbable Star Wars scheme. But no serious military man would bank the defense of the Soviet Union on that.

The history of this century has shown that the road to war is paved with "disarmament" conferences. As one bourgeois commentator, Richard Haass of Harvard's Kennedy School, noted in a recent *New York Times* (21 December 1987) article:

> "The [Soviet-American] rivalry is not a problem that can be solved: it is a condition that can be managed only in parts
> "With the temporary exception of the 1972 ABM treaty, after which for several years our spending on ballistic missile defense research declined, all major arms control agreements have stimulated defense spending."

The only reason the post-1972 period was an exception was the "Vietnam syndrome," popular revulsion against U.S. militarism produced by the long, *losing* colonial war against the Vietnamese people, whose victory won with enormous sacrifice provided a breathing space for the Soviets to achieve rough nuclear parity with the Americans. And the "rivalry" between the United States and the Soviet Union is a struggle between irreconcilable class interests and social systems. It is axiomatic for

WV Photo

**Spartacists at 27 March 1982 rally in Washington call for leftist military victory in El Salvador, defense of Soviet Union.**

Marxists that ultimately either socialism will triumph, or capitalism will thrust the world into barbarism.

At the ceremony signing the INF treaty, Gorbachev sought to cover himself with the mantle of V.I. Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, saying: "We also remember another concept of his—disarmament, a world without arms or violence." Lenin's Bolsheviks certainly believed in world peace, but they understood that this could only come about through international workers revolution. In 1916, at the height of World War I, Lenin wrote:

> "Finally, our 'peace programme' must explain that the imperialist powers and the imperialist bourgeoisie *cannot* grant a democratic peace. Such a peace *must* be sought for and fought for, not in the *past*, *not* in a reactionary utopia of a *non*-imperialist capitalism, not in a league of equal nations *under* capitalism, but *in the future*, in the socialist revolution of the proletariat."
> —"The Peace Programme," March 1916

The Bolsheviks carried out their program in the October Revolution and the formation of the Communist International. But while recognizing the need to deal with the imperialist powers as long as they existed, the revolutionary Soviet regime never pretended that this would produce anything but a short-term truce.

The illusory program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism didn't begin with Khrushchev but with Stalin, a corollary of his schema of building "socialism in one country," and it has always been a threat to the Soviet degenerated workers state. But with war-crazy Reagan in the White House, such détente illusions become ludicrous. This is the man who warmed up for a radio address with his infamous "joke": "My fellow Americans, I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." This comment nakedly expressed imperialism's goal of "rolling back" the October Revolution, through nuclear war if necessary. As Richard Pipes, a top White House policy adviser, said shortly after Reagan took office, the Soviet Union faced the choice of "changing the Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war."

This program of exporting counterrevolution is not new, nor even particularly Republican. Commenting on the policies of Democrat Truman during the Korean War, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in his pamphlet, *The Road to Peace* (November 1951), "They demand that the Soviet Union and revolutionary China cease to exist as they are at present constituted." He spelled it out:

> "The ultimate aim is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system, overthrown by the Revolution in 1917. The United States is driven, as the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power of the world, to include all these aims in its program. That is what its diplomacy works for and that is what they are arming for.
> "Pacifist sermons will not deflect them from their course. Pseudo-serious chatter about the 'necessity and desirability of peaceful co-existence' can deceive and disarm workers and sincere but impractical people who think the boon of peace can be bought with shibboleths. But peace cannot be secured that way."

Cannon concluded: "The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace." ■

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# Gus Hall...

*(continued from page 5)*

false. In so doing we shamed, exposed, and discredited AIA as being to accuracy in academia what Goebbels was to truth in advertising for Hitler's Third Reich.

A widely despised and discredited organization, AIA has no reputation to worry about. But they do have lots of sour grapes. Thus in the wake of our legal victory, AIA and its affiliates still crawl out from under the floorboards like loathsome cockroaches to deposit their lies and provocations. The July/August 1987 issue of the *Australian Student News* retails AIA's rather tired falsification that we are guilty of "violations against freedom of speech." More pernicious was the large article in AIA's November 1987 *Campus Report*. Here AIA attributes to Bob Zirgulis, head of a sinister L.A.-based organization called "Nemesis," which resembles nothing so much as the Gestapo, the bald-faced lie that "Sparts are violent." But our real "crime" in the eyes of the AIA McCarthyites is our political views:

> "One SYL flyer states: 'We are socialists who stand for defense of the U.S.S.R. against imperialism.... We believe that the Red Army is on the right side in Afghanistan. We collected $25,000 to defend the Nicaraguan revolution, and we think Nicaragua should get MIGs to mop up the contra filth... And we stand with the Cuban troops defending Angola against the South African army and the CIA'."
> —*Campus Report*, November 1987

### Hands Off the Communist Party!

Since the skullduggery of Reagan's White House basement administration was (partially) exposed during the Contragate hearings, the wind the right wing had in its sails for the past several years has gone slack. The dominant mood on the campuses today is *not* anti-Sovietism, as evidenced by the fact that Gus Hall could pull 700 people to a Communist Party forum. So the campus McCarthyites who spy on professors, take sledgehammers to anti-apartheid shanties, and beat Communists with their fists as part of their general aim to cow the population from thinking "deviant" thoughts or organizing politically against this depraved capitalist system, now have a real problem. How can you convince people that dissent equals treason when the Reagan administration looks like Al Capone and his gang after they carried out the St. Valentine's Day massacre?

But the CP reacts to a shift in the political climate like a lame duck in troubled waters. Hall's talk and the attack on it at UMass Amherst has not even been mentioned in the *People's Daily World*, perhaps because in their own reformist eyes such an attack puts them outside the "mainstream." The CP is, to use the classic term, a "bourgeois workers party"—a *reformist* organization. It's a party that tries to serve two counterposed masters: the Kremlin bureaucracy which rules the Soviet deformed workers state, and the mythical "progressive" wing of the American ruling class, which since 1917 has endeavored to destroy the Soviet Union. This creates certain political contradictions for the CP—and the Stalinists have spent many decades carefully seeking to resolve each contradiction on the side of reformism. The CP's real action program is supporting the Democratic Party—a policy which is fundamental: it is part of a consistent, pernicious program of unity of the supposedly "enlightened" exploiters with the tame workers. In relatively "normal," quiescent times they can try to sell this program of class collaboration as "realistic," but in a period of sharpened class struggle such an "alliance" must necessarily fall apart as the workers and the "progressive" rulers line up on the different sides of the barricades.

The CP's reformism renders it incapable of politically combatting repression. During World War II, in order to display their star-spangled patriotism, the CP actually *hailed* the Smith Act prosecution of its first victims, the American Trotskyists. When James P. Cannon and 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 were jailed for opposing imperialist war, the CP displayed its star-spangled patriotism and marched in lock step with the witchhunters, saying: "The Communist Party has always exposed, fought against and today joins in the fight to exterminate the Trotskyite Fifth Column from the life of our nation" (*Daily Worker*, 16 August 1941). This treachery did not in the least deter the ruling class from using the Smith Act as a centerpiece of its Cold War drive to destroy the CP.

In 1948 twelve top CP leaders were indicted under the Smith Act. Gus Hall, who became National Secretary of the Communist Party in 1950, was among them. No criminal action was alleged or deemed necessary for the government to extract its pound of flesh from the CP for mere advocacy of ideas. The feds nabbed Gus Hall in Mexico and took eight years of his life away in Leavenworth prison. Black CP leader Henry Winston, who died last year, lost his eyesight as a result of this imprisonment. Even after he was released, Hall continued to suffer from this red hunt. For years, known Communist Party members (or even former members) could not have a passport, and Hall couldn't even have a driver's license.

Indeed, Gus Hall has confronted anti-Communist repression his entire life. Born Arvo Kusta Halberg in 1910, Gus Hall grew up in Iron, Minnesota, a town where virtually the entire population, including his family, was blacklisted in the wake of a hard-fought Mesabi Iron Range strike. His parents were Finnish immigrants and charter members of the American Communist Party. Gus went to work at age 13 as a lumberjack and miner and joined the CP in 1927. One of his brothers emigrated to Soviet Karelia during the Great Depression and died defending the Soviet Union as a Red Army man in World War II.

Through more than 50 years of practicing to be just "honest center liberals" the mask has become the face and the CP can't lead the American or international workers movement to anything but betrayal. Yet still, in the heartland of imperialism, the ruling class has extracted a heavy price from old Gus for what he thinks is defense of Communism and the Soviet Union.

A generation ago, HUAC utterly destroyed the lives and livelihoods of thousands simply by accusing them of being part of the "Communist conspiracy"—e.g., signing a petition for peace. In the present climate, with Reagan on the rocks and the population far from lined up behind the ideology of a war on Communism, this kind of thing could not easily be repeated. But in every period, anti-communist witchhunting and right-wing violence must be *fought*, by class-struggle means. Non-sectarian, united-front defense of the democratic rights of the Communist Party is an urgent obligation for the working-class movement. As the Wobblies used to say: *an injury to one is an injury to all!* ■

# Boston Union Maids Refuse to Kneel

It was a throwback to the days of slavery. Flaunting the Reagan-era "new luxury," the management of a ritzy Boston hotel ordered 44 black, Asian and Hispanic chambermaids to get down on their knees and scrub the marble bathroom floors. But the unionized room attendants wouldn't take this racist attack on their dignity. They said no and when the arrogant bosses saw they were ready to fight, the company threw in the mop.

On November 10, the Copley Plaza Hotel (owned by John Hancock insurance company) in Boston's yuppified Back Bay ordered room attendants to turn in their mops and decreed, "There will be NO mops used in the rooms of this hotel until further notice! Please help yourself to as many clean rags as you like for HAND-washing floors." This little piece of Reaganite viciousness was prompted by the "complaints" of the well-heeled clientele of rooms renting for up to $195 a night. Alan Tremain, head of Hotels of Distinction, which operates the Copley Plaza, haughtily said, "A maid is a maid, and that's just what she has to do" (*Boston Globe*, 2 December 1987).

In order to take care of the 393 rooms, the maids are forced to clean at least 16 bathrooms per shift. To have to do this on hands and knees was backbreaking, unsanitary, dangerous and gratuitously insulting. A 42-year-old Jamaican maid called it cruel and demeaning, especially when guests are in the room. As Dominick Bozzotto, president of Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, which represents the room attendants, put it: "The scene of a white male sitting in his hotel room reading the *Wall Street Journal* while the black maid is in the bathroom on her hands and knees—it's just preposterous."

Mottern/Boston Globe

**Copley Plaza room attendants stand up to racist hotel bosses.**

The minority women fought the new rules. Many refused to get on their knees from the get-go. Through their union they filed a grievance, charging the rule was technologically regressive. They sought to mobilize labor and women's groups to expose and protest the outrage. A publicity campaign put the story on the pages of national newspapers. But it was the threat of labor action that was decisive. While the union was considering a strike, it set about organizing a labor demonstration for December 4. The Massachusetts AFL-CIO said it was sending construction workers; women's rights activists began mobilizing.

Mayor Flynn, who said his mother used to work as a hotel maid, called off a Democratic Party event at the hotel. On the eve of the rally the Copley Brahmins capitulated. A spokesman for Hotels of Distinction announced December 3 that management was returning the mops to the workers. The scheduled rally turned into a victory celebration as about 100 demonstrators, including many maids, poured into the plush lobby chanting in defiance and jubilation.

The wage-slave masters yearn for the "good old days" of the plantation and complain that the workers don't "know their place." Particularly in Boston, the crucible of anti-busing racism, such attacks against minority workers are a grave threat to all labor. But especially now that the high-living crowd in the White House are down, the racist labor-haters can be trounced. What it takes is some good old-fashioned class struggle.

# Howard Beach...

*(continued from page 12)*

protesters for saying the city was unable to protect them against racist terror, and outrageously claimed that whites are more often the victims of racial attacks than blacks. Even the bourgeois press pointed out that the number of black victims of "bias attacks" was double the number of whites. With New York's top racist whipping up a white backlash from City Hall, on Christmas night in the white Italian enclave of Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, two blacks, Steven and Sylvester Lamont, were set upon by a white mob screaming, "Nigger!" and "24th and Bath—This is our Howard Beach!" The two blacks were beaten with bottles and sticks, and one was knifed, before police arrived. "They were coming at us like a wolf pack," said Steven Lamont. When civil rights attorney C. Vernon Mason appeared at the Bensonhurst police precinct Saturday, screaming whites taunted him, threatening more racist violence.

### No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

With New York City on the brink ever since the Howard Beach lynch mob murder, the state brought in special prosecutor Charles Hynes to temper black outrage and show intent to prosecute the racist killers. Defense lawyers first tried to keep blacks off the jury, then concentrated on character assassination, turning the black victims into criminals and the aggressors in a "turf fight." Even though ringleader Lester rounded up the mob saying, "let's go kill them," the jury finally convicted on manslaughter, what a driver might get who recklessly killed someone in a traffic accident. That verdict was what the state was aiming for all along, to "split the difference" between the racists and their victims and still keep a lid on the city. It was indicated by the judge's instructions that the jury could only return a murder verdict if they found the youths "so brutal, so callous, so completely dangerous and so inhuman...." Afterward, Hynes declared he was "satisfied" with the verdict.

When word came that the jury had reached a verdict, the courtroom was packed, overwhelmingly with blacks. Armed court officers formed a wall behind the defendants and took stations in the aisles. Blacks groaned when the first defendant, Kern, was declared "not guilty" of the murder charge, but broke into cheers and applause when the jury foreman announced "guilty" to charges of manslaughter. Some leftists cried out "Murderer!" and unfurled a banner; they were quickly ejected and arrested. In Howard Beach white racists massed at the infamous New Park Pizzeria, where the lynch mob began their deadly attack last year. When Lester, Kern and Ladone are sentenced in January, they face up to 30 years in prison but could be out in as few as three years—or even less if they get "youthful offender" status. Because they were

# Chicago...

*(continued from page 12)*

they are denied even the right to a jury trial. Drop all the charges!

The impact of the labor mobilization for Seay and Bryant was not lost on Judge Holt when the entire courtroom, including many transit workers in uniform, stood as their case was called. Holt leaned forward, peered at the display of solidarity and said, "You can take your seats—those of you who can find seats." When those racists-in-blue brutally beat and arrested the Seay family, they weren't counting on Cassandra being a member of a powerful integrated union.

Militants in the ATU organized to ensure that Cassandra didn't face capitalist injustice alone. Beginning in August, they called for the union to mobilize labor/black power to stop the wave of racist cop terror in Chicago. In late October over 150 union members signed a motion and dozens came to the Local 241 meeting to demand that their organization take action.

Both transit locals called on workers to fill the courtroom in defense of "one of our own" on November 24 and again on December 22. Union officials present at the trial included Local 241 president Elcosie Gresham, Local 308 president Elwood Flowers, several 241 Exec Board members and ATU International vice president Jackie Breckenridge. Protest telegrams poured in from transit workers in Atlanta, Philadelphia, the Bay Area, as well as London and Sheffield, England.

Tuesday, the first day of the trial, was taken up by the testimony of the five white cops who invaded the Seay home—the only "evidence" presented by the state. Three were beefy plainclothesmen from the Gang Crimes Unit: William Whalen, James Kelly and Eldon Urbikas. Two were uniformed patrolmen, John Behnke and Stephen Schweiger. During cross-examination defense attorney Loraine Ray drew out a stream of contradictions, distortions and outright lies from the racist thugs, and cited numerous past complaints of brutality and racial bias lodged against them in the police department's whitewashing Office of Professional Standards (OPS).

Fourteen-year-old D'Artagnan testified that before he realized the break-in was being carried out by policemen, he went to his room at the rear of the house for a baseball bat to defend his family. As Seay's son came out of the bedroom, Urbikas drew his gun and aimed it at D'Artagnan, shouting "Drop the bat, *boy*!" D'Artagnan dropped it, only realizing the invaders were cops when they clapped handcuffs on him.

Callie Bryant, 17-year-old David and his 12-year-old sister Wenndi all testified that they helplessly watched the sustained, brutal beating of Cassandra as she was handcuffed on the floor. Barely able to stand, Cassandra was taken from her home and forced into a police car. With blood soaking her pants to her knees, police ignored her requests for medical help for hours, leaving her and Callie shackled to a bench in the police station. Whalen's only response was to make a Klan cross with his forefingers in their faces.

The unchallenged testimony concerning these injuries was cited by Judge Holt as a critical factor in determining the finding of not guilty. In his concluding remarks Holt, referring to the cops, said, "I've heard a great deal of mendacious testimony." He called the testimony of Seay's children "articulate, straightforward and uncontroverted," and *applauded* Cassandra for defending her home and D'Artagnan for his bravery.

At the same time Judge Holt defended the capitalist state's monopoly on armed force, telling the cops' victims to find their redress in court—while admitting this is "not a very fruitful means of addressing this grievance"! Yet the kind of routine police barbarity revealed at the trial runs rampant in Chicago. Just a week before the attack on Cassandra and Callie, the police shot down disabled black auto worker and Navy veteran Larry Hawkins in the basement of his home. No trial will bring Hawkins to life. And no court will undo the racist violence done to the Seay family.

While using every avenue, including the bosses' courts, to defend the oppressed, the labor movement must break from reliance on the institutions of the bosses' state and the twin capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. The defense of the Seay family, initiated by class-struggle militants in the ATU, points the way toward the kind of mass, militant labor/black action that is urgently needed to stop the racist cop and Klan terror which threatens black, Hispanic and all working people.

It was early evening by the time the Seay family and their supporters left the courthouse and gathered at a nearby restaurant to celebrate. Transit unionists immediately began mapping out plans for a victory party and fund-raiser for Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant. In a toast to Cassandra and Callie, Kevin Quirk, a Local 241 militant who initiated the union defense, said:

> "This is a tremendous victory for all of labor and blacks. It was the mobilization of our union and other unions, that packed the courtroom and rallied behind this family, that spiked this racist frame-up.... This is a step in the struggle to build a society where workers and blacks can be free from these vicious racist frame-ups and cop terror."

Cassandra called the integrated union support "incredible." "It let the policemen know we're not going to sit back and let this happen." To all the unionists who acted in her defense, Cassandra said, "Thanks for all the moral support. It shows you have friends you don't even think you have."

*WV* urges our readers to contribute to the Seay family's legal defense. Send donations to: Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant, c/o Loraine Ray, Attorney at Law, 1120 W. Belmont, Chicago IL 60657. ■


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found not guilty on riot charges, lawyers for seven other members of the racist gang who go on trial in the spring are already seeking dismissals on that basis.

Koch pronounced the Howard Beach verdict "fair and reasonable." He was echoed by black liberals like NAACP counsel Laura Blackburne who said the decision was a "Christmas present" that "restores my faith in the criminal justice system." Manhattan black borough president David Dinkins said the verdict demonstrated "that there can be justice." Hardly. We agree with Charles Grimes, Sr., the father of Timothy Grimes, the third black victim of the Howard Beach mob. Grimes said if the defendants had been black and their victims white, "It wouldn't have been manslaughter. It would have been plain murder." Howard Beach *was* racist murder!

Meiselas/NY Times

**Michael Griffith's mother Jean, with Cedric Sandiford and his daughter Brenda, at memorial service on first anniversary of her son's death.**

### KKK Threatens Black Queens Project

While the jury was out in the Howard Beach case, the *Amsterdam News* (19 December 1987) ran a front-page story, "Klans Planning Queens Big Cross-Burning Rally." It reported plans by the Ku Klux Klan to light a 70-foot-high electric cross in front of a predominantly black housing project in Astoria, Queens on a weekend or holiday in the next month. According to the article, "exalted cyclops" Hank Erich Schmidt of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is planning to parade in full Klan regalia: "It's gonna be another Greensboro. I mean just imagine how those Blacks are gonna react when they see us on their front lawn." In November 1979, a KKK/Nazi death squad, abetted by the feds and local police, carried out a broad daylight attack on an anti-Klan rally at a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina, leaving five blacks, leftists and labor organizers dead. The Klan thinks that in Koch's New York, the time is ripe to strike again.

spent the last six days of her life shuttling between Rikers Island, the courts and city hospitals. On December 13, a 45-year-old Hispanic man, Angel Ruiz, died mysteriously in his cell in a Bronx jail two days after being arrested, and after police repeatedly refused requests for medical treatment. This brings the number of known killings of blacks and Latins by New York City police over the last year to 18.

### Mobilize the Power of Labor to Crush the Racists!

As black liberals were praising the Howard Beach decision and black neighbors of the Griffith family in Bedford-Stuyvesant were angrily denouncing the failure to convict the killers for murder, it was notable that activist lawyers Maddox and Mason initially said nothing about the verdict. And no wonder, for it was in response to their demands that Governor Cuomo appointed a special prosecutor last January. They got what they asked for. And

Washington/NY Times

**Borough Hall, Brooklyn, subway station shut down at rush hour by black protesters' "Day of Outrage" on December 21.**

The trial took place amid a climate of escalating racist terror against blacks and Hispanics in the NYC area. On November 24, black 15-year-old honor student Tawana Brawley was kidnapped and raped, and found four days later near her upstate New York home, trembling in a plastic bag, her body covered with excrement and the letters "KKK" across her breasts. Tawana is still traumatized, lying in a fetal position, and hasn't walked since. Also in November, a Peekskill interracial couple had their home firebombed, and prison guards in KKK regalia at Orange County jail beat up black and Hispanic prisoners.

In the Bronx, a 28-year-old black hospital worker, Yvonne Smallwood, died December 9 of a blood clot in her lungs, originating from a massive bruise on her leg where white cops repeatedly hit and kicked her. On December 3, Yvonne's husband, a cab driver, had picked her up from work when taxi inspectors and the cops began to harass them. As Yvonne protested, the cops beat her unconscious. She was hospitalized, and as she was being returned to police custody the next day, the cops shoved her from a wheelchair and kicked her while she was being transferred to a patrol car. She

their reasons are clear: as Mason said in an interview in the *Wall Street Journal* (23 December 1987), "the phones were ringing off the wall" with blacks ready to hit the streets. As many were talking about armed self-defense and direct mass action, "We told them not to, because we'll make certain that this case is tried differently." With their pressuring of liberal Cuomo, they were channeling black anger off the streets into the capitalist courts and Democratic Party. (Now Mason is again calling for a special prosecutor in the Yvonne Smallwood case.)

While demagogues called a grotesque "eat-in" at the New Park Pizzeria, and later called for boycotting pizza shops and all white businesses, we warned against such poisonous "bourgeois ethnic politics which *diverts* into race war the struggle against the racist capitalist system." The Spartacist League declared, "Union Power Must Crush the Racists":

> "What's needed is a fight to break with the racist Democratic Party, the main vehicle tying the black masses to their capitalist oppressors, and to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party! The key to smashing lynch mob terror is mobilizing the powerful, integrated city *unions* to drive the racist killers back into their holes. That also requires a political struggle in the unions to oust the labor fakers."
>
> —*WV* No. 420, 23 January 1987

While nationalist misleaders have been predominant in the recent wave of protests, there have been important examples of integrated action, such as at Columbia University March 26, when over 1,000 students, Harlem residents and trade unionists joined in powerful mass protest to stop racist attacks on campus.

On December 12, some 800-1,000 people gathered at the Baptist Temple in Newburgh, to protest the series of Klan attacks on blacks upstate. To whip up the crowd, nationalist leaders threw out the press (including left-wing and black reporters) who were "escorted" upstairs by Black Muslim "Fruit of Islam" guards. Louis Farrakhan demanded an "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth and a life for a life...as you bury your sons and daughters as we bury ours." This man who invited KKK "grand dragon" Metzger to his speech at the L.A. Forum, who says "Hitler was a great man" and who *wanted Malcolm X dead*, is using the just outrage of blacks for his own sinister ends. And with New York City a tinderbox of race tension, such calls fan flames of race-hatred, leading to despicable and criminal acts. In Washington Heights on Christmas Eve, a Polish cab driver was attacked by a mob of black youths chanting, "This is for Howard Beach!"

At the press conference in Newburgh, Viola Plummer, formerly of the New York Eight, said that the December 21 protests would "kick off the new era of civil disobedience." And the *Wall Street Journal* reported of its interview with Mason: "'I want a civil-rights movement here,' he declares." But the civil rights movement failed precisely because its liberal program could not engage the question of the economic roots of racial oppression at the very heart of American capitalism. The logic of Mason's program was expressed in his 1985 campaign to replace Robert Morgenthau as Manhattan D.A.—and join black police commissioner Ward overseeing the whole *system* of official racist terror being unleashed against minorities in NYC. It will take a socialist revolution to smash the state apparatus of racist repression—the cops, the courts, which *exist* to keep workers and blacks in their "place"—at the bottom.

*The black and Latin people of New York City have a right to walk wherever they choose to on the streets of this city, and this reign of terror against them must be stopped!* What is desperately needed is to mobilize the power of labor, the powerful integrated unions of New York City, at the head of the black and Hispanic masses in a massive show of force to stop the racists in their tracks. After the *Amsterdam News* article exposing the KKK lynchers' plans to stage a provocation in Astoria, 400 angry residents of Queens Bridge housing project met last week to make plans for beefing up their tenants defense organization. At the request of Rev. Timothy Mitchell, 50 youths came down the aisle to volunteer for a defense watch to stop the Klan threat. Yet those who wanted to stop the Klan were told they would be under the direction of a black community relations cop. Moreover, last year prominent black leaders Rev. Herbert Daughtry and Calvin Butts appeared on an NYPD recruiting poster! But the KKK killers often wear blue shirts and silver badges under-

WV Photo

**Protest last January outside Bronx trial of cop Sullivan, killer of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs.**

neath their white sheets. From Michael Stewart to Eleanor Bumpurs, the cops are the Number One "perpetrators" of the racist killings in NYC!

The civil rights movement of the '60s foundered precisely when it moved "up North" and ran up against the economic realities of racist oppression at the heart of American capitalism. The system of racist repression and capitalist injustice—in New York and everywhere—can't be "reformed," it must be brought down. And for this, you need a revolutionary vanguard party to join the ghetto masses and all the oppressed with the power of labor to sweep away the lynch mobs, the cross-burners, the cop executioners and all the racist terrorists, through workers revolution. ■


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## For Labor/Black/Hispanic Defense Against Racist Terror!

# Howard Beach Was Racist Murder!

It was Day 12 and the Howard Beach jury was still out. The entire city was on edge, glued to WINS news radio for days. Everyone knew New York City could blow if the racist killers got off. The verdict finally came in at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, December 21, a year and a day after the savage lynch mob assaulted three black men, chasing Michael Griffith to his death on the Belt Parkway and brutally beating his stepfather Cedric Sandiford. Three of the white punks, Scott Kern, Jon Lester and Jason Ladone, were convicted of manslaughter and assault; a fourth, Michael Pirone, was acquitted of all charges. Outrageously, they were found "not guilty" of second degree murder, although the definition—causing death "under circumstances evincing a depraved indifference to human life"—fits them to a tee! The capitalist courts will never stop racist terror, and in fact there was yet another racist assault Christmas night. The situation cries out for mass labor/black defense to make the city's streets safe for everyone!

MICHAEL GRIFFITH
1963 - 1986

UPI

20 December 1986: The body of Michael Griffith (right), victim of Howard Beach lynch mob, lies on the Belt Parkway.

Pamela Dutty

Just hours before the Howard Beach verdict came in, 600 to 1,000 blacks staged a "Day of Outrage" December 21, shutting down the subways at rush hour and blocking traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge, in protest against escalating racist attacks. As police copters circled overhead, an army of SWAT cops followed the roving demonstration. But with the city at flash point they were under orders not to make a move. Seventy protesters were eventually arrested, including prominent black leaders. Unlike the Howard Beach killers who walked out of court on bail, most of the black protesters were kept in jail overnight; black women were strip-searched three separate times as they were carted in chains from precinct to precinct. The next day hundreds rallied at Brooklyn Criminal Courthouse for the arraignment. As black attorney C. Vernon Mason told them, "There was a sheriff down in Birmingham, Alabama—his name was Bull Connor. In 1987 we have a mayor in New York City—his name is Bull Koch."

The previous afternoon, as tension was building, NYC mayor Koch went on TV venting his "outrage" at black

*continued on page 10*

## Chicago: Black Family Defeats Police Frame-Up

# Cassandra Wins!

WV Photo

Victory for labor and blacks: Cassandra Seay (center) and her mother Callie Bryant (left), with supporters from Chicago transit union in front of courthouse December 22.

CHICAGO, December 23—The South Michigan Avenue courtroom erupted into applause and cheers today after black bus driver Cassandra Seay and her mother Callie Bryant were found innocent of every racist frame-up charge brought against them by the Chicago police. As Judge Leo Holt announced the verdict he angrily called the cops' testimony "incomprehensible, incredulous and ridiculous," and acquitted Seay and Bryant of charges of battery, resisting arrest and obstructing a police officer.

During the two-day trial and at a previous appearance November 24, members of Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 (bus) and 308 (rail) and other trade unionists and supporters were present, often filling the courtroom. This morning the *Chicago Defender* ran a front-page story on the trial, with a photo of transit workers protesting the racist frame-up.

Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant were brutally beaten and arrested last July 21 along with Cassandra's two teenage sons, David and D'Artagnan, after five white Chicago cops invaded their home. David and D'Artagnan still face charges of aggravated battery and criminal damage to property in a January 4 trial in juvenile court, where

*continued on page 10*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 444

15 January 1988


## Soviet Withdrawal Would Mean Horrible Bloodbath

Afghanistan Today

Der Spiegel

**Mullah terrorists shoot down passenger plane in Khost Province, Afghanistan with U.S.-supplied Stinger missile, killing all 52 aboard.**

# Russia Must Win Afghan War!

When the Soviet Red Army went into Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, we Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency declared "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" Propping up a shaky national-reformist regime on the USSR's vital southern flank against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries, Moscow's intervention both defended the Soviet Union and posed the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of this hideously backward country. The Soviet troops brought with them literacy, doctors, and the first taste of liberation for Afghan women from the enslavement and seclusion symbolized by the *chadori*, the smothering veil covering them in yards of heavy cloth from head to toe.

Now, in the hopes of striking a "peace" deal with Ronald Reagan, the Kremlin Stalinists are opening the door to a bloody Islamic *jihad* (holy war) against every form of social progress in Afghanistan. In Kabul Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced to the Afghan press last week: "We would like the year 1988 to be the last year of the presence of Soviet troops in your country." That would mean leaving in the lurch the Afghan women, teachers, leftists, workers and soldiers who have fought for the last ten years to drag their country into the 20th century! The price for this obscene bid to placate U.S. imperialism is to hand over hundreds of thousands of Afghans to be tortured, flayed alive, beheaded and dismembered as infidels by the mullahs, tribal khans and feudal landlords. This is treachery!

Afghanistan Today

**Liberated Afghan women demonstrate on fourth anniversary of 1978 "April Revolution." They will pay in blood if Red Army pulls out.**

The imperialist press is rubbing its eyes in disbelief. "Light in the Khyber Pass?" asked the *New York Times* (9 January). "Could it really be true? A Soviet-free Afghanistan" editorialized the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 January), saying that "If Mr. Gorbachev has truly made up his mind that the burdens of occupation outweigh the costs of defeat" there should be no problem. For that is what they're after: not a deal but *defeat*, to install an anti-Soviet regime in Kabul and complete the encirclement of the USSR by hostile regimes all along its southern border. As we wrote in "Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank" (*Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980):

> "Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of detente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state."

We warned then:

> "It is possible the Kremlin could do a deal with the imperialists to withdraw, for example, in return for NATO's reversing its decision to deploy hundreds of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. That would be a real counterrevolutionary crime against the Afghan peoples."

A Soviet withdrawal now will embolden the deeply discredited Reagan regime, encouraging it to step up its murderous contra wars against Nicaragua, Angola and Kampuchea as well. Not withdrawal but victory! Red Army—Finish the job!

### Afghanistan: Target of Cold War II

To mark the eighth anniversary of the Soviet intervention, thousands of Afghan counterrevolutionaries in Pakistan rallied around burning effigies of Gorbachev, chanting "Death to Russia! Death to Communism!" That same day TASS reported that Afghan thugs invaded the Soviet mission in the Iranian city of Isfahan. The U.S.' Afghan "freedom fighters" have vowed to kill all Communist collaborators. They mean it. Already, they have assassinated more than 2,000 schoolteachers for trying to bring literacy to a country where, before, 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The *mujahedin* have also justified shooting down an airliner taking Afghan children to study in the USSR, claiming they were being "brainwashed" by Satan. These feudalist reactionaries want to return to a 7th century society based on the cruelest social parasitism, criminality and slavery.

Emancipated women in particular are threatened by the Islamic reactionaries. The vice president of the All-Afghanistan Women's Council went to university in Kabul with Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, now one of the top Afghan contras. "In 1971, when women came out in public with no veil, Gulbaddin's supporters sprayed acid in their faces," she said. "When women wore

*continued on page 12*


**Chicago After Harold Washington**

SEE PAGE FOUR

**Yes, Gorbachev... Peaceful Coexistence With Imperialism Is a Pipe Dream**

SEE PAGE SEVEN

# Shachtman and Stalin, Again

18 November 1987

Dear Comrade Editor,

Apropos of "All the News That Fits, We Print: Shachtman Died a Stalinist?" (*WV* 440, 13 November 1987), readers of *Workers Vanguard* should remember that in 1972, the last year of his life, Max Shachtman supported Richard Nixon for president and endorsed the continued imperialist slaughter of the Vietnamese workers and peasants (see, e.g., Michael Harrington's *Fragments of the Century*, ch. 7). Shachtman died as he had lived much of his adult life: as a despicable social patriot in the labor movement. He was *neutral* in the war between nazism and the Soviet deformed workers state, and he supported U.S. imperialism at the time of the Korean War (see, e.g., "Socialist Policy and the War, part 2," *New International*, July-August 1951), in the Bay of Pigs invasion, and in the Vietnam War. Ludicrously, Constance Myers (*The Prophet's Army: Trotskyists in America, 1928-1941*) went away from her own 17 August 1972 interview with the inventor of modern anti-communism thinking that he had become a Stalinist (pp. 199-200). She was simply unable to understand that Shachtman then believed that Stalin was the true successor to Lenin in an entirely negative sense—because he successfully "enslaved" half the world! Ms. Myers reports only a few pages later that Shachtman said in the same interview: "Then and now Trotskyists really have nothing to say to the working class. 'Socialism in One Country?' What does that mean to a working guy! He doesn't want socialism anywhere!" (p. 204). While it is true that the slogan "Stalin is Lenin today" was authored by Stalin himself, it has been eagerly adopted and spread by anti-communists from Shachtman and Irving Kristol to Solzhenitsyn and Sun Myung Moon.

Comradely,
Rick B., Oakland
Bob Z., Berkeley

*WV replies:* Bob Z. and Rick B. have not written a helpful contribution to the discussion on Max Shachtman. Quite the contrary—their letter perversely projects Shachtman's last political decade back into his earlier political activity, fundamentally misrepresenting Shachtman's position on just about everything.

It was only after he entered the Socialist Party in 1958 that Shachtman acquired the necessary social connections (chiefly in the bureaucracy of Albert Shanker's American Federation of Teachers) to become a consistent "despicable social patriot in the labor movement." For the first two decades of his adult life Shachtman was a proletarian revolutionary, first in the Cannon faction in the Communist Party and then in the Trotskyist movement. After he broke in 1940 with revolutionary Trotskyist politics, he underwent a *complex* political evolution. If you had to pick a term to cover his whole career, Shachtman is best characterized as a political *impressionist*.

Shachtman was one of the leaders of the opposition which arose in the revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) under the pressures of imminent interimperialist world war. Following the Stalin-Hitler pact, this petty-bourgeois opposition within the SWP flinched from the military defense of the Soviet Union. This was a fundamental programmatic capitulation to petty-bourgeois public opinion and a decisive step toward what Shachtman would later become. But at this time, the SWP opposition faction was far from being a homogenous layer of dyed-in-the-wool social democrats. Trotsky tried hard to win Shachtman back to the proletarian majority, noting in "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene":

> "Shachtman concluded a bloc with Burnham and Abern against the proletarian wing of his own party. It is impossible to evade this. The relationship of forces with the bloc is completely against Shachtman. Abern has his own faction. Burnham with Shachtman's assistance can create the semblance of a faction constituting intellectuals disillusioned with Bolshevism. Shachtman has no independent program, no independent method, no independent faction."

This unstable bloc collapsed exactly one month after the opposition split to form the Workers Party (WP)—the

*continued on page 14*

Tamiment Institute

**Max Shachtman, as leader of Workers Party, 1945.**

TROTSKY

LENIN

## Finland Yesterday, Afghanistan Today—Defense of the USSR!

*When Soviet forces swept into Afghanistan in December 1979, beating back CIA-supplied Islamic reactionaries and opening the door to social progress, there was a howl of protest extending from Jimmy Carter to various fake-Trotskyists. The laments were reminiscent of the imperialist hue and cry when the Red Army moved into Finland and Poland on the eve of World War II. But in the wake of the Stalin-Hitler pact, "which raised the curtain on the world war," Trotsky noted that the extension of socialized property to Poland could spur the spread of revolution. In Afghanistan today, withdrawing Soviet forces without finishing off the mullah terrorists would be a betrayal emboldening counterrevolution everywhere.*

The seizure of eastern Poland—a pledge of the alliance with Hitler and a guarantee against Hitler—was accompanied by the nationalization of semifeudal and capitalist property in western Ukraine and western White Russia. Without this the Kremlin could not have incorporated the occupied territory into the USSR. The strangled and desecrated October Revolution served notice that it was still alive.

In Finland the Kremlin did not succeed in accomplishing a similar social overturn. The imperialist mobilization of world public opinion "in defense of Finland"; the threat of direct intervention by England and France; the impatience of Hitler, who had to seize Denmark and Norway before French and British troops appeared on Scandinavian soil—all this compelled the Kremlin to renounce sovietization of Finland and to limit itself to the seizure of the indispensable strategic positions ...

Extremely eloquent in its unanimity and fury was the campaign that the world bourgeoisie launched over the Soviet-Finnish war. Neither the perfidy nor the violence of the Kremlin prior to this had aroused the indignation of the bourgeoisie, for the entire history of world politics is written in perfidy and violence. Their fear and indignation arose over the prospect of a social overturn in Finland upon the pattern of the one engendered by the Red Army in Eastern Poland. What was involved was a fresh threat to capitalist property. The anti-Soviet campaign, which had a class character through and through, disclosed once again that the USSR by virtue of the social foundations laid down by the October Revolution, upon which the existence of the bureaucracy itself is dependent in the last analysis, still remains a workers' state, terrifying to the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO New York NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 444** **15 January 1988**

# George Washington vs. La Prensa

When the pro-contra Nicaraguan newspaper *La Prensa* was closed down by the Sandinistas in June 1985, it became a *casus belli* for both Reaganite Republicans and liberal Democrats, who used it to justify the bloody contra war in the name of "freedom of the press." In turn, the reopening of *La Prensa*, which has received at least $100,000 from the CIA conduit "National Endowment for Democracy," was a component of the Arias "peace plan" godfathered by Congressional Democrats. "*La PrenCIA*" resumed publication last October 1.

A bipartisan Congressional majority voted December 21 to supply the contras with another $14.4 million in aid. The Sandinistas' compliance with the Arias plan is scheduled to be "reviewed" by the heads of the U.S.' Central American client states on January 15, whereupon Reagan is expected to request additional millions for his counterrevolutionary terrorists. The December 21 vote came in the wake of contra assaults on three mining villages, which resulted in over 100 civilian casualties.

In short, the war goes on—yet criminally, *La Prensa* continues to publish! Lenin's Bolsheviks, during the bloody Civil War unleashed by the White Guard generals and imperialist armies, decreed temporary extraordinary measures to silence counterrevolutionary propaganda, for, as Lenin wrote, "in such moments it is no less dangerous than bombs and machine-guns." Recently we reported on an exchange between ourselves and Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega at his October 8 press conference in New York City ("*La Prensa* Wants to Give Nicaragua Back to the Yankees—We Say No!" *WV* No. 438, 16 October 1987). We also noted that during the American Civil War Lincoln shut down literally dozens of pro-Confederate newspapers. This prompted a reader to research the question of how America's "founding fathers" would have reacted to the pro-British *La Prensas* of their time. Below is our reader's letter.

12/22/87

Dear Editor:

It was quite refreshing to see *Workers Vanguard* cut through all the imperialist hypocrisy (liberal and conservative) over Nicaragua. An interesting point, though, is that the Sandinistas have been more lenient towards their counter-revolutionary opposition in time of war than Washington, Jefferson, and Co. ever were.

Beginning in 1775 American states began to ban (through anti-sedition laws) any publication or proclamation criticizing the revolutionary Congress or the state assemblies. In 1776 the *U.S. Congress itself* urged all the states to pass such laws and by 1778 every state had enacted such a ban (*Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History*, L. Levy, 1960). After 1776 "Committees of Censorship" were set up and British loyalist and often even neutralist publishers had their printing presses destroyed and were either exiled or imprisoned. Even before this the loyalist press was almost completely wiped out by the revolutionary "Sons of Liberty." By 1776 all loyalist publications in all 13 states had been suppressed. Washington and Jefferson tolerated no "*La Prensa*."

Nor were the American revolutionaries afraid to use terror against their counter-revolutionary enemies. For example, General Nathaniel Greene,

*continued on page 14*

# Nicaragua: A Heroic Fighter Goes Home

# Honor Nora Astorga

*The following column by Jimmy Breslin first appeared in the New York* Daily News, *5 January 1988.*

## By Jimmy Breslin

The people in the hospital didn't think that she was going to make it with the cancer through Wednesday, but this was Nora Astorga you were dealing with and she was there Thursday, which was New Year's Eve. Julio Icaza, her assistant at the Nicaraguan delegation to the United Nations, came to the hospital to see her at 8 p.m.

"What can I do for you?" he said.

"I want a margueríta," she said.

Julio went out of the hospital and up to a place called Juanita's on Second Ave., and they gave him the drink, which is made of tequila, but he knew that he also had to get a glass with a salt crust on it or the woman back in the hospital would get mad.

Icaza brought the margueritas back and he and Nora Astorga toasted each other and Nora Astorga threw the drink down and said, "I'm getting out of here. I'm going home. I'm not going to die here."

All along, since the illness gained command, she had said she wanted to do three things, learn to ice skate, visit Ghana and go back to Nicaragua. Back in early December, she had been at Bear Mountain with her five children and she went so far as to put on skates, but as she was having difficulty walking, there was no way to skate. The visit to Ghana was only conversation. Now, all she really could do was try to get home to Nicaragua.

At 7 a.m. on New Year's Day, she was put on a medical plane and, again, the doctor with her wasn't sure whether she would last the trip. But here she was, on oxygen, staring at the ceiling, telling herself that she was going to be there at the end. The plane had to refuel at Fort Lauderdale, and as it was starting the descent to the airport, Nora Astorga was in about as tough a shape as you can get and the ones on the plane thought that maybe she would not be there for the landing.

She was. She even got off the plane and stood in the Florida sun and she was desperately ill and she was going home.

Nora Astorga is 39 years old and furious that she has cancer. She is all woman, with striking high cheekbones and short-cropped black hair. Her business was law and revolution in her country and now international relations.

She was not very good at flinching. For years, one of Nicaraguan dictator Somoza's generals tried to force himself on her. His name was Reynaldo Perez Vega. Nora Astorga, working in law, carrying messages as an agent for the Sandinistas, who were then still out in the hills, finally told the general, all right, and on March 8, 1978, she was in a hotel and the general arrived. Nora Astorga walked out of the room and the general did not. They found him on the floor with his throat cut.

She said afterward that she had not gone to bed with him because he was a monster.

It was a famous story but one she talked about only once in the years afterward, and then was irritated with

AP

herself that she had.

"All they want to know about is that," she said one day.

"Well, they can't ask the other guy," she was told.

She didn't answer.

Nora Astorga was 29 years old and she fled into the hills to a Sandinista camp, where she became a squad leader. She became pregnant and was sent to a desk job in Costa Rica. When the Sandinistas chased Somoza out in 1979, Nora Astorga was the chief special prosecutor against Somoza "war criminals." She always points out that they were trials without executions.

Nicaragua named her the ambassador to the United States and she became the first one in memory to be denied diplomatic credentials by Washington. Nora Astorga believed that the reason was that the general killed in the room in Nicaragua had been closely associated with the CIA.

The Sandinista government in Nicaragua then named her ambassador to the United Nations and she came to New York two years ago. She had a house in Westchester and an office on Second Ave., where you always saw her walking to the UN, tall woman, wearing sunglasses, speaking the English of a woman educated in Washington.

Once, when I happened to see her out on the street, I asked her what she thought was the reason most people were afraid of Nicaragua. "We are going to first take over the Panama Canal and then come North and eat up Mexico and enter the United States through Texas," she said.

"Then Reagan is personally obsessed with Nicaragua," she said.

"This is because we are not quite light enough." She held out her arm.

Over the last year, she had cancer operations and treatments and never uttered a word in public. She would take chemotherapy in the morning and go to the United Nations in the afternoon. On the few times she would talk in private about the disease she did it with bitterness. She wasn't even 40 yet, her youngest child was only 8 and here she had a fatal disease. "What do you call this?" she demanded. You kept seeing her on Second Ave. Then the other week she was not there. "Nora is in the hospital," somebody said.

And now, standing in an airport in Florida on New Year's Day, she got back on the medical plane and it took off for Nicaragua. "I will live," she said. She stayed on oxygen and stared at the ceiling. She made it to Managua and as she came off the plane, a doctor was waiting.

"We'll take you to the hospital," he said.

Nora Astorga shook her head. "I'm going home," she said.

She went home to her house in Managua, with a balcony that is higher than the trees. She can look out over the tops of the trees and see Lake Managua. She was still there yesterday. She may not ever be back here, but that is our loss, and even more when you understand that our government said that the woman was our enemy.

# At S.F. Demo Against Zionist Terror

# Cops, Palestinian Nationalists Seal Off Reds

SAN FRANCISCO, January 7—A Spartacist contingent was excluded from a demonstration at the Israeli consulate here tonight by a bloc of Palestinian nationalists and American reformists relying on riot cops of the SF police department. Called by a "Palestine Solidarity Committee" promoted heavily by the Workers World Party (WWP), the demonstration was to denounce Israel's bloody crackdown on Palestinian protest in Gaza and the West Bank. Instead it was turned into an ugly anti-communist scene.

The embattled Palestinian victims of Zionist terror urgently need the aid of the international proletariat one of the Spartacist League's chants was "Labor: hot-cargo military goods to Israel!" But the demonstration organizers preach reliance on imperialism. They chanted social-patriotic slogans such as "Money for jobs, not for occupation," while their leaflet—echoing the PLO's prostration before the U.S. and Arab bourgeois regimes—ended:

> "We demand that immediate action be taken by Congress and the Reagan administration to pressure Israel to end all further attacks on Palestinians With the occupation so brutally exposed, now is the time to demand that our government join with the international consensus and support a real plan for peace."

The reformists and nationalists want to pressure the Democrats to pressure Reagan to pressure the Zionists to stop being Zionists. U.S. imperialism—the most powerful force for oppression and war on the planet—is supposed to become a force for "peace" in the Near East!

Their sought-for bloc with imperialism translated into a real bloc with the SF cops to kick out the revolutionaries, whose slogans might tarnish the reformists' respectability in the eyes of the bloody U.S. rulers. Spartacist League signs and chants included "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!" "Smash U.S./Israeli/Pretoria Anti-Soviet Axis!" and "Free Mordechai Vanunu!" (the Israeli technician on trial for his life for exposing the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal); as well as "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" and "For Unconditional Military Defense of USSR Against Imperialism!"

WV Photos

**SF cops seal off Spartacist contingent after provocation by anti-communists.**

When we "disobeyed" the nationalists' "orders" to take down our signs and silence our bullhorn, their goon squad set upon the Spartacist contingent, pushing and shoving to try to throw us out of the march. Frustrated at the ensuing standoff, one of the goons spat out a racist insult at a black Spartacist supporter. This racist was swiftly shut up by an outraged trade unionist Several members of our contingent avoided being pushed into a plate-glass window

*continued on page 6*

# Chicago After Harold Washington

As Harold Washington lay in state in Chicago's Civic Center, hundreds of thousands of people, predominantly black, waited in the pouring rain to file past the casket of the first black mayor of Chicago. Washington's sudden death of a heart attack on November 25 precipitated both a massive outpouring of grief by large numbers of this city's beleaguered black and Hispanic population, and a grotesque scramble for the spoils of the mayor's office. All wings of his Democratic Party coalition now speak of the "legacy" of Harold Washington and the new "black empowerment" in Chicago, even as the coalition blows apart. But for the oppressed masses of Chicago, it remains Segregation City, USA.

Reinstein/Gamma-Liaison

**Harold Washington, after winning 1987 primary victory, flanked by Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry (left) and Jesse Jackson.**

Even before Washington was officially pronounced dead, the wheeling and dealing to determine his successor began, and the 18 black aldermen split down the middle. Black alderman Eugene Sawyer was put forward by the bloc of racist white aldermen, led by Edward Burke, who figure he will be easier to defeat in a special 1989 mayoral election. Burke and former alderman "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak led the racist "29" white aldermen, who waged endless "Council Wars" against Washington during his first term. Under Daley, Sawyer was one of the "Silent Six," black aldermen notorious for their subservience to the Machine. Another group of black, Hispanic and liberal white aldermen united behind alderman Timothy Evans, a supporter of Jane Byrne in 1983, and like Sawyer (and Harold Washington) a former cog in Boss Richard Daley's Machine. The fight was waged for five days, as memorials to Washington were turned into campaign rallies and aldermen cut deals at the funeral.

Hoping to play kingmaker and enhance his power in the Democratic Party, Jesse Jackson cut short his tour of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf and flew into town to anoint Evans as Washington's heir apparent. At a memorial meeting held at the University of Illinois/Chicago Pavilion on November 30, Jackson boosted Evans' candidacy as 10,000 chanted "No deals, no deals" against the eleven black aldermen supporting Sawyer. *Sun-Times* columnist Vernon Jarrett told the crowd, "Treat those black enemies like you treat the Ku Klux Klan." Jackson called on Evans supporters to protest at the City Council meeting called to elect a successor the following day.

### Sawyer: "Looking Like a Vrdolyak"

The City Council met December 1. Five thousand Evans supporters jammed the balcony and halls, spilling out into the street. As the black, white and Hispanic aldermen held separate caucuses, the crowd chanted, "Uncle Tom Sawyer" and "Sawyer's in a Cadillac, looking like a Vrdolyak." One sign quoted Harriet Tubman: "Those who return to their slavemasters will die." Half of the black aldermen deserted Sawyer. The *Chicago Tribune* (3 December 1987) described the scene in a caucus room as the bloc of white aldermen worked on Sawyer's backbone: "'It was like a football team at halftime,' said one Southwest Side alderman who was in the caucus. 'We were jumping up and down and shouting "Sawyer, Sawyer," and we had him all pumped up'."

Near midnight the Sawyer supporters jubilantly announced "We have a mayor," only to have their front man physically collapse when confronted with the angry crowd waving play bribe money and showering him with coins. After another recess to shore him up and wearing a bulletproof vest, Sawyer was finally installed, with 23 white and six black votes, as mayor of Chicago at 4:01 a.m., December 2. The bosses' press is worried Sawyer will be incapable of keeping the lid on black and labor struggle, as Washington had successfully done for five years. The racist, labor-hating *Tribune* demanded the council be fitted for a straitjacket, and editorialized that "Having to jump-start the mayor several times before each tough decision does not bode well..."

### The "Legacy" of Harold Washington

Harold Washington campaigned in 1983 on the slogan "It's Our Turn." The popular-front alliance of union bureaucrats, black nationalists and fake-socialists that supported him fostered the illusion that a black face atop the Democratic machine would change life for black and Hispanic Chicago. Washington's victory in the 1983 Democratic Party primary (which in Chicago is the real election) was met with a racist countermobilization spearheaded by the cops. While giving no political support to Washington, we defended his democratic right to rule as mayor, with all the normal prerogatives of the office. Washington's refusal to buckle in the face of stiff racist resistance finally gave him control of the council last year, and enormous popularity among blacks and Hispanics desperate for a way out.

AP AP

**Newly anointed mayor Eugene Sawyer taunted by crowd of angry black opponents waving play money and chanting, "Uncle Tom Sawyer."**

But as we wrote following Harold Washington's first-term election:

> "As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago he has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."
>
> —"Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," WV No. 328, 22 April 1983

And the bitter truth for Chicago's minorities and poor is that by every measure—jobs, housing, schools, racist cop and Klan terror—Washington's election as mayor did not change the hideous racist oppression. Development boomed downtown and on the lakefront, as public housing continued to deteriorate. Even Lu Palmer, the black activist and journalist who was a key architect of Washington's 1983 campaign, made a damning summation of the "Washington legacy": "The streets were paved and the middle class got their money, but the quality of life for poor people did not change and is not likely to change" (*Tribune*, 29 November 1987). Washington told blacks, Hispanics, Jews and all opponents of the fascists to "ignore" the Klan's terrorist provocation in Marquette Park in June 1986, where the cops brutally attacked and arrested the anti-Klan protesters.

It didn't take long for Washington to go after the very unions which endorsed his mayoral bid. After the 1983 election, Washington pushed a bill through the state legislature which looted the pensions of the heavily black Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), adding part-time workers and tearing up the contract. Again this year, the ATU tops rammed a rotten givehack contract down transit workers' throats, rather than strike and jeopardize the mayor's re-election. This fall the Chicago Teachers Union struck against the givehacks demanded by the Washington-appointed school board. The mayor's lieutenants, including Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, worked overtime to whip up black parents and schoolchildren against the majority black teachers. And the pro-Democratic Party CTU bureaucracy liquidated the strike over heavy opposition, as the school board laid off 700 teachers to "pay" for a miserable wage increase.

Harold Washington was installed as mayor precisely to prevent the social tinderbox of Chicago from exploding. The Washington popular front kept minorities and all working people chained to their class enemy. And life got steadily worse as Reagan and the Democrats slashed social programs to pay for the anti-Soviet war buildup and enforced their cuts with racist cop terror. Democratic Party mayors, black and white, sit atop the decaying cities, especially in the Midwest rust belt where more than *one and a half million* workers have lost their jobs in the Reagan years. Official black unemployment is over 20 percent in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Milwaukee, and more

WV Photo

**Rally of Chicago teachers striking last September against givebacks demanded by Harold Washington's Board of Education.**

# Swastika Targets S.F. Minority Firemen

SAN FRANCISCO—On January 4, Mayor Dianne Feinstein was taking curtain calls for her nine years of union-bashing and racism in the service of the bosses. That same day black fireman Walter Batiste and his Asian coworker David Sun came up against the ominous racist signature of the Reagan/Feinstein years. Returning to their office in Station 13, located in the city's financial district, the two fire inspectors found near their desks a large, elaborate plaque emblazoned with a Nazi swastika!

In protest, the SF Black Firefighters Association called a press conference, where Batiste talked about the swastika: "To me, that's the symbol of death. I look at it and I wonder how far the people who put it there are willing to go. I didn't know whether to go and get a pistol. I fear for my life" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 7 January). When Batiste reported the incident to a superior he was told it was "probably meant for Samuels," a Jewish fire inspector in the office!

Batiste said of the Hitler-lovers in the fire department who planted the swastika, "These people are protecting your lives. What happens when they drive up to your house to respond and they see that you are black or Jewish?" Fire chief Edward Phipps brazenly told KRON TV news that the swastika plaque has been around the department for ten years! Then, embarrassed by the outcry over the swastika, Phipps tried to claim he would stop the fascists.

But the swastika incident is only the latest in a series of vile racist and anti-Semitic incidents in the SFFD. In June 1986 black fireman Hugh Smith was called "nigger" by a white coworker.

Raddatz/SF Examiner

**San Francisco firefighter Walter Batiste exposes Nazi swastika atrocity.**

When Smith defended himself and the scandal broke, *he* was reprimanded. A white captain who covered up the incident was later rewarded with promotion to battalion chief! This past August, another member of the Black Firefighters Association, Charles Johnson, was cut out of a photo of a group of firemen decorated for heroism in a rescue that saved a number of lives.

Last July a Jewish firefighter, Arnold Diem, filed an $11 million lawsuit against the San Francisco Fire Department and several of its members for harassment. Diem filed the suit after his "fellow firefighters posted swastikas, tributes to Nazi concentration camp doctor Joseph Mengele and photographs of Holocaust victims in public places and on Diem's locker door..." (Oakland *Tribune*, 9 July 1987). Diem filed suit after he was beaten at 4 a.m. by attackers yelling racial slurs and threatening, "We don't need any Jews in this station."

Currently, racists are campaigning against a federal consent decree agreed to by the city last November. The decree is a settlement of a suit brought against the city and fire department for 30 years of discrimination, and sets minimum quotas for hiring of minorities and women. The largely white firefighters union, Local 798 of the International Association of Firefighters, voted to challenge the plan. Two days before the settlement was announced, a couple of off-duty firemen allegedly threatened and assaulted the training director of the fire department for allowing the recent graduation of black and women rookies.

Eva Paterson, the civil rights attorney who won the discrimination suit, links the recent swastika threat to the November settlement. Paterson told *Workers Vanguard*: "The two inspectors who had the swastika placed by their desks were people who've been very active in protesting the discrimination in the department, were very vocally in favor of the consent decree."

Swastikas and ugly racist incidents pop up in Feinstein's San Francisco like mushrooms after a rainstorm. The racists take their cue from "Dixie Dianne," who flew the Confederate flag, banner of slavery and race-terror, in the Civic Center, until the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense tore it down (more than once). Across the country, Democratic Party mayors oversee the heavily black and Hispanic cities, enforcing cutbacks and cop terror as their pals in Congress use the money to fund Reagan's contras.

The San Francisco labor movement, including the firemen (who, unlike the racist union-busting cops, are part of the workers movement), have a vital interest in driving out the fascists that have wormed their way into the unions. What's needed is a leadership of labor that will unleash labor's organized power in class struggle—for its members' livelihoods and for the rights of women and minorities: on the job and in hiring, in housing, education, etc. Even when the courts do order some cosmetic cleanup of discriminatory hiring practices, the state's interest is in asserting state control over labor in the service of union-busting.

As we wrote in defense of firefighter Hugh Smith in 1986, "It will take an integrated, class-struggle leadership of Bay Area labor to clean out the bigots from the station house to the suburbs and crush the KKK race-terrorists" (*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986). The 1,200 labor, minority and leftist demonstrators who in 1980 stopped the Nazi scum from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday at SF Civic Center gave a taste of labor's power against racism. To unleash that power means determined struggle in the unions and throughout society for a workers party and a workers government. ■

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than one-third of all black families live below the federal government's pitifully inadequate "poverty line." Black freedom will not be found in the Democratic Party, it will be won through integrated working-class struggle which uproots the capitalist system.

### The Left and Harold Washington

The popular-front left which enthusiastically backed Harold Washington and the Democratic Party in Chicago falsifies both Washington's political history and his record as mayor in order to defend their own betrayals. Washington delivered for the Machine for years, refusing to break even when Boss Daley ordered the police to "shoot to kill" during the ghetto rebellion following the assassination of King in 1968. In 1983 Washington refused to call for integrated housing and school busing, crucial to break the rigid segregation which keeps blacks penned in hellish ghettos. Washington's one open criticism of the Daley Machine—over the brutal murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by the FBI and Chicago police—was buried during the 1983 election in order to avoid even a hint of militancy.

But according to the Communist Party (CP), Washington "established his political independence from his first election as state representative in 1965" (*People's Daily World*, 17 December 1987). The CP, so deep in the muck of the Democratic Party that they backed racist Jane Byrne for mayor in 1979, carefully omits any reference to the wave of cop beatings and murder of blacks and the escalating Klan/Nazi terror in Chicago. Installing a black police superintendent has done nothing to stop the reign of terror by the nightriders in blue. Yet out of fear of exposing Washington, the CP didn't lift a finger to aid the successful labor/black defense of bus driver Cassandra Seay and her family—brutally beaten in their home by racist cops and then framed. Despite the attacks on the ATU, CTU and other city unions, for the *People's Daily World* (2 December 1987) Washington "never compromised the basic interests of working people."

*In These Times*, cynical mouthpiece of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), admits that under Harold Washington there was "little progress on some major substantive issues"—like education, housing, jobs and health care! Like the CP, they maintain a deafening silence about the racist cop and Klan/Nazi terror. For the DSA, which poured staff into the Washington administration and carried out the donkey work for the Democratic Party, "Washington's legacy of black empowerment is by far his most important contribution.... One of Washington's last political acts was in helping to forge a multi-ethnic Democratic slate for county elections that is a model of coalition politics" (*In These Times*, 9 December 1987). The DSA's "model slate" includes state's attorney Richard Daley, the man who tried to put Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant behind bars!

Velasquez/Chicago Sun-Times

**Flooded West Side housing project—black Democrats in City Hall, but black Chicago still lives in squalor.**

The class collaboration of the popular front is mirrored by the idiot sectarianism of Progressive Labor. Disoriented by Washington's popularity among Chicago blacks in 1983, PL alternated between denunciations of the black Democratic mayor as a "social fascist" as dangerous as the Klan, and appealing to Washington to fight unemployment! PL's *Challenge* (23 December 1987) article on Harold Washington claims "Fascism Is Here." Is that why they boycotted the powerful union-centered defense of the Seay family? But the most disgusting line was taken by the Workers League, long-time sycophants of the racist labor bureaucracy. The WL's *Bulletin* (4 December 1987) calls Washington a "stooge" and equally blames Washington and Vrdolyak for "racial splitting tactics"! The WL turns their back on the struggle against black oppression in order to sidle up to the pro-capitalist union tops. This is a gift to the labor fakers and the Democratic Party, who seek to maintain paralyzing racial divisions in the working class.

The "black empowerment" of the DSA, CP and Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition has nothing in common with black liberation. They are only interested in delivering the workers and the oppressed as voting cattle for the capitalist Democratic Party. The Spartacist League stands for *revolutionary integrationism*, the fight for black equality in a *socialist* society. It will take a workers revolution to smash black oppression in this deeply racist country. That revolution requires a united struggle by black, Hispanic and white workers, led by a multiracial vanguard party. When the popular front won in 1983, we told the truth to minorities and working people in Chicago:

> "The ugly racist backlash won't be stopped in the voting booth. Working people are under the gun and *something's* going to happen—either powerful class struggles or more racist polarization... If it is to be 'our turn' to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor they must break with the Democratic Party and find within their ranks the class-conscious leaders that can forge a fighting workers party determined to wage *class war* for power. Chicago may be the most segregated city in America but it has a powerful working class with an enormous potential for integrated class struggle." ■

# Feds, Finks Convict Kentucky Miners

## Defend UMWA Strike Militants!

In an outrageous verdict aimed at the entire labor movement, four members of the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) have been railroaded on trumped-up federal charges and now face up to 50 years in prison.

On December 17, Donnie Thornsbury, president of UMWA Local Union 2496, his cousin David Thornsbury, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland were convicted in an Ashland, Kentucky court of interfering with interstate commerce, conspiracy and firearms violations in connection with the shooting death of a scab coal truck driver near a struck mine owned by Samoyed Energy Company. Another miner, Paul Smith, went on trial for the same charges starting January 11 and the government is expected to seek life imprisonment if he is convicted.

The Samoyed strike took place during the bitter 15-month-long walkout against A.T. Massey Coal Company in 1984-85, also in the Tug River Valley on the border of Kentucky and West Virginia. Samoyed and Massey miners faced massive terror organized by the coal bosses, and now the government is gunning for the UMWA on the eve of the January 31 expiration of the union's contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA). The UMWA and the entire labor movement must demand: "Free the Kentucky miners!"

For two years Massey, on behalf of fellow union-buster Samoyed, waged a media campaign against "union-paid assassins," while the feds prepared their "case" using the 1984 Crime Control Act, passed as part of the government's "domestic terrorism" scare. The miners were charged under the "air piracy" (!) provision, and another section which was rewritten to include trucks carrying freight in order to target "labor disputes." Four of the men were arrested in early morning raids on their homes by heavily armed feds and cops. All five were denied bail under police-state provisions of the "Bail Reform Act" on the outrageous claim that they were a danger to the community.

The federal frame-up "case" was a sham from the start, based on the "testimony" of finks, cops and admitted liars. A key prosecution witness was former Local 2496 vice president Ervin Smith, brother of defendant Darryl Smith. Initially facing the same charges as the other defendants, this fink turned state's evidence in return for a plea bargain. Smith claimed he drove the other miners to the alleged shooting site and picked them up later. But neither he nor anyone else claims to have seen the shooting.

no credit

**Victimized Kentucky miners (from left): Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland, James Darryl Smith.**

The defense presented records from the company's security force which showed two of the defendants were picketing at the time of the shooting. Another defendant was signing up for unemployment benefits and the fourth was at home. A witness testified he saw the coal trucks shot up some 200 feet from the spot where the state says it occurred. A local detective testified that he knew of coal operators shooting up their own trucks to discredit the strikers. In addition to police and company supervisors, the prosecution presented Donald Tackett, an initial suspect in the case, who was granted immunity and relocated by the government. Tackett and his wife are also claiming a $50,000 reward Massey paid for a conviction.

Throughout the course of this government frame-up, the union tops have been criminally silent, spitting on the oath taken by every UMWA member which vows "I will never knowingly wrong a Brother or Sister or see him or her wronged, if I can prevent it" (UMWA Constitution). As defense attorney George Howell told *Workers Vanguard*: "It looks like these people have just been cut adrift to float on their own. I really believe that if the union had come forth and had a press conference and said 'we're behind these men all the way,' that these men are being framed... that would have added some credence to our side."

UMWA president Richard Trumka's betrayal of the Samoyed strikers is part and parcel of his defeatist strategy. Rejecting the union's tradition of industrywide shutdowns, Trumka called for "selective strikes" against companies which refused to sign the BCOA agreement. A.T. Massey was struck when the company refused to recognize laid-off miners' recall rights at its affiliate operations. In December 1985 the NLRB ruled that Massey and its affiliates constitute a single employer. Trumka called off the strike. But two years later, the Massey strikers are still out of work, the scabs are in the mines, and the government is jailing union miners in the Tug River Valley. Needless to say, the Socialist Workers Party has printed not a word of criticism of Trumka's treachery in their misnamed *Militant*.

Now, Trumka is again setting up the union for defeat. Like Arnold Miller, who dragged the union into the courts and labor boards and bowed down before their strikebreaking injunctions, Trumka tells miners to trust in the bosses' state. And the UMWA is paying a heavy price—today there are only 85,000 working miners, and only 40 percent of coal mined is union coal. But with the labor-hating Reagan administration on the rocks, the UMWA can take the lead sparking a long overdue labor offensive. UMWA militants must demand an industrywide shutdown, a standard UMWA contract for every union pit and freedom for the jailed Local 2496 militants. An injury to one is an injury to all! ■

Bertram/Lexington Herald-Leader

**Striker defends picket bunker near Samoyed mine in Canada, Kentucky.**


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

**Detroit**
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

**Los Angeles**
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
Box 444, Canal St. Sta
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D.C 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138


## S.F. Demo...

*(continued from page 3)*

only by the comrades' determined defense.

Soon the anti-communist assault provoked the intervention of a squad of riot cops itching to bust heads. The cops sealed off the reds, with the nationalist goon squad lurking behind the police. We chanted, "Down with anti-communist exclusion!" Several voices on the other side of the wall of cops yelled that there should be one united demonstration, but they were soon overcome by the chants of the PLO nationalists and their camp followers, who included not only the professional tailists of the WWP but also the Communist Party, the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, Freedom Socialist Party, Socialist Action, and one dubious character from the wretched "Bolshevik Tendency."

Our contingent formed up again and resumed chanting. The cop/goon alliance was unable to prevent several Palestinian marchers as well as other demonstrators from buying our press. Palestinian militants looking for a revolutionary way out should recall the record of Sam Marcy's Workers World. While the Jesse Jackson cheerleaders of the WWP are doing donkey work for the Democratic Party, tonight's exclusion shows again that their "Rainbow Coalition" is red, white and blue—with the blue provided by the cops.

The Marcyites' bottom line is "Uncle Sam to the rescue," and this means more Palestinian blood spilled. When Israel launched its *blitzkrieg* into Lebanon in 1982, the WWP organized a protest calling for "effective U.S. action" to achieve Israeli withdrawal. Reagan provided some "effective U.S. action" all right, by sending in the Marines, followed by the disarming and evacuation of the PLO fighters. The result: the Sabra/Shatila bloodbath directed by Zionist mass murderer Ariel Sharon.

The Spartacist League calls for joint Arab/Hebrew workers revolution to explode the Zionist fortress from within. As our placards read, "Nationalism—Dead End for Palestinians! Zionism—Deathtrap for Jews!" The burning need is for Trotskyist parties throughout the Near East! ■

# Yes, Gorbachev...

# Peaceful Coexistence With Imperialism Is a Pipe Dream

When at last month's Washington summit Ronald Reagan affixed his signature to the INF (intermediate nuclear forces) treaty eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles in Europe, this fanatically anti-Soviet warmonger was suddenly enrolled in the Stalinist pantheon of "peace-loving" bourgeois politicians. Speaking of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's plan for nuclear disarmament by the turn of the century, foreign ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov said, "By that time some people may [have] thought that it's just a dream, maybe a pipe dream, but as I understand President Reagan also wants to see the world free of this nuclear danger."

Ronald Reagan? The man who announced that he was about to start bombing the Soviet Union "in five minutes," who bankrolls contra cutthroats in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, who invaded tiny black Grenada, who sent the Marines into Lebanon and the Sixth Fleet into the Persian Gulf? From wantonly sending over 200 men, women and children aboard KAL 007 to their deaths in a deliberate overflight of the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East, to the constant incursions into Soviet airspace and territorial waters, Reagan has been staging one deadly provocation after another against the Soviet Union since he took office.

Any "disarmament" agreement with the imperialist warmongers will simply spur the development of new weapons systems, like the "Star Wars" militarization of space. Yes, indeed, as we headlined when Gorbachev first proposed the recent summit (*WV* No. 424, 20 March 1987): "Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism."

### CPUSA: Hail Gorbachev, Tail Democrats

A month before Gerasimov's remark, the Communist Party USA lashed out at our headline with a typically Stalinist amalgam aimed at equating revolutionaries who demand Soviet vigilance against imperialist war threats with imperialists who want to wage anti-Soviet war. In a piece nominally dealing with bourgeois Sovietologists, Political Bureau member Jim West managed to sneak in the following smear:

> "The degree to which the anti-Soviet campaign against *perestroika* [restructuring] has been brought to a fever pitch by these sovietologists can be gauged by that hoary old professional anti-Soviet 'Marxist,' Sidney Hook, who has no hesitation to quote, approvingly, Alexander Hague [sic]: 'There are some things worse than war.'
> "With these words, Hook gives the essence of the position of the Trotskyites whose sheet, *Workers Vanguard* blazes the headline 'Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism'."
> —*Political Affairs*, November 1987

Needless to say, West put a "blank space" where the rest of our headline declared: "Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!"

For the CP the very idea of a Marxist organization forthrightly standing for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against their own imperialist ruling class—much less, fighting for international socialist revolution—must boggle the mind. For these "Communists," communist revolution in their own country is the biggest pipe dream of all! Since the days of Earl Browder and Roosevelt's New Deal, the CPUSA has been hooked on the idea that Communism is nothing but "Twentieth Century Americanism," and defense of the Soviet Union means prattling on about "peace" while campaigning for anti-Soviet Democrats at election time.

During the Reagan years, they've gotten, if anything, worse. When KAL 007 was shot down, the CP's *Daily World* (2 September 1983) headlined "Soviets Deny Downing Plane" even as Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov was holding news conferences to expose Reagan's criminal provocation. A year later CP general secretary Gus Hall told the *New York Times* (2 November 1984) that counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność—a dagger aimed at the Soviet heartland by Western imperialism and the Vatican—was "a positive step." In 1986, Hall insisted in Moscow that Gorbachev come to the United States no matter what provocations the Reaganites cooked up. When Gorbachev asked, "Do you suggest that I come to your country without conditions?" Hall replied, "Without conditions" (*New Times*, 24 March 1986). He positively *wanted* the Soviets to crawl to Reagan.

And when Gorbachev finally came to Washington, the CP's Jim West crowed inanely, "If Ronald Reagan didn't believe in Santa Claus before, he will now," adding, "Reagan can understand now why Santa Claus wears a red suit" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 December 1987). Gorbachev's Christmas gift to the discredited Reagan: agreeing to the "zero option" deal so unfavorable to the Soviets that it had been designed by the Reagan administration to be rejected; backing off the Soviets' earlier insistence that a prerequisite for any disarmament agreement was a halt to U.S. testing of the first-strike "Star Wars" program; and virtually offering to hand Afghanistan to Reagan's mullah terrorists on a silver platter.

When we warned against the possibility of such concessions following the Reykjavik summit a year ago, West denounced "Trotskyites" who "betray the struggle for disarmament," adding: "To them, the Soviet opposition on principle to the export of revolution and its advocacy of peaceful coexistence from Lenin's day on, is betrayal and capitulation to capitalism!" (*People's Daily World*, 7 November 1986).

Cambio 16

**Mikhail Gorbachev talks "peace" with warmonger Reagan.**

G.P. Goldshtein

**Lenin addressing Red Army troops on the way to revolutionary war against Pilsudski's Poland, 1920.**

### Regard with "Extreme Suspicion"

Such crude falsification of Lenin's revolutionary internationalist views may wash with the CPUSA's pacifist constituency, and it certainly sufficed for Stalin, whose doubters ended up in the Lubianka or worse. But within the Soviet Union today, Gorbachev's campaign for *glasnost* (openness) has encouraged many, including serious young people, to go "back to Lenin" to scrutinize and study his teachings. Thus a recent "round table" discussion entitled "October Revolution, Peace, Peaceful Coexistence" in the Moscow *New Times* (9 November 1987) could not simply retail hackneyed lies about Lenin. Semyon Rostovsky, a participant in the October Revolution, when asked how he would have reacted to someone talking of "peaceful coexistence" at the time, replied with refreshing succinctness: "I would have regarded him with extreme suspicion."

*Glasnost* necessitates a more "sophisticated" approach by Stalinist ideologues to rewriting Lenin. *Izvestia* political commentator Alexander Bovin stated in the same discussion:

> "It is a popular and simplistic misconception that at the time of the October Revolution Lenin had a ready-made theory of peaceful coexistence, and that all that remained to be done was to apply it in the conditions formed after the October Revolution. This bears no relation to how Lenin's ideas really evolved.
> "At the time of the October Revolution Lenin and the Bolshevik Party clearly expected the Russian revolution to detonate a worldwide revolution. At that time this was the only possibility envisaged by Lenin. This is borne out not by isolated utterances but by the whole logic and totality of his pronouncements in that period."

In fact, this is borne out by checking every reference to "peaceful coexistence" in the index to Lenin's *Collected Works*. Bovin continues, "It was only the development of events, the failure of the revolution to occur in the West and the new situation in which the young Soviet republic found itself isolated—it was only this that made our Party take a different look at things."

That party was no longer Lenin's, but Stalin's. The "different look" came with the bureaucratic political counterrevolution in 1924 and was codified in the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." The corollary was that an isolated "socialist" state could coexist with world imperialism for an indefinite period. Did Lenin's views "evolve" on this question? Here's what Lenin had to say:

- **March 1918**, in the Resolution on War and Peace, passed at the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) that discussed the signing of the Brest treaty: "The Congress considers the only reliable guarantee of consolidation of the socialist revolution that has been victorious in Russia to be its conversion into a world working-class revolution." Lenin amended the resolution: "Furthermore, the Congress lays special stress on the authority granted to the Central Committee to denounce at any moment all peace treaties concluded with imperialist and bourgeois states, and also to declare war on them."
- **March 1919**, at the Eighth Congress: "We are living not merely in a state, but *in a system of states*, and it is inconceivable for the Soviet Republic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes there will have to be a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states."
- **December 1920**, in a speech to party activists in Moscow: "I said that we had

*continued on page 13*

Yugoslav Review

Der Spiegel

**Auto plant in Serbia (left). Serbian chauvinists in anti-Albanian march in Belgrade (right). Economic inequality fueled by "market socialism" has exacerbated regional and national divisions, threatening to tear Yugoslavia apart.**

# The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model

*The following article is the first of a projected series on the increasing role of market relations in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe.*

*PART ONE OF THREE*

As of New Year's Day 1988, a majority of factories and other enterprises in the Soviet Union began operating on the basis of market competition. "Self-management" is now all the rage in Russia. Announcing a radical restructuring (*perestroika*) of the economy last June, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev called for "full profit-and-loss accounting and self-management of the basic links of the national economy." A few months later a manifesto issued by the newly formed unofficial Federation of Socialist Clubs called "to switch the economy to self-management," even demanding that the state "lease the social means of production, such as factories and workshops, to collectives of self-managing enterprises."

What we are seeing in Russia is a *convergence* between reform-minded Stalinism and the liberal prejudices of much of the intelligentsia. If Gorbachev renounces what bourgeois Sovietologists call the "command economy," it is because the Kremlin bureaucracy can no longer command the productive effort of Soviet workers and managers. Within the Stalinist framework of building "socialism in one country," the bureaucrats see no alternative but to subject workers and enterprise managers to the discipline of the market, putting the ruble in command. For leftish intellectuals in groups such as the Socialist Clubs, self-management is viewed as a step toward freeing society from the deadening hand of the *apparatchiks*, allowing the masses to participate in economic decision-making.

However, enterprise self-management is *not* the road to workers democracy and socialism. Socialism means a democratically administered, centrally planned, egalitarian and internationally organized economy. Before the rise of Stalinism practically no one who considered himself a socialist disputed these fundamental principles. The program of "market socialism" is basically a product of liberal Stalinism. Enterprise self-management and self-financing is the road to economic chaos. It generates unemployment and inflation, widens inequalities within the working class and throughout society, creates dependency on international bankers, intensifies national divisions and conflicts, and enormously strengthens the internal forces of capitalist restoration. Just look at Yugoslavia!

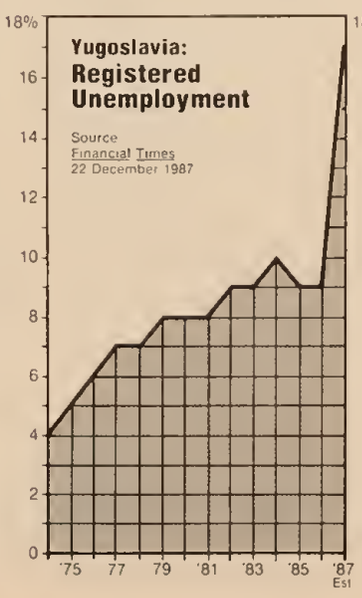
### The Yugoslav Road to IMF Austerity

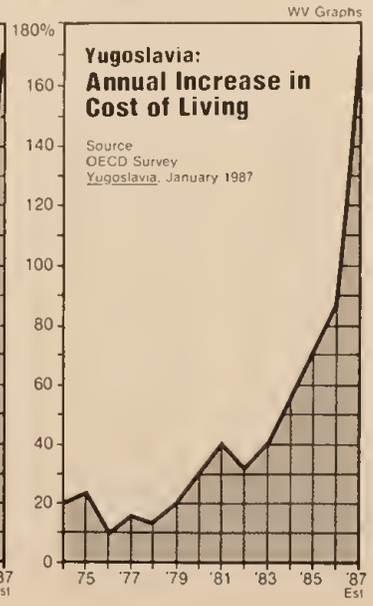
The ghost of Marshal Tito might find ironic satisfaction in hearing Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin voice the same formulas he did after breaking with Stalin in 1948. The Yugoslav leader declared:

> "The transfer of the factories and mines etc. to management by workers' collectives will prevent the infectious disease known as bureaucracy becoming endemic in our economy . . .
>
> "Well, therein lies our path towards socialism, and it is the only right way since it is a matter of the withering away of the functions of the State in the economy. Let the Cominformists [Moscow-line Stalinists] bear in mind that their slanderous uproar cannot darken our well-lit path of building socialism."
>
> —Josip Broz Tito, *Selected Speeches and Articles 1941-1961* (1963)

Today, after four decades, the "Yugoslav path of building socialism" has led to an unemployment rate approaching 20 percent, an inflation rate approaching 200 percent a year—the highest in Europe, East or West—and a savage austerity program dictated by the world bankers' cartel, the IMF (International Monetary Fund). And the economic crisis has enormously intensified national conflicts which threaten to rip the Yugoslav federation apart. Last fall, the defense minister, Admiral Branko Mamula, declared, "The crisis is approaching the point at which the integrity of the country and the existing social system may be endangered" (London *Financial Times*, 25 September 1987).

WV Graphs




Between 1981 and 1985 real earnings per worker fell 20 percent, fixed investment by 40 percent. To halt this slide, in late '85 the Belgrade regime moved to stimulate the economy through expansive fiscal and monetary policies. The predictable result: hyperinflation as skyrocketing prices reached an annual rate of 140 percent in early 1987. The dinar fell through the floor of the foreign-exchange market, Yugoslavia teetered on the edge of international bankruptcy. To roll over the country's nearly $20 billion in foreign debt, the IMF demanded the kind of shock treatment it usually prescribes for Latin American juntas.

So last spring the Yugoslav Stalinists froze and even rolled back wages while raising the prices of consumer goods between 25 and 60 percent. In response some 150,000 workers in over 1,000 enterprises walked out (see "Yugoslavia in Turmoil," *WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). Coal miners in Labin, Croatia struck for two months, by far the longest strike in Yugoslavia's postwar history. Faced with working-class resistance of this magnitude, the regime backed off a bit by announcing a 90-day price freeze for certain basic necessities. In November wages were frozen again in the face of even greater price increases—over 30 percent for bread, 100 percent for milk, 70 percent for electricity, 60 percent for rail travel.

Gorbachev and his advisers are, of course, well aware that the Yugoslav economy is a total mess, in every way far worse than Russia's. But Leonid Abalkin, a leading architect of *perestroika*, still holds up Yugoslavia as a model:

> "...Mr. Abalkin points to the reaction of Soviet citizens who visit Yugoslavia. They are awed there, he said, by the vast selection of sausages even though they cost four or five times more than back home.
>
> "'You know, meat consumption per capita in Yugoslavia is lower than in the Soviet Union,' he observed. 'But there is a sense of abundance. If I want, I can always come and buy it, as much as I want, without a line. It's not simple to

create that feeling here, but if we succeed it will have a colossal psychological effect'"

—*New York Times*, 4 July 1987

The long lines for consumer goods in the Soviet Union have nothing to do with centralized planning per se. For years the Kremlin bureaucracy has tried to create the *illusion* of rapidly rising incomes by increasing money wages faster than production. The result is *suppressed inflation* with people waiting for hours to buy at official prices, alongside a flourishing black market at far higher prices. Yugoslavia, by contrast, is an extreme case of *un*suppressed inflation.

### Workers Management or Bankers' Management?

Despite the economic collapse, Belgrade officials continue to proclaim that the Yugoslav system uniquely empowers the working class. At the very time he was announcing the IMF-dictated austerity program, Yugoslav prime minister Branko Mikulic reiterated: "We are convinced that Yugoslavia has no future without self-management. The meaning of workers self-management is, indeed, that the workers themselves make decisions" (*Der Spiegel*, 23 March 1987).

Do the Yugoslav workers really manage? On paper the workers councils are masters of the enterprise. In reality they seldom exercise mastery. The English bourgeois economist Harold Lydall sees the Yugoslav experience as proof positive of workers' universal incapacity to manage:

> "The management of a modern enterprise, even one of medium size, is a complex and specialized task, or group of tasks, requiring the full-time attention of a management team of specially qualified people. The ordinary worker can no more take responsibility for managerial decision-making than he can perform a surgical operation, write a symphony, or play in a champion football team."
>
> —*Yugoslav Socialism: Theory and Practice* (1986)

This is, of course, the standard apologia for class rule. The lower orders are deemed too ignorant, too narrowly self-interested to govern society: that is a task for the qualified elite.

Yugoslav workers have enough sense of responsibility and economic savvy, however, to strike against the ruinous austerity prescribed by the ever so qualified savants of the International Monetary Fund. If these same workers do not exercise their nominal power at the enterprise level, it is because the enterprises themselves are *impotent*. Their major decisions on production, pricing, investment, etc. are dictated by the forces of market competition on the one hand and the banks on the other.

The banks have become the real power in the Yugoslav economy. During the 1960s fixed investment financed by bank loans increased from just 5 percent to over 40 percent by the end of the decade. Since then, according to the former head of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Ivo Perisin: "The decision-making power of Yugoslav banks (most of them small institutions by objective standards) continued to grow, with the economy becoming more and more dependent on them and their credits and falling deeper and deeper in debt" (Radmila Stojanovic, ed., *The Functioning of the Yugoslav Economy* [1982]).

Nominally Yugoslav banks are controlled by the founding enterprises, communes (municipal governments) and the like. In reality they are creatures of the local and regional bureaucracies, although they sometimes play the role of Frankenstein's monster. An enterprise which falls afoul of the banks will find its loan requests rejected, its outstanding loans called in and its credit cut back.

The strategic power of banks in Yugoslavia is by no means an accident. Finance is the Achilles' heel of self-management and of the anarcho-syndicalist model in general. An enterprise cannot be financially self-sufficient; it is dependent on a long and fragile chain of payments. It receives supplies from numerous firms on various terms of credit. Some suppliers are in other countries, thus involving the enterprise in foreign-exchange transactions. An enterprise, in turn, sells to numerous customers in the domestic and world markets on various terms of payment. Market relations thus make financial intermediaries the strategic link between producing units. It is entirely within the logic of "self-management" that the world bankers' cartel, the IMF, has a greater say in the Yugoslav economy than all of the workers councils together. Only centralized management can enable the workers to democratically decide the direction of the economy.

### National Conflict and Decentralization in Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav experience is extremely relevant to Gorbachev's Russia, and not simply because the current general secretary of the CPSU is talking about shifting the economy over to self-management. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia are both multinational, federated states. In Yugoslavia the national configuration is politically represented by six republics and two autonomous provinces.

The nationalities question has been at the heart of the politics of "self-management." The social pressure for ever greater decentralization has come *not* from below—from workers in the shops—but from the bureaucracies in the richer republics, Croatia and Slovenia. The economic effects of devolution have in turn given rise to virulent national resentment in the poorest regions, especially in Kosovo, where the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is concentrated.

Problems of Communism

**Yugoslav federation made up of six national republics, two autonomous provinces.**

The Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia was forged in the Communist-led resistance to the Nazi German occupation during World War II. The strength of Tito's partisans lay in the fact that they fought for a resolution of the Balkan question on an *anti*-nationalist basis. Tito himself was a Croat while the ranks of the Communist movement were predominantly Serbian and Montenegrin. With myriads of nationalist groups—monarchist Serbian Chetniks, fascist Croatian Ustashi and quislings of every South Slav nationality—participating in genocidal slaughter, workers and peasants came to know they were safe when partisans with the red star on their caps arrived in town.

Der Spiegel

**Workers council meeting in Yugoslav factory—"self-management" is a sham. For central planning based on workers democracy!**

Leading Belgrade politicians now speak of "two Yugoslavias"—one in the north, the other in the south—and warn of the "Lebanonizing" of the country. The *New York Times* (1 November 1987) recently reported:

> "Portions of southern Yugoslavia have reached such a state of ethnic friction that Yugoslavs have begun to talk of the horrifying possibility of civil war in a land that lost one-tenth of its population, or 1.7 million people, in World War II."

That fear of civil war was heightened when last September an Albanian conscript went berserk with a machine gun in an army barracks, killing five fellow soldiers (all Slavs) and wounding several others. After four decades of "market socialism" and "workers self-management," the historic gains of the Yugoslav Revolution are now at risk.

The partisans of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia managed the incredible feat of uniting the nationalities against the German occupiers, driving the Nazis out and exterminating the royalist and fascist movements of Yugoslavia. To defend its own position, the petty-bourgeois Stalinist formation in power had to throw representatives of the old state apparatus out of the government and nationalize the means of production, smashing the rule of capitalism. Having come to power through their own armed struggle, with enormous sacrifices, the Yugoslav Communists were unwilling to accept the dictates of Moscow. They remained wedded to the Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country"... for *their* country. The break with Stalin in 1948 greatly enhanced the popular authority of the Tito regime.

Enjoying exceptional popular support, the Titoists undertook a series of liberalizing measures of which the most significant was self-management of the enterprises. Most Yugoslav workers doubtless welcomed this measure, because it gave them some protection against bureaucratic abuse in the workplace. For a number of years, however, the rhetoric of self-management far exceeded the reality. Enterprise managers continued to be chosen by the local party and government bosses. More fundamentally, the economic surplus remained concentrated in the hands of the state. In the late 1950s less than 10 percent of gross profits were retained by the enterprises; the rest was transferred to the government through taxes, interest payments on assets and other charges.

Roughly half of all investment in new plant and equipment was financed by the federal government. The Tito regime used these investment funds to narrow, to some degree, the vast economic differences between Yugoslavia's nationalities. Investment per worker was far higher in the poorest regions—Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo—than in the most developed republics of Croatia and Slovenia. The effort to use the centralized control of investment funds to redistribute the country's productive resources triggered a nationalist backlash in Croatia and Slovenia, formerly provinces in the old Austro-Hungarian empire.

In the late '50s Vladimir Bakaric, the veteran Communist boss of Croatia, launched a campaign for "destatization" of the economy. By this Bakaric meant that the economic surplus generated in Croatia should remain in Croatia. The means: increasing the financial autonomy of the enterprises. Thus, the movement to increase the economic surplus in the hands of the enterprises expressed a resurgence of nationalist centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia. A British historian of postwar Yugoslavia notes that the "destatization" campaign of the late '50s marked the point "that the Yugoslav 'national question,' relatively dormant since the war, again became Yugoslavia's central question" (Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* [1977]).

### The Bitter Fruits of "De-Statization"

The market-oriented "reforms" of the 1960s radically shifted the locus of economic power. The share of fixed investment financed by the government fell between the early and late '60s from over 60 percent to less than 10 percent! Thus began the stripping away of the economic power of the federal (central) government, so that by 1980 a prominent Yugoslav economist, Zoran Popov, could write that "the republics and

*continued on page 10*

# Yugoslavia...

*(continued from page 9)*

provinces are almost exclusively in control of economic policy. The consistent implementation of this arrangement in the practical development of the system has made our system inflexible, sluggish and inefficient." Many tourists in Yugoslavia have experienced this inflexibility and inefficiency for themselves. Whenever a train crosses the border from one republic into another, the locomotive has to be changed!

The decentralizing measures of the '60s also radically altered the way in which the Yugoslav economy interacted with the world capitalist market. In 1967, enterprises were allowed to retain

Eupra

George Skrigin-Belgrade

**Josip Broz Tito forged pan-Yugoslav anti-Nazi partisan movement, transcending national antagonisms through revolutionary struggle.**

a portion of the foreign exchange which they earned. Since then the scramble over foreign exchange has been a major source of regional/national and inter-enterprise conflict, at times leading to outright economic warfare. For example, in 1980 a producer of x-ray film in Croatia, the only domestic supplier in Yugoslavia, demanded an increased foreign-exchange quota. To put pressure on the federal government, the enterprise cut back shipments of x-ray film to the other republics. In hospitals throughout Yugoslavia x-ray examinations had to be postponed.

Market competition between enterprises has produced stark inequalities at all levels of Yugoslav economic life. Even within the same republic, for example, Slovenia, some workers receive two and a half times as much as others doing the *same kind of work*. In the country as a whole these differences are significantly greater. A machine operator in one enterprise might receive four times as much as his counterpart in a less profitable enterprise. These income differences have nothing to do with the diligence of the individual workers or competence of the respective enterprise managements. The main factor determining enterprise profitability is the *age* of its plant, whether it is technologically up-to-date or obsolete. "Market socialism" *violates* the elementary principle, shared by trade unionists as well as socialists, of *equal pay for equal work*.

While grossly unequal pay for equal work doubtless causes resentment among individual workers, it is the stark inequalities between regions which now threaten to rip apart the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. Slovenia enjoys a standard of living comparable to neighboring Austria's, while conditions in Albanian-populated Kosovo more closely resemble Turkey. The decentralizing measures of the '60s widened this gap. In the late 1970s resources per capita in Kosovo were less than 30 percent of those in Slovenia; resources per capita in Macedonia were less than half those of Slovenia. The economic collapse of the '80s has hit hardest the poorest regions. While the unemployment rate in Slovenia is still less than 2 percent, in Kosovo it is over 35 percent! No wonder many Albanians are violently hostile to the Yugoslav federation as it is presently constituted and managed.

The Soviet Union is far from free of Great Russian chauvinism and national conflict. But it is instructive to contrast Soviet Central Asia with south Yugoslavia. Two generations ago the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Central Asian republics were nomadic herdsmen, separated from European Russia by a vast social and economic gulf. However, centralized planning and management on the basis of collectivized property has enabled the USSR to appreciably narrow that gulf. Uzbek machine operators in Tashkent receive the same wage rates and benefits as their class brothers in Leningrad. Social programs in Central Asia are on the standard Soviet scale. Collective farmers in Central Asia receive relatively favorable prices for their main crops. Furthermore, the central Soviet budget has earmarked additional funds for the Central Asian republics.

However, Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" will *reverse* these equalizing policies and *divert* resources back toward European Russia. Two American experts on the Soviet economy employed by the U.S. Congress, John P. Hardt and Richard F. Kaufman, write:

> "Gorbachev's policies seem to favor the western regions of the Soviet Union as opposed to Central Asia, East Siberia, and the Far East. For example, the industrial modernization program defers new construction and emphasizes renovation of existing facilities, most of which are located in the developed, largely Slavic regions of the European Soviet Union."
>
> —U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Gorbachev's Economic Plans* (1987)

Despite rapid progress in recent decades, rural Soviet Central Asia remains the poorest, most backward section of the USSR. The main reason is the concentration of the Turkic-speaking population on collective farms where their labor productivity is very low.

A genuinely socialist (i.e., internationalist) policy on the national question calls for not only transferring productive resources to the Central Asian republics but also promoting the voluntary migration of Turkic-speaking people to the labor-short areas in European Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia. This would not only benefit the Turkic peoples but would raise labor productivity in the Soviet Union as a whole. Such a policy would require occupational retraining for millions of people, massive housing construction, establishing multilingual schools in the major cities of European Russia and similar measures. In short, the economic integration of the numerous nationalities making up the USSR is possible only on the basis of centralized planning and management, workers democracy and a struggle against national inequality.

### Behind the Economic Collapse

For two decades spokesmen for the "Yugoslav road to socialism" could and did point to one of the highest growth rates in the world. During the 1950s industrial production advanced 9.5 percent annually, in the '60s over 8 percent a year. However, this impressive economic performance was by no means proof of the superior virtues of enterprise self-management.

In the 1950s Yugoslavia enjoyed an advantage unavailable to the Soviet-bloc states: subsidization by U.S. imperialism. After Tito broke with Stalin in 1948, Washington regarded the Belgrade regime as a semi-ally against Moscow. In the first decade of the Cold War Yugoslavia received roughly a billion dollars in largesse from Uncle Sam. At the same time, Yugoslavia was running large balance-of-trade deficits with the West. Without the U.S. aid, balance-of-payments constraints would have retarded its economic growth.

In the early 1960s U.S. aid dried up, but Titoist Yugoslavia found another source of foreign exchange: exporting surplus labor to the West European Common Market, especially to West Germany. At its peak, just before the 1974-75 world depression, migrant workers amounted to 12 percent of Yugoslavia's total labor force. And the money they sent back to their families and returned home with amounted to 40-50 percent of Yugoslavia's earnings from the export of industrial and agricultural products.

The economic collapse of the 1980s had its origin in the world capitalist crisis of 1974-75. The quadrupling of oil prices engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel greatly increased Yugoslavia's import bill, payable in dollars not dinars. As a result the balance-of-trade deficit jumped from $1.6 billion in 1973 to $7.2 billion in 1979. At the same time, the depression and subsequent stagnation of the West European economy sent a *quarter million* Yugoslav workers back home by the end of the decade.

The unemployment rate soared from 3.5 percent in the early '70s to 8.5 percent in the late '70s. In one important respect self-management has a *greater* built-in tendency to generate unemployment than does capitalism. The goal of a self-managed enterprise is not to maximize profits, much less output, but *profit per worker*. If a Yugoslav enterprise can increase its output by, say, 10 percent by spending a million dinars on new equipment *or* by spending half a million on new equipment and the rest on taking on more workers, it will always choose the *first* alternative. The system is strongly biased against young workers first entering the labor market.

Established enterprise workers councils, however, have had a certain political clout. If the market had been allowed to operate freely, hundreds of enterprises would have folded in the late '70s. To forestall this the Tito regime had recourse to inflationary finance and massive foreign borrowing. Firms running in the red were merged with profitable firms or pumped up with bank loans.

How the system operated was exposed by the Agrokomerc scandal which shook Yugoslavia last fall. The management of Agrokomerc, a huge food-producing firm, was closely linked to Bosnian party boss Hamdija Pozderac, one of the most powerful politicians in the country. Over several years Agrokomerc dumped on Yugoslav banks *nearly a billion dollars* in promissory notes backed by *nonexistent* assets. When the financial house of cards finally collapsed, Agrokomerc head Fikret Abdic exclaimed: "Everybody in Yugoslavia has been doing it, so why is Agrokomerc being victimised when we were only trying to get funds to complete some of our big projects?" (*Economist*, 5 September 1987).

Indeed, everybody in Yugoslavia has been doing it for years. As a result, the inflation rate tripled during the '70s, reaching 30 percent by the end of the decade. The inflation ruined Yugoslavia's export competitiveness. To pay for necessary imports, the Tito regime turned to the loan sharks of the Frankfurt bourse, City of London and Wall Street. Foreign debt increased *tenfold* during the '70s, from $2 billion to $20 billion. As Yugoslavia entered the 1980s, it was living on borrowed time.

### For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Marshal Tito's death in 1980 removed both a powerful symbol of Yugoslav unity and an authoritative political leadership. It signaled the passing of the

Planeta Publishers

**Soviet university students in Kalmyk ASSR in southern steppes. Centralized planning and management has dramatically narrowed gulf between backward regions of USSR and European Russia.**

## Beats Hammer and Sickle into Plowshare

# Ernest Mandel: La Guerre Est Finie

PARIS—There were 400 people in the overcrowded meeting hall last November 3. Apparently the entire Parisian LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire) had come, as well as a number of ex-members. They came to listen to Ernest Mandel, principal spokesman of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) and economics specialist, speaking on the financial crash. In his speech, the good professor was true to form, long on statistics and short on program, once again discovering that "nothing will ever be the same."

After laying out an abundance of detail on the world economic situation, Mandel opined that it is heading for a catastrophic recession, the American Democrats and European social democrats will adopt neo-Keynesian policies, and the two working classes which have long been silent, the U.S. and Soviet, will certainly enter the arena. He criticized Gorbachev's program of market-oriented "restructuring" of the Soviet economy (how soon he forgets the USec's panegyrics for Polish Solidarność and its call for "enterprise autonomy"), concluding that the Kremlin leaders' policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika* is pregnant with explosive contradictions.

During the discussion period, Mandel easily dismissed the "state capitalists" of Socialisme International (followers of Tony Cliff's British SWP), remarking that "even a baby" could see the difference between the economies in the West and the East. A speaker for the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, noted that Mandel "forgot" one possible recourse of capitalism seeking to solve its financial crisis: a war to reconquer markets, war against the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states.

Mandel responded that "as usual it's the Spartacists who ask the right questions even if it's only to come up with the wrong answers." The "wrong" answer was the LTF comrade's call to defend the USSR. "War is impossible," Mandel said, because in the nuclear age it would be suicide for the capitalists themselves. Of course, he added, there are always some crazy fringe elements. You mean there isn't a single capitalist government in the world crazy enough to want war with the Soviet Union, or maybe two? How many nuclear-armed nuts does it take to start a world war? When does quantity turn into quality? And what about the madman in the White House who believes, literally, in the Biblical prophecy of Armageddon?

A second LTF comrade pointed to the imperialists' desire to regain a first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union: look at Reagan's "Star Wars," the Pentagon's games of nuclear "chicken" off Kamchatka, the numerous "proxy" conflicts (Nicaragua, Libya). After World War I, as well, there was a feeling that "war is impossible," but that didn't prevent a second imperialist slaughter. This really got the neo-pacifist Mandel going. "It's not '39 anymore," he replied. "Ever since *nuclear energy*, and not just the A-bomb, war is impossible." But wasn't World War II fought after the discovery of nuclear power? Didn't the U.S. atom bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

For Mandel, the danger of war doesn't exist because "the masses will oppose it." But, professor, "masses" don't press the button. He dismissed Lenin's call for turning the imperialist war into a civil war with a cute joke:

James Long

**MX missile, part of U.S. first-strike war plans.**

"Just try the slogan, 'turn thermonuclear war into civil war'!" Even "the Soviet comrades" have understood this, he went on, and "no longer think that a war is 'winnable'." In the face of the nuclear threat it is all the more urgent to smash the imperialist warmongers through socialist revolution *before* the conflagration breaks out. But after repeatedly asserting that war is impossible, Mandel appeals to the reason of the imperialists with the pacifist slogan, "We must stop wars."

When the LTF comrades intervened, it was notable that there weren't any of the usual whistles and other disruptions from the LCR. Are we witnessing a "Gorbachev effect" on the USec, as they switch from "solidarity with Solidarity" to jump on the "peace and disarmament" bandwagon? But with every "new world reality," for the Mandelites, the more things change, the more they stay the same. Ever since the political destruction of the Fourth International, Mandel & Co. have latched onto a multiplicity of "vanguards": the European Stalinists, Algerian nationalists, Cuba, students, Mao's Red Guards, the anti-Soviet "Eurocommunists," the Sandinistas, even Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution" and Mitterrand. The axis around which they gyrate is rejection of the need for a Trotskyist vanguard party with a program to lead the working class to victory over capitalism.

But after a quarter century of searching for the elusive "new," "mass," "broad" vanguard, you wonder why you exist. And indeed, last year Alain Krivine offered to dissolve the LCR in a presidential campaign for ex-Communist Party "renovator" Pierre Juquin. ("The LCR Wants to Die to Be Born Again Better," was the headline of *Libération* [6 March 1987].) Krivine told the weekly *L'Evénement du Jeudi*, "Trotskyism is decidedly a word that I don't like," reminiscent of American SWP leader Jack Barnes' remark that "Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term." Certainly not to them For these aging '68ers, *la guerre* is just about *finie*. ■

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generation which had made the Yugoslav Revolution by overcoming the age-old blood feuds of the Balkans. They were succeeded by political midgets pursuing the most parochial and short-sighted interests. As one dissident intellectual put it: "We live under a pluralist oligarchy, or better, eight oligarchies." Any republic can veto federal legislation for a year. The president of the federal government is rotated every year on a regional basis, one of Tito's most ill-fated legacies. Even within the framework of Stalinist rule the current Yugoslav bureaucracy has shown itself criminally and perhaps suicidally irresponsible.

The musical-chairs government in Belgrade has become little more than collection agents for foreign loan sharks. By putting the economy through the wringer, they squeezed out $18 billion since 1981 for the bankers of Frankfurt, London and New York. And now the bankers are demanding further austerity measures which would make the past few years look like *la dolce vita* by comparison. Last summer the Belgrade regime, under pressure from the IMF, adopted a law eliminating all state subsidies and other aid for money-losing enterprises. Oskar Kovac, minister in charge of economic relations with the West, stated:

> "There will be firms that will clearly have to go. I only hope it will not take such dimensions that it will cause serious social unrest. But even with that risk we must go ahead."
> —*Washington Post*, 21 July 1987

Going ahead, the first round shut down 800 firms with 200,000 workers. If the law is stringently carried out, *every fourth worker* in Yugoslavia will be thrown onto the streets.

The bankruptcy of the "self-managed economy" has enormously intensified the centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia. Last summer the house organ of the international financiers, the London *Economist*, titled an article on Yugoslavia "A Lebanon in the Balkans?" The imperialist hyenas are beginning to smell blood, salivating at the thought of the breakup of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, that would undo the revolution and turn Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. into neocolonies of international capitalist finance. The wealthier regions of the north resent the economic burden of the impoverished south. Bozo Kovac, editor of Slovenia's leading daily newspaper, boasts: "Capacity in Slovenia is better utilized and managed than in the south."

The London *Independent* (8 October 1987) reports: "There is much political daydreaming of secession from the South Slav federation, which the 1.5 million Slovenes are inclined to see as a pure drain on their hard work and more European way of life." If secession is a daydream for the Slovenes, it is an angry cry among the Albanians. The Kosovo question exploded in 1981 with Albanian student protesters demanding that the autonomous province be granted the status of full-fledged republic. Today the more extreme nationalists are demanding "an ethnic Albania that includes western Macedonia, southern Montenegro, part of southern Serbia, Kosovo and Albania itself" (*New York Times*, 1 November 1987). In recent years much of the Serbian minority has left Kosovo, driven out by the rising tide of Albanian nationalism and the deep economic depression.

The situation in Kosovo inflames all the national passions in Yugoslavia. The *Economist* (18 July 1987) noted: "Few people outside Yugoslavia have been paying much attention to Kosovo. But if the trouble there is not solved, it could rattle the whole of Yugoslavia." Recalling the effects of the assassination of an Austrian archduke by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo in 1914, which sparked WWI, it noted that "local conflicts in the Balkans have a nasty way of developing into wider ones."

Titoist Stalinism has not and cannot achieve a lasting solution to the national problems of Yugoslavia. For example, the Albanian population of Kosovo should have the right to unite with their national brethren across the border in Albania. The Macedonians should have the right to become part of Bulgaria. Such policies would go a long way toward defusing the current national antagonisms within Yugoslavia, laying the basis for a genuine socialist federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe.

Writing over a decade ago on "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* No. 110, 21 May 1976), we warned:

> "Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which wracked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering...of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war... one which may well be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism 'with a human face.' It is the legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution."

Today, as the bankruptcy of "workers self-management" fuels resurgent national antagonisms, this program offers the only genuine path to socialism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]


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# Afghanistan...

*(continued from page 1)*

stockings, they shot at their legs" (London *Guardian*, 5 January). As one Islamic fanatic declared at the anti-Communist orgy in Pakistan, "We are Afghans and we do not allow women to come out. Women have no opinion in determining the future of Afghanistan" (*New York Times*, 28 December 1987). Today a majority of students at Kabul University are women, and 15,000 women serve as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army. The withdrawal of Soviet troops would mean they face the prospect of hideous slaughter.

Not only Afghans will die. For Washington, Afghanistan was the opening shot of the second Cold War, a global drive to "roll back" supposed "Soviet expansionism." Democrat Carter's "national security" czar Zbigniew Brzezinski stood at the Khyber Pass in a U.S. Army jacket and pointed an automatic rifle at Afghanistan. Republican Reagan took aim at Sandinista Nicaragua and soon was bankrolling contra mercenaries from Central America to Southeast Asia. In his second term this became the "Reagan doctrine" of attacking the Soviet "evil empire" on its fringes. Journalist Bob Woodward reports of his conversations with CIA chief William Casey:

> "He was interested in taking one back from the Soviets—a visible, clean victory.
>
> "'Where can we get a rollback?' Haig had asked.
>
> "'I want to win one,' the president had said."
>
> —*Washington Post Magazine*, 27 September 1987

Even after the Iran/Contragate fiasco the Reaganauts are hoping to "win one" in Afghanistan. But they can't unless the Kremlin hands it to them.

Reaganites and Democrats alike have insisted on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan as *the* key test of sincerity for Gorbachev's "peace" drive. Nowhere is the futility and danger of trying to appease the war-crazed U.S. rulers clearer. While the Soviets were talking of pulling out, Reagan was in the Oval Office promising his Afghan contras that U.S. aid will *increase*. In the aftermath of the Washington summit, the White House decided to turn up the heat:

> "Administration officials . have concluded that a tough stand by the United States can probably force further compromises from the Soviet Union on the timing and manner of its proposed troop withdrawal."
>
> —*New York Times*, 15 December 1987

Now that the Soviets have promised to be out by the end of the year, Secretary of State George Shultz is demanding that they also *cut off all aid* to their erstwhile Afghan allies, while insisting that U.S. arms and aid to the Afghan rebels will continue until the Soviets are gone.

AP

**Soviet Central Asian troops, part of Red Army combatting feudalist cutthroats in Afghanistan.**

### Intensify the War—Mop Up the Mullahs!

On ABC News' "This Week with David Brinkley," Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov pro-


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Scientific American


claimed, "We are going to withdraw, and the process of national reconciliation will take place, and you will have a nonaligned Afghanistan; nonsocialist, also" (*Washington Post*, 14 December 1987). The idea of "Finlandizing" Afghanistan is pure illusion. The most minimal bourgeois-democratic measures, such as a modest land reform, provoked a savage feudalist backlash. Even bringing back the king, deposed in 1973, as the Soviets are seeking, won't restore a stable, pliant buffer regime. As for the program of "national reconciliation" with the *mujahedin*, it would have been easier for Lenin's Bolsheviks to form a coalition government with the tsarist Black Hundreds, who look downright liberal compared to the Afghan cutthroats!

The possibility of bringing this land of feuding tribes, opium smuggling, bride price and religious obscurantism out of the Middle Ages is directly tied to the achievements of Soviet Central Asia. Many of the initial Soviet troops were in fact Tadzhik, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Kazakh soldiers from just across the border. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* (5 February 1987) noted, following some nationalist riots in Kazakhstan, that the threat of Islamic fundamentalism in the USSR "is limited by relative economic comfort in the central Asian republics. While religious commitment and population trends ring ominously, the memory of what life without the Soviets was like is on their side." But as the Kremlin has restricted social reforms in Afghanistan, U.S.-armed *mujahedin* (holy warriors) have even begun to strike across the border into Tadzhikistan.

At Moscow's urging, the authentically Afghan People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime has tried to conciliate the rebels. Agrarian reform was cut back, all ceilings on land ownership for the feudal landlords and Islamic clergy were lifted, the mullahs were exempted from taxation. Education for girls was made "voluntary" instead of compulsory. In November PDPA leader Najibullah called a *loya jirgah*, bringing in tribal and religious chiefs. In the name of Allah and "Islamic consciousness," the red star was removed from the Afghan national seal and the country was renamed the Republic of Afghanistan, dropping the "Democratic" because of Communist connotations. As Najibullah was appealing for a "political solution" by holding out the prospect of Soviet withdrawal, the guerrillas responded with rocket blasts that shook the meeting room.

The only "political solution" that will benefit the Afghan masses is for the Soviet army to intensify and finish the war by mopping up the Afghan contras. This sentiment is evidently shared by many in the Soviet Union, notably within the army. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (5 November 1987), recent issues of the Soviet defense ministry newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) have featured articles complaining that the unilateral cease-fire declared by Kabul last year allowed the rebels to regroup and rearm, shooting down civilian airliners "right and left" while Afghan troops returned to their bases and Soviet troops were made to hold their fire.

Over the past year, the U.S. has shipped more than 600 Stinger surface-to-air missiles to its Afghan mercenaries. While some were sold to the Iranians and used against the U.S. in the Persian Gulf, the imperialists claim the Stingers together with British Blowpipes are taking down an average of one Soviet helicopter gunship a day, while making it impossible for Soviet fighter jets to fly close support. Referring to the Soviet MI-24 helicopters which were key in wiping out guerrilla strongholds in Afghanistan, one *mujahedin* leader boasted: "For nine years the dragon ruled the skies over Afghanistan. Now the dragon is dead." The solution is simple, and McDonnell Douglas has it—the "Black Hole Infrared Suppression System." As advertised in the December 1987 issue of *Scientific American*, the Black Hole system makes helicopter exhaust "so cool it is ignored by heat-seeking missiles."

### Carrying Out Their Internationalist Duty

The real barrier to Soviet victory in Afghanistan is not on the military front. As one senior Reagan official admitted, even armed with Stingers "a possibility of a resistance victory... there never has been." An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (22 December 1987) noted that the Soviet military "knows that the Red Army cannot be defeated by the mujaheddin," and "there has been a sharp improvement in the [Afghan] army's performance." This was demonstrated at the end of December in the successful drive by Soviet and Afghan troops to break the guerrilla siege of Khost, just a few miles from the Pakistani border, disrupting a key arms route and killing over 2,000 rebels. A U.S. government official carped: "The Soviets are showing they still have the firepower to go anywhere they want." So they do. The obstacle is political.

Gorbachev has called Afghanistan a "bleeding wound." But it has been the Kremlin Stalinists' efforts to strike a deal with the mullahs and their imperialist godfathers which have needlessly prolonged the war, allowing the U.S. to keep the blood of Soviet soldiers flowing. Much is made of opposition to the war within the Soviet Union, turning a tiny protest in Moscow (eight protesters carrying signs demanding "Withdraw Soviet Troops from Afghanistan") into a major event. But the most common demand reported in demonstrations of Afghan war veterans and letters to the Soviet press is not for withdrawal but *recognition* of the valiant internationalist contribution by Soviet youth.

There have been increasing demands to build a monument in Moscow to commemorate Soviet soldiers fallen in battle against the CIA's Afghan contras. In a letter to *Pravda*, the father of

Eaton/L.A. Times

**Moscow grave of soldier killed in Afghanistan. Honor Red Army heroes!**

# Pipe Dream...

*(continued from page 7)*

passed from war to peace, but that we had not forgotten that war will return. While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph—the last obsequies will be observed either for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism." The last statement was first published in 1923, near the end of Lenin's life.

### How Gorbachev "Reads" Lenin

Given the overwhelming authority of the founder of the Soviet state, Gorbachev and the rest of the Soviet bureaucracy must turn to Lenin to justify their own program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, cynically playing on the Soviet peoples' deep-felt desire for peace. At the signing ceremony for the INF treaty in Washington, Gorbachev said:

> "Not all Americans may know that at the height of a world war, the very first step taken by the Soviet Republic born in Russia in 1917 was to promulgate a decree of peace."
>
> —*Washington Post*,
> 9 December 1987

In the first place, the peace decree—aimed at putting an end to the bloody war then raging—came *after* the proclamation of Soviet power, where Lenin said: "It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought." He concluded: "Long live the world socialist revolution!" Moreover, the peace decree was addressed not only or primarily to the capitalist governments but to the workers of other countries who, "by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action, will help us to conclude peace successfully, and at the same time emancipate the labouring and exploited masses of our population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation." Does this bear the slightest resemblance to Gorbachev's appeals to warmonger Reagan?

The Bolshevik government never denied the need to make diplomatic and economic deals with the imperialist powers as long as they existed, but it never sought to foist illusions on the masses that this would produce anything but a short-term truce. In his recent book, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, directed at bourgeois "opinion-makers" in the West, Gorbachev explains how "we draw inspiration from Lenin... 'reading' his works each time in a new way.... More than once he spoke about the priority of interests common to all humanity over class interests." One would have to "read" Lenin in a profoundly "new" (i.e., "classless") way to ever find the Bolshevik leader counterposing the interests of humanity to those of the revolutionary proletariat.

According to Gorbachev, "Clausewitz's dictum that war is the continuation of policy only by different means... has grown hopelessly out of date." Gorbachev differs not only with Clausewitz but with Lenin, and not on the question of subsequent technological developments. Behind the Stalinists' futile search for "peaceful coexistence" with the likes of Reagan (or his Democratic alter egos) lies a reformist denial of the possibility of proletarian revolution to overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisies. Gorbachev expresses this explicitly. Where Lenin argued repeatedly that one or the other system *must* triumph, Gorbachev insists: "No one can close down the world of socialism, the developing world or the world of developed capitalism." Where Lenin argued that war under imperialism was inevitable, Gorbachev insists it is impossible:

> "At the 27th CPSU Congress [in 1986] we clearly 'divorced' the revolution and war themes, excluding from the new edition of the Party Program the following two phrases: 'Should the imperialist aggressors nevertheless venture to start a new world war, the peoples will no longer tolerate a system which drags them into devastating wars. They will sweep imperialism away and bury it.' This provision, admitting, in theory, the possibility of a new world war was removed as not corresponding to the realities of the nuclear era."

In his 1916 work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin insisted, "what means other than war could there be *under capitalism* to overcome the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side, and the division of colonies and spheres of influence for finance capital on the other?"

The imperialist powers are *driven to war*—first and foremost against the Soviet Union—in order to reconquer that vast market for capitalist exploitation, and to stamp out the legacy of the October Revolution. It would certainly be *irrational* for the imperialists to launch a nuclear war which might eradicate all humanity, but capitalism is an irrational, outmoded system—and it finds leaders to suit. From Nixon's infamous "madman theory," aimed at convincing the Vietnamese he would nuke them, to the Reaganauts' "nuclear chicken," the imperialist rulers have proven themselves eminently capable of enveloping the world in a nuclear holocaust.

Certainly the peoples of the world, and not least the Soviet peoples, yearn for peace. But no matter how many scraps of paper the capitalists sign, no matter how many revolutions the Stalinists lay on the bargaining table—from the Greek and Italian workers at Potsdam to Afghanistan and Nicaragua today—the imperialists will wage war so long as they retain power. The fate of humanity rests in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. It will take a proletarian political revolution to sweep out the Stalinist usurpers and again implant in the Kremlin the beacon of Leninist internationalism.

Lenin's Bolsheviks demarcated the only road to ending the threat of imperialist war: worldwide socialist revolution. Far from eradicating that threat, nuclear weapons in the hands of the bloodthirsty U.S. imperialists have only made more urgent the task of the powerful American working class—to destroy American capitalism before it destroys the world. ■

WV Photo

**Gus Hall's stars-and-stripes CPUSA hails "détente" with U.S. imperialism.**

---

Sergeant Yuri Shevchenko, who died in Afghanistan, asked why his son's heroic sacrifice could not be inscribed on his gravestone: "Why can't it say that he died carrying out his international duty in Afghanistan? What are we ashamed of?" (*Pravda* monthly English edition, October 1987). Beholden to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," Gorbachev & Co. are "ashamed" of anything that smacks of revolutionary internationalism, because it stands in the way of pursuing their reactionary illusion of "détente" with the imperialists. At the 27th Communist Party congress in 1986, Gorbachev denounced any concept of "revolutionary war" as "Trotskyite" heresy.

Meanwhile, the war-crazed psychos in the White House are exporting counterrevolutionary wars around the globe, and the Afghan rebels have received the biggest subsidies. Over the past year they were reportedly bankrolled to the tune of $660 million—six times what the Nicaraguan contras got—and in 1988 this is scheduled to rise to $1 billion. The Democrats have out-Reaganed Reagan in boosting the cause of the bloodthirsty Afghan "freedom fighters," for here they see a perfect opportunity to bleed the Russians without the overhead of direct U.S. intervention and the dread spectre of "another Vietnam." Texas Democratic Congressman Charles Wilson has demanded that the administration up the ante by shipping 2,000 Stingers to the Afghan guerrillas as well as long-range mortars for use against Soviet airfields and military camps.

Any hope of peacefully coexisting with this crew of Cold Warriors is ludicrous. A *Wall Street Journal* (8 December 1987) editorial argued that Gorbachev's intentions to pull out of Afghanistan could not be honorable because "he hasn't said much about getting out of Eastern Europe"! Now there is recollection of the claim that Wrangell Island, right off the Soviet Arctic coast, belongs to the U.S. because 14 Americans for the Lomen Reindeer & Trading Co. were trappers on the island more than 60 years ago! In 1924 they were removed from the island by the Soviet ship *Red October* and sent back to Seattle. Now Jesse Helms is claiming Wrangell and four other nearby islands as property of the U.S. of A.—next thing you know, they'll be claiming Sakhalin island and the Kurils for Japan, and Kamchatka Peninsula and Vladivostok to seal off Russia in the Far East. And where would this stop? Where did it stop in 1918—nowhere! The Soviet Red Army stopped it.

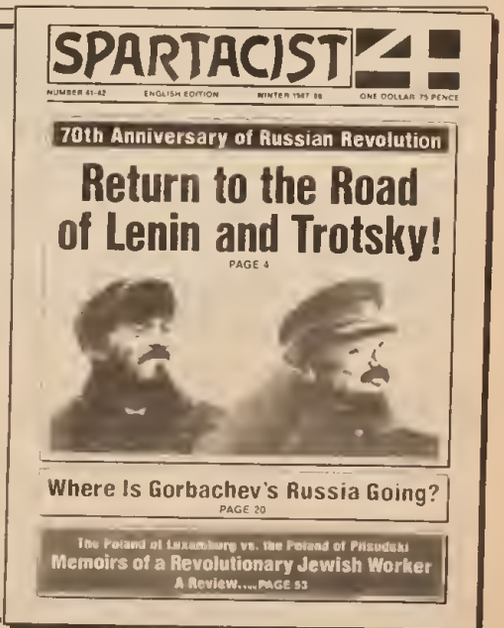
The U.S. imperialists seek to destroy and dismember the Soviet Union not through ludicrous land claims but by economic pressure, destabilization and war, to overturn the revolutionary gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and restore "free market" capitalist exploitation. The USSR is too strong militarily and the loyalty of the Soviet peoples too deep to risk a direct assault right now. So they attack on the periphery of Soviet power. Pledging to pull Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, Gorbachev & Co. are not only sacrificing the lives of millions of Afghans on the altar of "détente" but leaving the Soviet Union open to imperialist provocation and attack on this crucial southern flank.

Only total Soviet victory over the mullahs can bring peace and the prospect of national and social liberation for the peoples of Afghanistan. To carry out what many in the Soviet Union, homeland of the October Revolution, rightly see as their internationalist duty in Afghanistan requires a proletarian political revolution in the USSR against the Kremlin oligarchy to restore the revolutionary internationalist traditions of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. ■

**Spartacist**
English Edition
No. 41-42
Winter 1987-88
(64 pages)
$1.00

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

Make checks payable mail to Spartacist Publishing Co Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116



# Shachtman...

*(continued from page 2)*

academic Burnham simply denounced Marxism and quit. The ridiculous Dwight MacDonald left soon afterward. Shachtman stuck to his revisionist political course, elaborating the theory that the Soviet Stalinists constituted a ruling *class* of a new type ("bureaucratic collectivist" rather than capitalist). But thanks to the departure of the right wing from Shachtman's organization and from the terrain of ostensible "Trotskyism" generally, the center of gravity of the WP was nonetheless to the left of the original petty-bourgeois opposition.

Shachtman managed, more or less, to reabsorb Abern's clique (though Abern continued his cliquist maneuvering until his death in 1947). Meanwhile, the United States entered WW II and the WP sent those of its youth who weren't drafted into the war industries, where they developed a small base in the proletariat (Harvey Swados' 1970 novel of the Shachtman movement, *Standing Fast*, provides a sense of this). The WP is best characterized as left-centrist during this period. While their *Stalinophobic* theory of the USSR paved the way for Shachtman's reconciliation with U.S. imperialism as a lesser evil to "Stalinist totalitarianism," the WP, unlike the reformist social-patriots of the Communist and Socialist parties, *did not support* the U.S. side in WW II. They claimed to stand for a supposed "third camp"—against both Stalinism and imperialism. Claiming to be a better Trotskyist than Trotsky, Shachtman got a kick out of opposing the SWP *from the left* on occasion, and was able to do so effectively at times, for example over the question of China in World War II and in opposition to the SWP's so-called "proletarian military policy" (PMP).

At the end of the war the Workers Party entered into unity negotiations with the SWP. But once again Shachtman capitulated to those on his right and let the unification fall through. (This did not stop Irving Howe and his coterie from quitting anyway—they went on to found *Dissent* magazine.) The WP's left wing (the Johnsonites) split and fused with the SWP, while the SWP's right wing (Goldman-Morrow) split and fused with the WP. Meanwhile the WP youth returned from WW II and typically went to grad school on the GI bill. The Cold War set in and the WP moved right, in 1948 changing its name to the Independent Socialist League (ISL).

Monad Press

**Leaders of then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party at National Committee plenum, 1938. Clockwise from top left: Felix Morrow, James Cannon, Max Shachtman, George Clarke, James Burnham, Nathan Gould, Martin Abern.**

But, to contradict Rick B. and Bob Z., the ISL remained in the "third camp" during the Korean War. They condemned "the ravishing of Korea by the two imperialist rivals" and *opposed* the introduction of U.S. troops (as they opposed introduction of U.S. troops into Vietnam in 1954). While this is a far cry from the revolutionary position of military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialism, it does not constitute "despicable social patriotism." Shachtman wrote, "it is impossible for a socialist to support American capitalism in the war." At the same time, he was flirting with the idea of supporting the imperialist side under the condition that it should have some kind of labor cover, as he argued (in "Socialist Policy and the War, Part II") for "*transforming the imperialist war into a democratic war*" through the installation in the U.S. of a British Labour Party-type government.

If Shachtman had supported U.S. imperialism in Korea it would hardly have shocked the political public when he came out in support of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961. How would Bob Z. and Rick B. explain the fact that the SP youth group at Berkeley had put up signs advertising Shachtman as the main speaker at a rally *against* the Bay of Pigs invasion? The social-democratic Berkeley youth were shocked when Shachtman, the night before his scheduled campus appearance, endorsed the CIA's attempt to crush the Cuban Revolution, and they withdrew his invitation to speak at the campus.

When a section of the Shachtmanite youth went into opposition in the 1950s, they were able to quote Shachtman's early WP documents (for example, on the PMP) against him. Shachtman *evolved* into a social-patriot, he wasn't born one. While Shachtman liquidated the ISL into the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation in 1958, the left wing of his youth organization came over to the authentic Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution. They joined the SWP, forming the nucleus of the early Young Socialist Alliance. By the way, they produced a pretty good document on Shachtman's political evolution—Tim Wohlforth's 1957 pamphlet *What Makes Shachtman Run?*

By 1958 Shachtman's liquidationist course was apparent even to his bloc partners in the Socialist Party (SP). Maurice Spector, a former Canadian Trotskyist, was a leader of the SP's left wing, active in pushing the merger with the ISL. Spector finally quit the SP before the merger was carried through, saying:

> "When Max gets in he's going to go so far to the right that you won't believe it.... I'm an old Trotskyist. I know the signs. I can't go on with Max in the party."
>
> —quoted in Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer...*

Spector knew what he was talking about. Shachtman went on to openly support U.S. imperialism's attempt to drown the Vietnamese Revolution in blood. Evidently he also supported Richard Nixon in 1972 (driving even the reluctant Michael Harrington to break with him). But Max Shachtman died a professed socialist, having also spent some years as a professional imperialist pimp. This is a *contradiction*; if such contradictions didn't exist, everyone in the world claiming to be a socialist would be a member of the same party.

Why are Bob Z. and Rick B. so eager to paint Shachtman as something akin to the loathsome swine Jay Lovestone? We have no idea what political agenda they are pursuing, but their anti-dialectical approach knows no sense of proportion. They cite Max Shachtman as the "inventor of modern anti-communism." In 1940? Is this dumb hyperbole meant to be amusing?

During his last decade, Shachtman was at work on a history of the Comintern which he never completed. The comments on Stalin which he offered to Constance Ashton Myers in 1972 were far from being offhand remarks. According to Myers, Shachtman said his reasons for following Trotsky in 1928 were "all bunk" and he explicitly supported Stalin's policy in China:

> "Stalin was no reactionary, he was for the permanent revolution, but he was just cooler, playing for time. By no means did he sell out to the Chinese bourgeoisie in any true sense. Hogwash. If he 'sold out' to the Chinese bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek, he was just maneuvering for time."

We were pretty tentative in our own letter; we only have the one source, and she could have gotten it all wrong, sure. But Shachtman was a consummate political impressionist and he *had* been immersed in Comintern history for a decade. One thing is for sure, we'll never get the straight scoop from the remnants of his organization now in the Shankerite AFT bureaucracy.

But as long as we are asking, there is one more thing we'd like to know about. According to Charles Curtiss (*James P. Cannon as We Knew Him*), Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, and Max Shachtman had one last private meeting in Los Angeles in 1972, just before Shachtman died and two years before Cannon did. What did they talk about? A question beyond Rick B. and Bob Z., who think they have all the answers. But we'd like to know. ■

# La Prensa...

*(continued from page 2)*

commander of the revolutionary Southern Continental Army, instructed his commanders to "strike terror into the hearts of our enemies." In speaking of a raid against loyalist supporters he said the raid "made a dreadful carnage of them, upward of 100 were killed and most of the rest cut to pieces. It had a most agreeable effect upon those disaffected persons of which there are too many in this country" (*The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*, E. Herman and N. Chomsky, 1979). Colonists who refused to swear that "the war of the colonies was just and necessary" and promise loyalty to the revolution were subject to loss of legal rights, voting rights, the right to bear arms, in addition to exile, confiscation of property, and prison. Most states enacted a travel ban on British loyalists and eight states exiled prominent British sympathizers. But it's doubtful that many of the insurrectionary colonists spent a good deal of time fretting over the loss of democratic rights endured by those who wanted to keep them under the yoke of British colonialism. As the American revolutionaries said back then, "Freedom is only for those who believe in it."

Sincerely,
Glenn S.

P.S. The Western media is always making a big deal out of the refugees fleeing from Communism but the American revolution produced the same phenomenon. During or immediately after the revolutionary war roughly 100,000 loyalists fled American repression. This included thousands of "boat people" who fled to Canada in panic when the British Army withdrew from New York. The stream of refugees continued all the way up to 1798, nearly a quarter of a century after the revolution began. By percentage the American revolution produced *more* refugees than any Communist revolution of the 20th century, with the lone exception of Cuba. Indeed, by percentage twice as many people fled from Washington and Jefferson as did from either Lenin or Mao. Reagan & Co. have also made a big deal about the Sandinistas' supposed lack of respect for the borders of their neighboring countries. In fact, the U.S. invaded Canada twice, once during the revolution and once during the War of 1812. ■

Vail/Reuters

**Counterrevolutionary La PrenCIA being shut down by the Sandinistas, June 1985.**

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# Cop Terror...

*(continued from page 16)*

turned the inner cities into a killing floor, wantonly executing black men in the street. Black women and children are gunned down by the police in their homes, like 67-year-old infirm Eleanor Bumpurs in the Bronx or 5-year-old Patrick Mason in Orange County, California.

And the racist terrorists out of uniform take the cue. As Martin Luther King Day approaches, there have been threats of racist KKK provocations in Forsyth County, Georgia, Raleigh, North Carolina and by a fascist Estonian in Queens, New York. Last year after a Klan attack on MLK Day civil rights marchers in Forsyth County, Atlanta city councilman Rev. Hosea Williams led thousands into the lily-white racist enclave, hemmed in on all sides by the Georgia National Guard. Such faith that the armed might of the Confederate state of Georgia will "protect" blacks against racist terror is positively suicidal! When Atlanta cops shot down 38-year-old Vietnam veteran Eddie Lee Callahan last September, Williams called to "get rid of some rotten apples." Yet Williams has praised the Atlanta police as the best big city department in the nation and led songs with refrains of "We love the police."

After Forsyth County, many establishment black leaders sought to deflect blacks away from struggle against racist terror. Giving a populist theme to his Democratic Party presidential bid, Jesse Jackson says:

> "Our struggle is shifting Our challenge 20 years ago was to end racial violence. Tonight our challenge is to end economic violence. Civil rights and racial violence were black and white, but economic violence knows no color, no sex or religion."
>
> —quoted in *Public Employee Press*, 11 December 1987

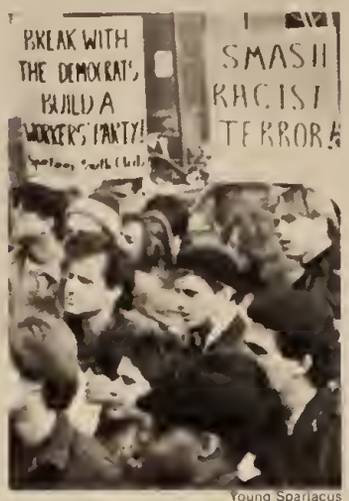
Racial violence has not ended—it's rampant and growing in Reagan's America and the triggermen are the cops. But whether establishment or "maverick," these black politicians preach reliance on the bourgeois state.

### New York at the Flash Point

In New York, cop terror and racist atrocities have brought the city to the flash point. Official racism emanating from the White House and Koch and the cops' rampaging racist terror on the streets led straight to the December 1986 lynch mob murder of black construction worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach. Since then, there has been one racist atrocity after another. Even according to official statistics there were 500 "bias" incidents in 1987, nearly double the number in 1986. At least 18 blacks and Hispanics died at the hands of Koch's cops last year. And since the Howard Beach verdict December 21—in which three of the killers were convicted of manslaughter, not murder—there have been at least 30 reported racial attacks.

On December 29, Alfred Sanders, a 39-year-old black man, was gunned down in a hail of *eleven* bullets while surrounded by four white cops in the Laurelton section of Queens. The cops claimed that Sanders, a bus maintainer and member of the Transport Workers Union, lunged at them with a knife. But at least five witnesses told the *Daily News* (31 December 1987) that Sanders' hands were in the air and that he never threatened the police. The black weekly *Amsterdam News* (January 9) quoted an eyewitness who said, "I overheard Sanders tell the officers that they were only concerned about white justice, and boom they began to shoot at him." At Alfred Sanders' funeral January 8, his union brothers from Coliseum garage came out to pay their respects to this latest black victim of the NYPD.

Meanwhile, NYC mayor Koch has been fanning the flames for racist terror. At a City Hall press conference he said: "I don't think black New Yorkers fear an attack by white New Yorkers." Tell it to Steven and Sylvester Lamont, two black brothers who were savagely attacked in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn on Christmas night by a white mob screaming "This is our Howard Beach!" When several hundred demonstrators, overwhelmingly black, marched through Bensonhurst January 2 to protest, the racists were out in force screaming "Go




Young Spartacus

**Spartacist youth join protest against attacks on black and Jewish students, Madison, November 6.**

back to Africa!" "KKK!" and "Howard Beach!" Many carried signs reading "Whites Unite" and waved Confederate and Italian flags. The racist mob formed a gauntlet as the blacks marched up Bath Avenue. Between them were up to 1,000 of Koch's killer cops, on foot, motorcycles, horseback, rooftops and in helicopters.

This was a trap for the black marchers, and the confrontation could only embolden the racist losers of this impacted white enclave. The demonstration was led by black preachers Al Sharpton, Herbert Daughtry, Timothy Mitchell and attorneys Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason. They knew the howling bigots would be waiting in Bensonhurst—in fact they were counting on it (as well as on the massive police presence). So while the deadly NYPD is running wild in the ghettos, as Koch pushes New York City toward race war, the city's "militant" black leaders feed into this by seeking a losing racial confrontation. *What's needed is a massive show of force led by a fighting, integrated labor movement that would strike fear in the racists' hearts.*

They're also playing into Koch's hands as they spew out anti-Semitic filth. At a December 28 rally in Brooklyn supporting black educator Adelaide Sanford in the ugly ethnic wrangling over the new school chancellor, black activist priest Lawrence Lucas compared the Board of Education to "the Knesset in Israel." By this poisonous demagogy the black "leaders" threaten to spark a racial confrontation like the one whipped up during the 1968 NYC teachers strike. And while racist pig Koch plays for the Howard Beach and Bensonhurst vote, this "activist" coalition is dealing in the same coin of Democratic Party ethnic politics. At the Sanford rally, attended by assemblyman Roger Greene, NYC black politicians announced a summit meeting January 15 to map strategy "to get out the black vote in the 1988 presidential primaries and the 1989 mayoral election in which they hope to unseat Mayor Koch" (WBAI, 5 January).

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The black bourgeois politicians seek to become the slave drivers on Reagan's plantation. They appeal to the state, the main instigator of racist violence, calling for "special prosecutors" and more black cops. Revs. Daughtry, Lucas and others actually appeared on a recruiting poster for the NYPD! They want more black mayors, like Harold Washington...or Wilson Goode, the Philadelphia black Democratic "mayor of murder" who ordered the cops to bomb the black MOVE commune, killing eleven, including five black children. The Spartacist League calls for a program of integrated *class struggle* against racist attacks. And even as assaults on oppressed minorities have escalated, there have been some important examples of genuine labor/black mobilizations which have helped stay the hand of the bloody killer cops.

When Chicago cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay last July 21, viciously beating her and terrorizing her children and mother, and then arresting Cassandra on trumped-up charges, they didn't count on her being a member of a powerful union that could fight back. Militants in the integrated Amalgamated Transit Union organized to defend Seay with a protest campaign, mobilizing their union brothers and sisters to fill the courtroom at every hearing. And they won—on December 23, Cassandra and her mother were found innocent of every bogus charge brought against them by the Chicago cops. Two years earlier, hundreds of ATU members massed in front of police headquarters and successfully squashed the racist frame-up of driver David Johnson. Such actions are but a small taste of the power labor could wield.

Beginning under Democrat Carter and escalating with Reagan in the White House, racist terrorists have become increasingly emboldened. At Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979 Klan and Nazi gunmen carried out a broad daylight massacre killing five leftists, blacks and labor organizers. But the next month, when the fascists tried to "celebrate" their obscene murders in Greensboro with a "victory" rally in Detroit, this was put to a stop by a labor/black mobilization of several hundred auto workers, other trade unionists and community youth. This was the first of a series of *labor/black mobilizations* initiated by the Spartacist League which kept the KKK off the streets of the big Northern cities.

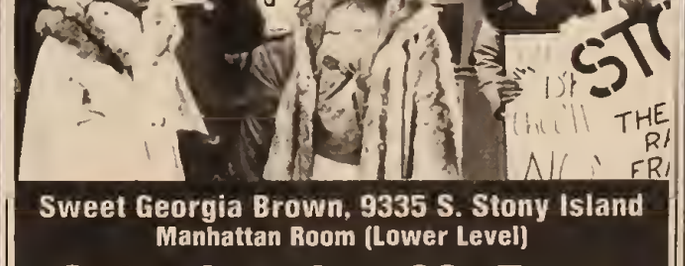
But behind the hooded racist terrorists, and frequently wearing blue uniforms under their white sheets, stand the badge-toting racists who are *licensed to kill*. The Kluxers and Hitler-lovers are only the auxiliaries—the *capitalist state* is the overwhelming source of violence against black people. The Greensboro massacre was carried out with the active complicity of local, state and federal police agencies, from supplying the guns to leading the caravan of death. And in the big cities of America the cops are organized on a military basis to occupy the ghettos, from Los Angeles with its SWAT squads, "Blue Thunder" attack helicopters, tanks, battering rams and choke holds, to New York City with stun guns and "Emergency Service" death squads. So when it comes to stopping the likes of the LAPD or NYPD, many militants will ask, "You and whose army?"

It will take a revolutionary workers movement, leading the mass of oppressed blacks and Hispanics from the ghettos and barrios, in a victorious struggle for *power*. To forge that "red army" requires a political struggle, to break the workers and minorities from the Democratic Party which is no "lesser evil" but the main instrument for binding the oppressed to their oppressors, and from the racist, pro-capitalist union tops. Our fight must be to build a multiracial, class-struggle workers party that can lead the difficult battles on the road to the socialist revolution, which alone can put an end to racist terror forever, making possible black freedom in an egalitarian society where the lynch rope and riot stick are relics of a prehistoric past. ■


**Black Family Defeats Police Frame-Up**

**Victory Party**

**Callie Bryant and Cassandra Seay Win!**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Cop Terror Stalks Black America

It was a chemically pure case of the violence against black people which permeates this racist country. It happened in the small Southern town of Hemphill, Texas but it could have been Anywhere, USA. The *New York Times* (6 January) told the chilling story:

"Early Christmas night Loyal Garner Jr. said goodbye to his wife and six children in nearby Florien, La., hopped in his pickup truck and headed with two companions to retrieve a friend's automobile just across the border in Texas.

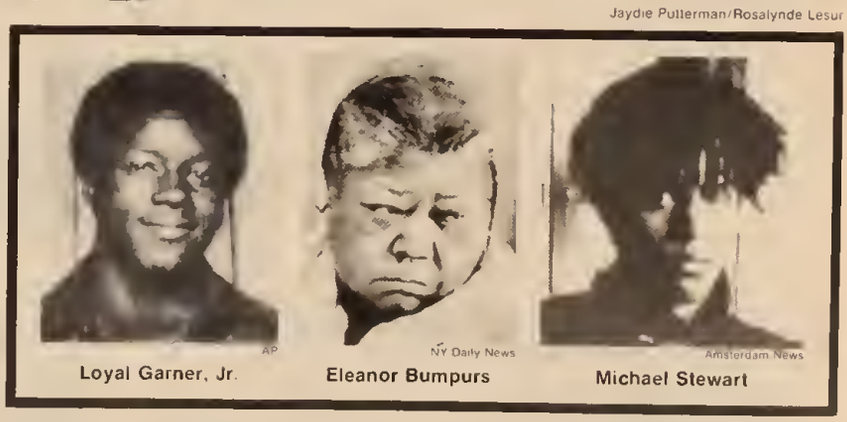
"Two days later he was dead, his swollen, bloodied features almost unrecognizable after a night in the Sabine County Jail in this East Texas town of about 1,500 people."

Just after crossing the Texas line, Garner was stopped by the local police, who charged him with drunk driving. The white cops say he refused to take a breathalyzer test, so they threw the three black men in jail. There Garner and his companions banged on the bars, asking to make a call to their families.

Two deputies entered the cell and started beating Garner. They dragged him to a room down the hall; his friends could hear his moans as the beating continued. Later he was dumped back in the cell, his shirt soaked in blood, his face battered. He spent the night lying on the ground. The next day he was taken to the hospital where he died on December 27.

If Loyal Garner had so much as one drug bust, the cops would have gotten away with it entirely. But he had no police record, he drove a truck for the county and was liked by just about everybody in Sabine Parish, Louisiana. "To put it mildly, I think Junior Garner was one of the finest men I ever met in my life, white or black," said a white friend. So this time three cops have been charged. But for "civil rights" violation, not for murder.

Jaydie Putterman/Rosalynde Lesur



Loyal Garner, Jr. (AP) | Eleanor Bumpurs (NY Daily News) | Michael Stewart (Amsterdam News)

**NYPD thugs maul black victim (above). Across the country, racist cops have license to kill. Workers revolution will avenge victims of racist cop terror.**

### The Cops Are the Perps

Black people in America receive mixed signals. There are areas of formal equality. The Supreme Court struck down school segregation; the army is now integrated; after the Civil Rights Act, Jim Crow is supposed to be dead. And in some circumstances, you're allowed to act like the formal equality is real. Until you find yourself in a situation where the real racist rules apply. Loyal Garner made a horrible mistake. *He thought he had rights:* after being arrested, he thought he could ask to make a phone call. That mistake was fatal.

Cop terror against black people in America is not an "excess," it's a calculated program. It is the way U.S. capitalism resolves the contradiction between the assertion of some formal equal rights and the need to forcibly segregate a huge impoverished black population at the bottom of society. After his home in East Elmhurst, Queens was bombed on 14 February 1965, Malcolm X spoke that evening in Detroit about the experience of black people in America with police brutality: "...any Negro in the community can be stopped in the street. 'Put your hands up,' and they pat you down. Might be a doctor, a lawyer, a preacher or some other kind of Uncle Tom, but despite your professional standing, you'll find that you're the same victim as the man who's in the alley." Denied the right to carry a carbine to defend himself, one week later Malcolm was shot dead.

The killing of Loyal Garner "presented an unsettling glimpse of life and justice in the isolated backwoods of East Texas," wrote *Times* reporter Peter Applebome. But it happens every day on the streets of America's big cities, North and South. And it's the cops, the "duly constituted authorities," who are everywhere the main perpetrators of racist murder.

• *Indianapolis:* "The shooting death of a 16-year-old boy has emotions running high in this city's black community, which doesn't accept the official police account that Michael Taylor killed himself in a police patrol car while his hands were cuffed behind his back" (*Chicago Tribune*, 2 October 1987).

• *Memphis:* "Four white police officers were relieved of active duty pending the investigation into the shooting death of Robinson in front of his home as his mother and sister and neighbors watched. The man was apparently attempting to commit suicide by stabbing himself with a 12-inch butcher knife when he was shot ten times by police, witnesses said" (*Call and Post* [Cleveland], 15 October 1987).

• *Washington:* On December 14, black D.C. policeman James Gordon was shot and killed by the police in his Prince George's County home. After a neighbor reported a burglar, a white cop came busting in and blew away a black man he saw in the house—the owner. Gordon was the sixth person killed by cops in the D.C. area in a five-week period.

In capitalist America black people are supposed to be able to drive a Mercedes or shop the Miracle Mile in L.A., if they can afford it. But just try it. In December 1983 three members of the Harlem Globetrotters were doing their Christmas shopping at a jewelry store in a posh suburb of Santa Barbara, California. The next thing they knew, the cops had yanked them out of a cab, forced them to lie spread-eagle in the middle of the street with drawn pistols in their faces. The police later said they had "followed proper procedures," and simply mistook the slender, towering basketball stars for some husky guys more than a foot shorter who had robbed another jewelry store earlier! They were blacks who weren't "in their place." Just like Mets pitcher Dwight Gooden, who was pulled over, chokeholded and beaten by the Tampa police in December 1986, because the sight of a black man in a silver Mercedes stuck in the cops' craw.

With black America in conditions of intensified permanent depression for the last decade and a half, the prison population has skyrocketed (quadrupling in New York State from 1972 to 1987). There are now almost 2,000 people on death row, 41 percent of them black. And now the sluice gates have been opened wide for the legal bloodbath. But the cops don't wait for the electric chair or the lethal injection, they've

*continued on page 15*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 445 | 29 January 1988


## Yankee Imperialism—Hands Off Nicaragua!

# Finish Off the Contras—Complete the Revolution!

### Sandinistas Conciliate Reagan's Terrorists

JANUARY 25—The battle over Central America which has raged throughout the '80s has reached a watershed. At a Central American summit meeting in San José, Costa Rica January 15, held to "verify" compliance with the Arias "peace" plan, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega made risky concessions in order to appease Washington. The Sandinista leader agreed to direct negotiations with Reagan's counterrevolutionary mercenaries, a broad amnesty including former members of dictator Somoza's murderous National Guard, and lifting the state of emergency enacted to clamp down on the "internal contras." Just a Sandinista trick, declared Reagan, so on February 3-4, the U.S. Congress will vote up or down the administration request for more contra aid. Ortega warns that "a single dollar of aid to the contras in any form, humanitarian or otherwise... will kill the peace agreement."

The Reaganauts aren't interested in negotiating with the Sandinistas, only in obliterating them. And despite all the talk of a "new Reagan" following December's Washington summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the contra godfather hasn't changed his stripes. Waving the spectre of "a communist Central America," he declares that if Congress nixes contra aid "the Soviets will have already succeeded in establishing another Cuba, this time on the American mainland." Trying to whip up a war atmosphere against his favorite bugbear of "Sandino-communism," Reagan declared in his "State of the Union" speech that "there are no Republicans, no Democrats, just Americans." His speechwriters must have been reading Kaiser Wilhelm's proclamation of World War I in which he saw "no parties any more, only Germans."

The contras' failure on the battlefield and the widespread unpopularity of Washington's Central American war program in the U.S. was why the Reaganauts had to go to ludicrous lengths, running a drug trafficking and arms smuggling operation out of the White House basement, to keep the contras alive. But despite the spectacular implosion of the Reagan regime with the Iran/Contragate revelations, and its paralysis during months of Congressional hearings, a year later the Sandinistas are still under Washington's guns. For the U.S. Central American war drive is not the creation of an Ollie North and a gung-ho "cabal of zealots," but a bipartisan policy of the American imperialist ruling class. They just have some tactical differences over how to pursue it.

The Democrats' aim in this two-track program is to try to win at the bargaining table what Reagan's contras have lost on the battlefield. As we have noted from the outset, the so-called "peace" plan named after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias was braintrusted by the Congressional Democrats. It's now reported that House Speaker Jim Wright was "in close communication" with Arias last summer. In November Democrat Wright brokered talks between Nicaraguan president Ortega and the contra cardinal Obando y Bravo. At the Washington summit, the "Speaker of State" urged Soviet leaders to offer to cut off arms to Nicaragua, which Gorbachev then did. And at San José there was a full delegation of Democrats, sent at Wright's behest, which met behind the scenes with every Central American president, urging Ortega to make concessions.

So the key vote on the "peace" plan will be held in the House and Senate on February 3-4. But there is no peace in Central America. Since the Arias plan was signed by the five presidents last August in Esquipulas, Guatemala, there

*continued on page 10*

Barricada

AP

**While Nicaraguan troops transported by Soviet helicopters battle CIA's contras, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (below, at right) pursues "national reconciliation" with contra cardinal Obando y Bravo.**

## Black History Month

**Young Spartacus**


Down with Dixie Flag of Slavery!.....5

Ann Arbor: Students Seize Racist Dean's Office...7

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court is deciding on life or death for Mumia Abu-Jamal. On January 19 the Court heard oral argument in Mumia's appeal from the racist vendetta which has kept him on death row for the past six years. As a former Black Panther and well-known journalist who supported the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981.

The one-hour oral argument focused on the frame-up tactics used by the racist capitalist state to get a death sentence for Mumia: the Court seated a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding eleven prospective black jurors peremptorily challenged by the D.A.(!); the prosecution slandered Mumia's character witness, renowned poet and Temple University professor Sonia Sanchez, as a "friend of cop-killers"; they politically witchhunted Mumia for his past membership in the Black Panther Party, and misled the jurors by telling them that a death sentence would not be carried out because Mumia would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." Tell it to the family of 27-year-old Robert Streetman who was put to death by lethal injection on January 7 at the same time his lawyer was calling the governor's office to advise them the Supreme Court would consider a new motion for appeal!

Revolutionary Worker

**Mumia Abu-Jamal**

Two Partisan Defense Committee representatives joined Mumia's mother, his wife Wadiya, and about a dozen friends and supporters at the hearing. Philadelphia attorney Marilyn Gelb represented Mumia while the American Civil Liberties Union and National Conference of Black Lawyers jointly submitted an *amicus curiae* brief on his behalf. The city's main daily newspaper, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, covered the proceedings.

The racist butchers who rule this country have opened the sluice gate of legal murder. Mumia's case must he the cause of all blacks, workers and defenders of democratic rights. Publicize this case, raise it in your unions and community organizations. Send letters and telegrams protesting the frame-up to: Pennsylvania Supreme Court, City Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19107. *Save Mumia!*

* * *

For 28 months Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Rios, fighters for Puerto Rico's independence from U.S. colonial rule, have been held in jail without bail under the police-state preventive detention law—the longest pretrial detentions in U.S. history. Along with 14 others, Segarra and Ojeda face conspiracy charges stemming from a 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo Bank in Hartford, Connecticut. With the disclosure of widespread illegal wiretaps and doctoring of tape recordings, the government frame-up of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 16 is falling apart. Portions of the more than 1,000 hours of bugged phone calls have been ruled inadmissible. On January 26 the District Court in Hartford heard Segarra's and Ojeda's renewed application for bail. The PDC wrote to Judge T. Emmet Clarie demanding that Segarra and Ojeda be immediately released and that all charges be dismissed.

* * *

Funds are urgently needed for an appeal by four members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), railroaded on charges stemming from the shooting death of a scab coal truck driver during the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co. Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland and James Darryl Smith face up to 50 years in prison. On January 25 their union brother Paul Smith was *acquitted* of the same charges by a jury which didn't believe the government's fink. But Smith was immediately thrown back in jail, under *state murder charges!* The UMWA tops, under Richard Trumka, haven't lifted a finger to defend the five miners, and lack of funds endangers their legal defense and appeals.

The feds and mine bosses railroaded the miners under provisions (including air piracy laws!) of the 1984 Crime Control Act, enacted in the government's phony "anti-terrorist" campaign intended to criminalize labor militancy and all political opposition to government policies. After years of strike-breaking, givebacks and layoffs, this country's largest and most powerful unions now face union-busting "RICO" prosecutions. Labor must be mobilized to back these miners whose "crime" is to defend their union! Send your contributions *now* to Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519. Send letters and telegrams demanding all charges be dismissed to: District Judge Henry Wilhoit, United States District Court, Ashland, KY 41101.

* * *

We again thank PDC supporters for making the 1987 Holiday Appeal a success. In all we raised more than $7,500 for gifts and stipends to the class-war prisoners and their families, and raised an additional $3,500 during the last ten weeks from our monthly sustainers and old and new contributors. The hard work of our friends in the San Francisco Bay Area helped raise more than $2,000 from over 75 contributors. Cleveland supporters enlisted ten new PDC sustainers in Ohio and Michigan. In less than two years since we issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors we have grown from 12 to 110 sustainers, accounting for about $2,000 per month. One friend from San Francisco recently wrote, "...looks like 1987 was the year the PDC set course for recognition and leadership in the struggle to free labor internationally. Makes a cynical (sometimes) beefing (always) working stiff smile now and then."

Join our struggle. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

### For a Strong Revolutionary Government

*The Sandinistas, by maintaining a "pluralist," i.e., predominantly capitalist, economy while waging war against Reagan's contras, have undermined and weakened the defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Following the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy in February 1917, Lenin insisted that the only way to combat capitalist economic sabotage, on top of the enormous destruction of World War I, was for the workers to take power. This was the socialist program which led the Bolsheviks to victory in the October Revolution.*

We are for a strong revolutionary government. Whatever the capitalists and their flunkeys may shout about us to the contrary, their lies will remain lies.

The thing is not to let phrases obscure one's consciousness, disorient one's mind. When people speak about "revolution," "the revolutionary people," "revolutionary democracy," and so on, *nine times out of ten* this is a lie or self-deception. The question is—*what class* is making this revolution? A revolution *against whom*?...

The conclusion is obvious: only assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government. It will be really strong because it will be supported by a solid and class-conscious majority of the people. It will be strong because it will not, of necessity, have to be based on a precarious "agreement" between capitalists and small proprietors, between millionaires and petty bourgeoisie....

It will be a truly revolutionary government, the only one capable of showing the people that at a time when untold suffering is inflicted upon the masses it will not be awed and deterred by capitalist profits. It will be a truly revolutionary government because it alone will be capable of evoking and sustaining the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and increasing it tenfold....

—V.I. Lenin, "A Strong Revolutionary Government" (May 1917)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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**No. 445** **29 January 1988**



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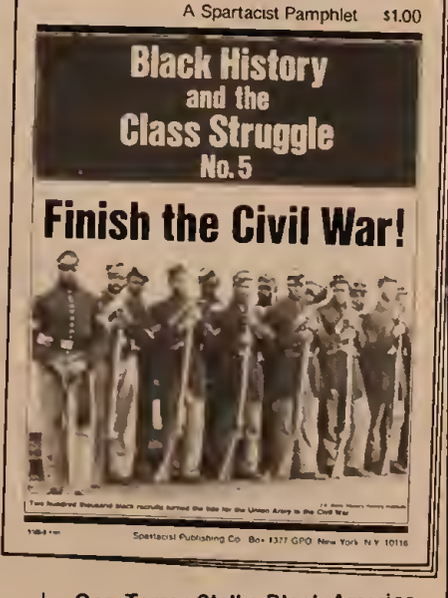


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# They're Waging War on the Homeless

It was New York City's Port Authority bus terminal, where hundreds have taken refuge from the winter and the frightful "shelters" and welfare hotels. In the early morning hours of January 20, as they slept beneath a layer of papers for warmth, two homeless men were set on fire by four youths. The two men escaped with minor burns, this time. Last August a woman was seriously burned and required hospitalization after she and a companion were doused with gasoline as they slept in Prospect Park.

A few days earlier, the *New York Times* (9 January) reported on a group of homeless young people who had banded together for survival behind the railing of Gate 8 at Port Authority. They called themselves the "Breakfast Club," and by pooling the money they had collected panhandling, they managed to buy a five-inch TV set for $54. It was a point of pride in their struggle to lift themselves above their bleak existence. "We are trying to turn ourselves around," explained Charlene Turner. But after the TV set was brought to the attention of officials, two cops wantonly bent the antenna and ripped the cord in half.

Dietrich/Newsday

**Homeless take shelter in New York's Penn Station.**

On January 19, Joyce Brown (known as Billie Boggs) was released from an 84-day psychiatric lockup at Bellevue. This black woman was the first victim of Mayor Ed Koch's vindictive racist dragnet against the homeless. Miss Brown said after she beat Koch's attempts to forcibly medicate her: "I wasted 12 weeks of my life in the hospital. I was not insane when they picked me up—I was homeless." Invited for an interview on Channel 5, owned by media sleaze king Rupert Murdoch, she was viciously attacked by a snarling anchorman indignant at her steadfast defense of her rights. After hundreds of protest calls from outraged New Yorkers, he was slapped on the wrist with a suspension from the station.

Behind these individual acts of deliberate cruelty there is a war against the legions of homeless in America. In New York, as officials proclaimed there was a bed for everyone, the Coalition for the Homeless witnessed dozens of men being turned away from the Fort Washington armory. Now homeless people in NYC will be asked to "voluntarily" identify themselves to be admitted to a shelter, supposedly in exchange for a pittance that wouldn't even pay subway fare to work and back, if they could find a job. In Chicago, with temperatures hovering at 14 below, homeless were turned away every night; five people froze to death. Atlanta seeks to establish "vagrant-free" zones in anticipation of its hosting the Democratic National Convention.

Mass homelessness is no more a natural calamity than mass hunger, it's an outgrowth of decaying American

*continued on page 9*

## Maimed Protester Brian Willson Sued by Would-Be Killers

# Navy Ordered Death Train

Brian Willson barely escaped with his life last September 1, when he was deliberately run down by a Navy munitions train, which severed both his legs. Now this courageous antiwar protester and Vietnam vet is being sued by his would-be killers—the three crewmen on the arms train that plowed into Willson as he knelt on the tracks outside the Naval Weapons Station in Concord, California. The grotesque lawsuit charges the pacifist activist Willson with "conscious and deliberate disregard to the rights, feelings and consequences" to the train crew and plotting to "intentionally inflict emotional harm and distress" on them (*San Francisco Examiner*, January 12). Behind this obscene attempt to hound and further torment the man they have already maimed for life is the Reagan gang, whose killer contras have murdered and maimed thousands in their terrorist war on the Nicaraguan people. *They have brought the contra war home!*

Brian Willson was mutilated as he and his Nuremberg Actions group, along with other pacifists, were carrying out months-long protests against the death cargoes. Millions of dollars worth of demolition bombs, white phosphorus rockets, fuze extenders (detonators) and machine-gun ammo are shipped from the weapons station to the U.S.-backed Salvadoran army which has killed over 60,000 people in seven years of civil war. Willson was the victim of attempted murder—premeditated and *ordered by the U.S. Navy*. As ABC News (12 January) reported:

> "Now documents obtained by the Center for Investigative Reporting reveal that the train's engineer, David Hummiston, said he was told by his supervisor not to stop outside the base area, to prevent protesters from boarding the locomotive.
> "Another document quotes John Banta, the station's security manager, as giving the train the green light to proceed. 'You might as well let them go ahead. We are going to have a confrontation sooner or later,' he was quoted as saying. The document also quotes Banta as saying he 'hoped a demonstrator or demonstrators would be on the tracks' so that the initial confrontation would occur and arrests would be made."

Last November, a House Armed Services subcommittee "investigated" the bloody incident at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. It was revealed that the Navy heavily censored its initial report documenting that security chief Banta gave the go-ahead for the "confrontation" which ripped Brian Willson's legs and smashed a gaping hole in his skull. The Navy claims it did not know protesters would be on the track that day. Yet Willson had written a letter to base authorities spelling out the demonstrators' plans to kneel on the tracks. The initial report showed the Navy circulated memos on the planned action days before it occurred.

Willson has been greeted as a hero in Nicaragua, while the Soviet Union offered him free medical care. (His hospital bills in the medicine-for-profit USA have already surpassed $150,000, and he lacks medical insurance.) With the American population deeply opposed to Reagan's Central America policy, Willson's determination has won broad admiration. Many recall the heroic example of Ben Linder, the young U.S. *internacionalista* murdered last May by Reagan's contras for helping to bring electricity to Nicaraguan villages.

While Willson's courage has inspired admiration of decent people around the world, the American ruling class sees protesting imperialist war as a crime. And the victims of that war machine are made the criminals. In November, the House Armed Services subcommittee silenced Willson's testimony when he sought to explain the reasons for his protest and to expose the deadly shipments to El Salvador from the Naval Weapons Center. This was not "relevant" enough for Congress, which groveled before Oliver North, giving the killer elite's crazed mouthpiece free rein to preach the glories of contra terror.

Andy Peri

**Navy munitions train runs over antiwar activist Brian Willson last September, severing both his legs.**

AP

**Willson testifying before Congress.**

The Navy employees who drove the death train over Willson were "only following orders" in U.S. imperialism's campaign to terrorize all those who oppose its bloody wars. Now they're looking for a bounty, just like killer cop Anthony Sperl who shot five-year-old black child Patrick Mason in his Orange County home in 1983, then collected $35,000 for "psychological damage." What's next, asked an outraged Californian in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times* (23 January), "a suit by SS men against victims of the Holocaust"? Another wrote: "I was struck by the arrogance, the naked evil of the American military machine; men who believe that nothing must stand in the way of our war in Central America, that nothing must halt the flow of arms to the Contras, our mercenary army of murderers and torturers."

The Contra Costa County D.A.,

*continued on page 4*

# The Wages of Perestroika

# Soviet Workers Protest in Yaroslavl

As Mikhail Gorbachev's "market socialist" economic reforms were about to take effect in the Soviet Union, workers at the huge Yaroslavl engine works staged a week of demonstrations at the plant gates. They were protesting a management decision to make the workforce put in 15 Saturdays in 1988. Beginning on December 11, up to 300 workers gathered each day, carrying signs including "We Are for *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*," "We Are for an Eight-Hour Day" and "We Are for Eight Working Saturdays Maximum." It was the third reported instance of labor unrest since September, including two full-blown strikes over work rules, highlighting the inherent contradictions of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness).

TASS

**Yaroslavl workers' spokesman Lev Makarov (right) confronts engine works director last December.**

The working Saturdays scheduled by Yaroslavl plant managers are standard practice by Soviet bureaucrats to meet production quotas by month-end "storming" to make up for lost time due to shortages or machinery breakdowns. The official union rubber-stamped their decision without consulting the 40,000-strong workforce at the engine works and its satellite facilities, so the workers selected their own "initiative group," demanding—and getting—a meeting with management. The dispute was so important (more than 300 factories depend on this one plant for diesel engines) that the deputy minister of the USSR's automobile industry, and trade-union, party and government officials up to the regional level were hauled in.

*Moscow News* (3 January) called the work action "Another Lesson in Democracy," but was annoyed that Soviet workers might actually take talk about democratizing the workplace seriously. At a December 18 meeting, a worker, Lev Makarov, labeled the main "instigator," was sitting on the presidium "without seemingly any official grounds for this." The "story got blown out of proportion," complained *MN*. "This should not have led to agitation of the plant, the city and all industry," said these champions of *glasnost* who seem to yearn for the days when the workers just shut up and took it. Management's choice of working hours carried—but only by the barest margin.

Facing speedup, layoffs and vastly increased wage differentials under Gorbachev's reforms, some Soviet workers are getting involved in *perestroika* in a way the bureaucracy never intended. Last fall, *Moscow News* (27 September 1987) reported a bus drivers strike at Chekhov, about 40 miles outside Moscow, headlining their account "Incident." A month later, workers at the Likino bus factory stopped work for three days. This time *MN* called it "An Emergency." Today "strike" is the unmentionable "S-word" in the USSR, but Soviet workers will soon teach the Stalinist hacks the meaning of the word "*stachka*," the title of Sergei Eisenstein's film *Strike!* on the Bolshevik-led workers' actions at the turn of the century.

The new State Enterprise Law, which took effect on January 1, could well increase "incidents" like those at Chekhov, Likino and Yaroslavl. Some 60 percent of Soviet industry will now be on a system of "self-financing" (*khozraschot*), including the threat of bankruptcy for enterprises which fail to make a profit. The Yaroslavl engine works, like the rest of the auto industry, went on this system a year early—one reason why the problems there attracted wide interest from Soviet workers and managers alike. Under the new law, workers have the right to elect local factory officials. But there's a built-in contradiction—what happens when workers vote against a program of speedup, layoffs, unemployment and "Stakhanovite" wage differentials?

Older plants, like Yaroslavl, will be at a particular disadvantage—they will have to make choices between expensive retooling and the size and pay level of their workforces, and many will probably be able to afford neither. Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov reported last June that 13 percent of Soviet plants already run at a loss, while Soviet economists say an additional 12 percent can't afford new equipment on their own. In the meantime, by 1992 huge subsidies on basic goods and services like bread, meat and housing are slated to go—and these changes have already been postponed because they are such political dynamite. "Some are worried that their standard of living will decline," said a leading Soviet economist (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1987).

The petty-bourgeois appetites of the Stalinist bureaucracy only add to the problems generated by the market-socialist "solution" to the economic problems created by the Stalinist perversion of central planning. "Upscale" shops with fancy displays of high-priced consumer goods are springing up—open to all, but affordable only to a small minority. Thousands of small-scale entrepreneurs have recently been licensed to do business in everything from auto repair to beauty salons. "Legalized theft," one irate Soviet citizen was overheard to say on a trolley bus about the flowering of "individual enterprise" permitted under the new laws (*Christian Science Monitor*, 3 December 1987).

In agriculture, a system resembling nothing so much as sharecropping is springing up: "production units," frequently families, work up to 18 hours a day in return for the ability to sell a portion of their product on the open market. One collective farm director complained, "There is a huge exploitation of people. The Revolution wasn't created for this purpose" (*Business Week*, 7 December 1987).

A big effort is on to woo foreign capitalists into joint ventures with Soviet enterprises, dangling the prospect of a convertible ruble to aid repatriation of profits. Asked why companies should be interested in forming joint ventures in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's top economic adviser Abel Abanbegyan replied: "Our land is cheaper. Labor is cheaper" (*New York Times*, 14 December 1987). This "socialist" is trying to sell the Soviet Union to Western capitalists as the new Hong Kong!

A *New York Times* editorial note (29 December 1987) saw "an ironic glimmer of Marxist truth" in the resistance of Soviet workers to wage-cutting and layoffs. Peter Passell complained:

> "Ordinary Soviet citizens accept the privileges enjoyed by the top of the nomenklatura [the bureaucracy]—the dachas and eating clubs, special hotels, even stretch limos with police escorts.... By contrast, Russians do openly complain about the profits of the tiny number of successful entrepreneurs. By no coincidence, the two touchiest issues are the people's feudal [!] rights—cheap food and guaranteed employment."

Two days later the same commentator noted that "These days, the mere mention of the U-word—unemployment—sends shivers through the ranks of Moscow's economic reformers." Yes, Soviet workers are strongly attached to their rights to eat and to work, which are hardly "feudal," but tremendous gains of the Russian Revolution, rights which *millions* of hungry and jobless in capitalist America don't enjoy.

Passell's pseudo-Marxist verdict on *perestroika*: "No good Marxist historian would be optimistic about this attempt to create a semi-capitalist economy without the bourgeoisie." The attempt by the Stalinist bureaucracy to introduce market-oriented economic reforms *is* in sharp contradiction to the socialist goals of the October Revolution. But while the *Times* yearns for a "Western-style economic system"—i.e., the restoration of capitalist exploitation—the Soviet workers will sharply oppose that, as their growing resistance to Gorbachev's reforms demonstrates. And working-class resistance to *perestroika* could well be the first step toward proletarian political revolution against the Kremlin oligarchy, leading to restoring soviet democracy and genuine socialist economic planning. ■

## Death Train...

*(continued from page 3)*

backed up by Ed Meese's cohorts in the California state attorney's office, declared last November that no criminal charges were warranted against those who maimed Brian Willson. They claim it was an "accident" because the crew supposedly thought the protesters would move. As Willson's lawyer Doron Weinberg said, "It's like saying I'm not responsible for murder because when I shot the guy, I thought he'd duck" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 September 1987). The real accident is that the train, which *accelerated* to three times the Navy's own speed limit, did *not* kill Brian Willson.

On December 12 a fired FBI agent confirmed that committed pacifist Brian Willson was targeted by a federal investigation as a potential "terrorist"! He is one of *8,000 people* on the FBI "terrorism" list—a label which sets you up for the kill by the forces of "law and order." And government-sponsored violence has continued against protesters at the Concord base. Sheriff's deputies have gotten special training in the "choke hold" and are now using this deadly technique. They deliberately broke one protester's wrist and the elbow of another, saying: "This will teach you." Like Willson, both victims were Vietnam vets. A pistol-toting thug threatened to drive a munitions truck over a group of demonstrators that included Willson's wife Holley Rauen. Brian Willson has filed a suit for $45 million in damages against Contra Costa County and plans a suit against the Navy. We hope he gets every penny.

But from the attempted murder and mutilation of Brian Willson to Duarte's death squads in El Salvador and the CIA contra killers in Nicaragua—and don't forget the killing of two million Vietnamese—it should be clear that American imperialism's war machine cannot be brought down by "moral witness," no matter how courageous. Lie down on the tracks and they will run you over. It's no more effective than pressuring the Democrats in the "contra Congress" which regularly votes millions for Reagan's terrorists. What's urgently needed is a program for *power*, to mobilize the broad opposition to U.S. imperialism's bloody wars behind the leadership and muscle of the working class. The only way to stop imperialist wars is to bring down the capitalist system which produces them. As we wrote in "Contra War Comes Home" (*WV* No. 436, 18 September 1987):

> "At Concord the ruling class has shown a glimpse of its plans for detention of Hispanics and radicals to crush protest against an invasion of Central America, a taste of its Oliver North-style blueprints for a military coup. Only the power of the revolutionary working class can defeat the state terrorists in the White House and Pentagon."

* * *

Contributions for Brian Willson's legal defense and medical expenses should be made payable to the Brian Willson Trust Fund, and sent to his attorney's office: Larsen & Weinberg, 523 Octavia Street, San Francisco, CA 94102. ■

Young Spartacus

# Down with Dixie Flag of Slavery!

## Finish the Civil War!

From Forsyth County, Georgia to New York's Howard Beach, the Confederate flag is the emblem of Klan terror and race-haters. No mere historical artifact of the Old South, it has been adopted as a universal battle flag for racists. The raising of this racist, seditious banner of the Confederacy over Fort Sumter on 15 April 1861 signaled the opening of the Civil War. Frederick Douglass, the great leader of the militant wing of the abolitionist movement, saw the attack on Sumter as the long-awaited opportunity to get on with the necessary and inevitable war against the monster of slavery:

> "Our rulers were ready enough to sacrifice the Negro to the Union so long as there was any hope of saving the Union by that means. The attack upon Sumter, and other movements on the part of the cotton lords of the lash, have about convinced them that the insatiate slaveholders not only mean peace and safety of slavery, but to make themselves masters of the Republic. It is not merely a war for slavery, but it is a war for slavery dominion....
>
> "*Friends of freedom! be up and doing; —now is your time....* Let the long crushed bondman arise!...snatch back the liberty of which he has been so long robbed and despoiled."
>
> —*Douglass' Monthly*, May 1861

The issue of property in human flesh was settled in blood and iron in the Civil War, but the battle flag of the slavocracy still flies—the banner of resurgent racism *North and South*. It's carried by racist white ethnics defending lynch mob murderers in Howard Beach and displayed by right-wing death squad killers in Central America. That banner is a call to arms, a *program* for those who want the kind of society we'd have if the South had won the Civil War. Everywhere and any time it is unfurled is a searing reminder that there's a lot of unfinished business to take care of in this country. It's going to take a *socialist* revolution to *finish the Civil War* and make good on the unfulfilled promise of black equality.

We tore down the flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center in 1984. Richard Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, donned a Union Army uniform, climbed a 50-foot flagpole twice to cut down the Confederate flag, and replaced it with a replica of the Union's Fort Sumter garrison flag. Then-mayor of San Francisco Dianne Feinstein, a Democrat, *shredded* this flag and so affronted the decent working people of the San Francisco Bay Area that the flagpole itself was somehow brought to the ground. The racists not only felt the wind go out of their sails, but they lost the sail and the mast too! Today the flag of the "California Hundred" volunteers who fought on the Union side of the Civil War flies at the Civic Center.

Four states of the old Confederacy (Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina) fly a version of the Confederate flag as their official state banners. The NAACP has launched a campaign to bring down these filthy Dixie rags this year. Thomas Reed, an Alabama State Representative and the NAACP's state president, called the flag a "symbol of slavery and oppression of blacks" and vowed to climb the capitol flagpole in Montgomery and tear it down himself if the state's Republican governor didn't remove it by February 2. The NAACP told our reporter that Meese's Justice Department, the FBI and the state police would be on hand along with the local forces of "law and order" run by the racist nut Emory Fomar (who dresses in battle fatigues and is referred to by local blacks as the "Ku Klux Mayor") to "defend" Reed! But Governor Hunt pre-empted with a threat to arrest Representative Reed if he tries anything bolder than lobbying the Reaganites and Dixiecrats in the state legislature.

WV Photo

**Spartacist League supporter Richard Bradley, clad in a Union Army uniform, cuts down the hated flag of slavery, San Francisco, April 1984.**

We applaud Thomas Reed's efforts. But the NAACP's faith in the neutrality of the state is a dangerous misconception. It's the Klan in blue uniforms who are the overwhelming source of violence against blacks and working people. The racists that are already mobilizing in opposition to the campaign against the flag of slavery are going to have to be met by more than "an intensive lobbying effort." It's going to take mass *labor and black struggle* to make the whistling Dixiecrats change their tune. The Alabama state capitol served as the seat of the secessionists when Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as the first president of the Confederacy. In 1961, Jefferson Davis' political heirs brazenly proclaimed "the South will rise again" by raising the flag of slavery over the state capitol (just one block from Martin Luther King's church) to mark the centennial of the Confederacy's capture of Fort Sumter.

The days of Jim Crow segregation were already numbered in the post-World War II period when black GIs returned home, armed, and determined to fight for their rights. The naked oppression of the Southern black population had also become something of an economic anachronism and an embarrassment for the American ruling class which postured as the guardians of "freedom" and "democracy" to police the postwar world. But the whole power structure of the South hinged on the Dixiecrats successfully disenfranchising the black population. All over the Confederacy the racist flags went up as the white rulers threw down the gauntlet and met the civil rights movement with truncheons, fire hoses and dogs. The Georgia state legislature dug up the old Confederate battle flag and slapped the state seal on it in 1956 in open defiance of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision against segregation in public schools. Alabama and South Carolina followed suit.

Mississippi, notorious from the days of slavery as the deadliest destination for blacks in the Deep South, has barely had a period when this insignia of terror *didn't* fly. When Union troops were pulled out of the South in the Compromise of 1877, the black population was left unarmed and defenseless against the plantation owners, who drowned Radical Reconstruction in a tide of blood. As soon as Mississippi ratified its "states' rights" constitution in 1894, the flag of slavery was hoisted as the official emblem of the state again. Yet in 1983, a group of courageous black students fought to rid "Ole Miss" of the flag of Dixie racism *and won!* Their fight is an inspiration for all anti-racist militants. The school's first black cheerleader refused to wave the Confederate flag at school games, sparking a protest movement that faced down Klan death threats and a march of 2,000 white racists who besieged a black dormitory singing "Dixie" and screaming racist slurs. The anti-racist students weren't derailed by local black politicos who tried to "chill out" the situation and were told where to go (see "How We Drove the Confederate Flag from Ole Miss," *Young Spartacus* No. 117, April 1984).

### The Hoax of the "New South"

All the rhetoric one hears about the "New South" is belied by the symbol of

*continued on page 6*

# Over the Rainbow with the Democrats

# Pan-Africanist Kwame Ture Goes for Jesse

Black students at the University of California at Berkeley are looking for answers on how to fight the racist threats and raw violence which broke out and spread like brush fires on this campus last fall (see "Students: Ally with Labor to Smash Racist Attacks!" *WV* No. 441, 27 November 1987). On November 17, some 60 Berkeley students came out to hear what kind of program Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael) had to offer at a forum sponsored by the African Students Alliance. But it seems Kwame Ture of the AAPRP (All-African People's Revolutionary Party) is not "part of the solution" but "part of the problem," dishing up the old dead-end strategy of voting for the bosses' Democratic Party, and trying to hide it under a blanket of pseudo-socialist rhetoric.

"Socialism is sweeping the world," Ture announced, and here in the United States it's none other than "Mr. Black Capitalism," Jesse Jackson, who is presumably providing the leadership and pushing the broom for this great sweep! Ture explained:

> "We are convinced that the right action for Jesse Jackson is going to lead to the smashing of the capitalist system. Because of the forces which he represents, he will have to represent us. And he will have to have change in the Democratic Party to honestly represent them. And the lack of which, will cause the destruction of the Democratic Party."

You've come a long way, Kwame. As a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Stokely Carmichael once captured the jagged reality of racist America, stating that it was "as ludicrous for Negroes to join [the Democratic Party] as it would have been for Jews to join the Nazi Party in the 1930s." This was in 1964, after a civil rights delegation from Mississippi was booted out of the Democratic National Convention and a racist Jim Crow delegation was seated in its place. Carmichael helped found the Lowndes County Black Panther Party in Alabama and was the man most associated with the slogan "Black Power!"—

UPI

**Jesse Jackson woos racist Dixiecrat George Wallace in bid for Democratic Party nomination.**

a slogan which, briefly, symbolized the defiant opposition of young black militants to Martin Luther King's "turn the other cheek" pacifism and subordination of the civil rights movement to the white liberal establishment.

The road to freedom for the black masses is the fight for *workers power* in struggle against the root cause of racism, the capitalist system. Stokely consciously rejected the organized working class as a force for revolutionary change and spun off in the direction of impotent, *anti-struggle* black nationalism while others (such as ex-SNCC activist Marion Barry) sold their souls to the Democratic Party and today lord it over the black masses as the mayors of the nation's ugliest ghettos. Now Kwame Ture tells a new generation of black youth to put their faith in Jesse Jackson, whose campaign for the Democratic Party consists of glad-handing Dixiecrat politicians of the likes of George (Segregation Forever) Wallace.

Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander cut through Ture's convoluted claptrap about Jackson with a sharp reply from the floor at the Berkeley meeting:

> "Now, you spoke about how Jackson is going to perhaps lead to the destruction of capitalism. Genuine revolutionaries tell the truth to the masses at all times, namely, they warn against the treacherous misleaders. He is running for the Dixiecrat racist Democratic Party. They take the black vote for granted. They are out to get the white racist vote. So what we counterpose to that is to build in this country today an integrated revolutionary working-class party that can lead the working class and the oppressed to the seizure of state power."

Comrade Alexander also noted that the Spartacist League and the AAPRP "have made common cause around certain issues despite very profound political differences." These issues include a joint protest action against the U.S. bombing of Libya, and struggling to free former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt from a lifetime prison term imposed as the result of a dirty FBI/COINTELPRO frame-up. However, as the SL spokesman said:

> "Pan-Africanism is a despairing strategy, it is a defeatist strategy with regard to resurgent racist reaction in this country, and it is directly counterposed to the program of militant, integrated working-class struggle.... When the Spartacist League initiated several large labor/black mobilizations and stopped the Klan and Nazis from marching in the streets in Detroit in 1979; San Francisco in 1980; 1982 in Washington, D.C., in which 5,000 black workers and youth came out—those important victories showed the way forward, because in this country it's only the program of revolutionary integrationism to fight for the assimilation of blacks in an egalitarian society that actually offers the way forward. And so we say the emancipation of black Africa, no less than the emancipation of blacks in this country, requires a program of proletarian revolution. That program can only be carried out by a multiracial vanguard party that's really a tribune of the people." ■

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# Down with Dixie Flag...

*(continued from page 5)*

racist reaction that flies over it. The city of Atlanta is ruled by a black administration and dubbed "the city too busy to hate." But the surrounding white suburbs are "enemy territory" for black people. For people unfamiliar with the South, traveling there can be a terrifying trip back to days you hoped were bygone. One comrade of ours reported how a Northern friend first adjusted to life in the predominantly black neighborhood around Atlanta University:

> "At the beginning of the semester, I ran into one of my classmates, a guy just recently arrived from Detroit. I noticed his eyes fixed on something behind me, his face ashen. 'My God!' he said, 'it's the CONFEDERATE FLAG!' I turned around and following his gaze saw a group of white construction workers and a Confederate flag atop an all-black elementary school. It looked as if the Klan had taken over the building and planted the banner of race-terror in triumph on the roof. My friend thought we were under attack and started to flee. I grabbed his jacket and said, 'That's the state flag of Georgia'."

For Southern blacks the Confederate flag is everywhere a reminder of their precarious situation. Black students at Georgia Tech in Atlanta protested and put an end to the school's annual "Old South" parade where the dean of students, dressed in a Union army uniform, surrendered the campus to the all-white Kappa Alpha Kappa fraternity members, dressed as Confederate officers. Now the dean surrenders in plain clothes instead (!) and delivers a speech on the morals of "Southern gentlemen" to racist frat rats. Meanwhile, a black sorority house on campus has been the site of several cross-burnings.

Defenders of the Confederate flag protest that it's a precious item of Southern "culture," not a symbol of race-hatred. Bullshit. It's the preeminent symbol of racist terror "Up South" in New York too, and rest assured they don't drink mint juleps in Howard Beach. In Atlanta, the "Sons of Confederate Veterans" showed up dressed in Confederate uniforms demanding the flag remain as it is and the very sinister Southern Heritage Foundation has launched a "save the flag" region-wide campaign. This is obscene! Maybe banners of General William Tecumseh Sherman flying from every schoolhouse and government building would remind these scum that *they lost the war!*

Even some opponents of the flag are pandering to this reactionary "cultural tradition." Frank Redding, a black State Representative who introduced a bill against the Confederate flag last year (it died in committee), argues that the flag is "misused" and wonders how "Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis would have felt to see 'one of those crazies' [in Forsyth County] waving their emblem. 'I personally have a great deal of respect for the Confederacy'" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 18 February 1987). The Klan and the Nazis who murder and terrorize under the Confederate banners and swastikas are the *auxiliary* forces of the capitalist state and cannot be lightly dismissed as "some crazies"—remember Greensboro!

There can be no economic equality nor justice for black people in this capitalist society. As Frederick Douglass said, "Experience demonstrates that there may be a slavery of wages only a little less galling and crushing in its effects than chattel slavery, and that this slavery of wages must go down with the other." To bring down this rotting system of "democracy for the rich" requires building a revolutionary workers party with a strong black leadership component. And when the victorious proletariat marches to power, it will burn every filthy Confederate banner in its path and raise in its stead the red banner of the international working class. Black liberation through socialist revolution! Finish the Civil War! ■

Egan/Guardian

**"Up South": Racist punks in Bensonhurst, NY threaten civil rights marchers with Confederate flag and chants of "Bring back slavery!"**

National Park Service

**14 April 1865—After victory in the Civil War the original Union flag is raised again over Fort Sumter.**

# Ann Arbor: Students Seize Racist Dean's Office

On January 13, over 100 University of Michigan students occupied Dean Peter O. Steiner's office and held it for 26 hours to protest Steiner's blatant call to keep the university an enclave of white privilege. Despite abysmally low black enrollment at Ann Arbor (now down to 5 percent), Steiner quipped that he didn't want "to change this university into another kind of institution where minorities would naturally flock in much greater numbers." Aping the discredited pseudoscientific racist William Shockley, Steiner also wrote in a college economics textbook he authored that "many scientists are not prepared to consider evidence that there may be differences in intelligence among races because as good liberals they feel that all races ought to be equal."

The United Coalition Against Racism (UCAR), which initiated the sit-in, brought out more than 300 students, black and white, to pack a Regents meeting the next day and demanded that Steiner be fired. Formed last year to counter a series of racist threats against black students, UCAR is now demanding that the Justice Department investigate racism on the Ann Arbor campus. But from the bombing of Philly MOVE to cutbacks in federal funds for education, Ed Meese and his boss Reagan are two of the biggest racists around! Allied with the power of the integrated labor movement in nearby Detroit, students could run the perpetrators of racist violence off campus. Against the race and class bias inherent in education under capitalism, we demand *free quality education for all!* For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all!■

Young Spartacus

**Dean Steiner wants to keep blacks off Ann Arbor campus, but student militants who took over his office say racist dean has got to hit the road.**

# Black History Month Spartacist Events

## Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

### CHICAGO
**Sunday, Feb. 14, 3:00 p.m.**
Reynolds Club North Lounge
University of Chicago
Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information (312) 663-0715

### NEW YORK
**Wednesday, Feb. 24, 2:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Borough of Manhattan
Community College
Speaker: Mark Kellerman
Spartacist League
For more information (212) 267-1025

### MADISON
**Saturday, Feb. 20, 2:00 p.m.**
See "Today in the Union" for room
University of Wisconsin
Guest Speaker:
Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
For more information. (608) 251-6431

### OBERLIN
**Saturday, Feb. 27, 7:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Oberlin College
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
Speaker: Gregg Burton
SL Central Committee
For more information: (216) 881-3700

### ITHACA
**Saturday, Feb. 20, 7:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Cornell University
"Black Freedom, Women's Rights and the Civil War"
Speaker:
Amy Rath, Associate Editor
*Women and Revolution*
For more information: (607) 277-1834

### CLEVELAND
**Sunday, Feb. 28, 3:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Cleveland State University
Guest Speaker: Bernard Branche
member, ATU Local 308
Speaker: Gregg Burton
SL Central Committee
For more information. (216) 881-3700

## "We Stopped the Klan!"

**Video showing of 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C.**

### ANN ARBOR
**Saturday, Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m.**
Anderson Room A, Michigan Union
University of Michigan
For more information (216) 881-3700

### CLEVELAND
**Monday, Feb. 29, 12:15 p.m.**
University Center, Room 109
Cleveland State University
For more information: (216) 881-3700

## Haiti: The First Black Republic

### NEW YORK
**Thursday, Feb. 11, 2:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
North Academic Center, CCNY
For more information. (212) 267-1025

### BOSTON
**Saturday, Feb. 27, 4:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Harvard University
For more information. (617) 492-3928

Speaker: John Sharpe, Spartacist League

## Russian Revolution Shows The Road to Black Liberation

### WASHINGTON, D.C.
**Thursday, Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m.**
Undergraduate Library Lecture Room
Howard University
Speaker: Brian Manning
Spartacist League
For more information (202) 636-3537

### LOS ANGELES
**Friday, Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m.**
Room to be announced
UCLA
Speaker: Don Alexander
SL Central Committee
For more information: (213) 380-8239

### NEW YORK
**Friday, Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Columbia University
Speaker: Ed Kartsen
SL Central Committee
For more information (212) 267-1025

### BERKELEY
**Friday, Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m.**
Room 126 Barrows
UC Berkeley
Speaker Don Alexander
SL Central Committee
For more information (415) 839-0851

## Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

### Black History and the Class Struggle

#### BERKELEY
**Alternate Tuesdays, 7:00 p.m.**
Feb. 2, 16, March 1, 15
Room 146 Dwinelle
UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 839-0851

#### CHICAGO
**Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.**
Feb 4, 18, 25
Cobb Hall, Room 112
University of Chicago
For more information (312) 663-0715

#### MADISON
**Saturdays, 2:00 p.m.**
Feb. 6, 13, 27
See "Today in the Union" for room
University of Wisconsin
For more information. (608) 251-6431

### The Fight for Socialism

#### NEW YORK
**Alternate Saturdays, 4:00 p.m.**
Feb. 13, 27, March 12
41 Warren Street
(one block south of Chambers)
For more information (212) 267-1025

Young Spartacus

# Supreme Court Gags High School Students

The bigots running this country have another legal weapon to help impose their powers of "thought control." On January 13, the Supreme Court imposed a gag order on high school students, ruling that "A school need not tolerate speech that is inconsistent with its 'basic educational mission'." The case, *Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier*, began in 1983 when Cathy Kuhlmeier, Lee Ann Tippet-West and Leslie Smart, three staff members of the *Spectrum*, a newspaper produced by a journalism class at Hazelwood East High School near St. Louis, Missouri, filed a lawsuit on the basis that their First Amendment rights had been violated. Two *Spectrum* articles on teenage pregnancy and the impact of divorce on students were banned from publication by the school's principal, who deemed the articles "'inappropriate and unsuitable' reading for teenagers" (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 January).

Finley/AP


Sacha/NY Times

**Principal "Big Brother" Reynolds and his narrow Spectrum. Leslie Smart and Lee Ann Tippett-West (above) joined Cathy Kuhlmeier in light for free speech for high school students.**

Where school newspapers are concerned, the law of the land is "all the news that fits the principal." Students who try to report on anything racier than a film review of *Bambi* or more relevant than a pep rally face the choice of going underground with *samizdat* publications or risk having their words reduced to blank spaces in history. As Justice Brennan noted in his dissenting opinion:

> "A student who responds to a political science teacher's question with the retort 'Socialism is good,' subverts the school's inculcation of the message that capitalism is better.... If mere incompatibility with the school's pedagogical message were a constitutionally sufficient justification for the suppression of student speech, school officials could censor each of the...foregoing hypotheticals, converting our public schools into 'enclaves of totalitarianism' that 'strangle the free mind at its source'."

This decision marks the third time in three years that the Supreme Court has drastically curtailed the rights of high school students. In 1985, it eliminated Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure in the case of a Piscataway, New Jersey student whose purse was searched after she was caught smoking cigarettes in the high school bathroom. In 1986, free speech for high school students was attacked when the court ruled that a student could be suspended for making a "lewd" campaign speech (and the only "four letter word" in his speech was "firm")!

The issue here, in part, is *in loco parentis*—stripping youth of fundamental democratic rights that every American is supposed to have. "Age of adulthood" laws are not only a reactionary state-sanctioned means of repressing youth, but serve as a springboard for attacks on the entire population. The aim is to create a generation of eternal "children," accustomed to the idea that they have no rights. One of the ways the state has whittled away abortion rights, for instance, was to first target teenagers. Young women have been denied access to birth control in public schools and their right to legal abortions has been repeatedly challenged by "squeal rules" and other demands for parental consent. This threatens university students as well. Just last year, Boston University president Silber tried to ban distribution of condoms on the college campus (this in the midst of an AIDS epidemic!).

They want to run high schools like jails. Private universities have long been run as priggish fiefdoms, where constitutionally protected rights to free speech are subverted on private property surrounded by ivied walls intended to keep out the public "rabble." Public universities may also be affected by the latest Supreme Court edict. Columnist Tom Wicker wrote in the *New York Times* (18 January), "Despite the differences in high schools and colleges, it's hard to see why the rationale of the decision ...could not be cited by university administrators."

Democratic rights are not some absolute truths enacted by fair-minded rulers of a just society—they are the precious conquests won by working people in hard-fought battles against their oppressors and exploiters. It was *social struggle* that was key to winning basic liberties for university *and* high school students in the first place. The Free Speech Movement began at Berkeley in 1964 when Cal students joined in the Southern-based civil rights movement to fight for black equality. The landmark 1969 *Tinker* ruling established a precedent for free speech for high school students who stated their opposition to the imperialists' dirty colonial war in Vietnam by wearing black armbands to school.

The recent Supreme Court decisions suppressing students' rights are part of a drive to regiment youth into being good clean cannon fodder for new imperialist wars. But on campuses across the country, recruiters for the CIA's Murder Inc., contra war criminals and the dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick have been met with militant student protest, which is why the Reaganauts are looking to put youth in a legal straitjacket. Today's rulers have a real problem, namely that students are not going to sit home and eat edicts. *Down with the reactionary Supreme Court gag order!*■

# Smokers Revolt Against "Health Fascism"

Flying is scary enough these days in the wild, unregulated skies of America; now, adding insult to injury, they're trying to take away our right to what could well be a last smoke. Even condemned men used to get a final cigarette before the firing squad opened up. But not on union-buster Carl Icahn's TWA: last December 30 the crew of a TWA Boston to Los Angeles flight abruptly announced a total smoking ban for the "second-class citizens" in coach and business seats (first class is presumably still sacred). When some brave souls lit up anyhow, a scuffle broke out and the pilot called for the cops, who seized passengers at the L.A. airport. They were released after questioning, although reportedly the FBI is still "investigating"—for what? A "Ten Most Wanted Smokers" poster?

Meanwhile, a California law banning *all* smoking on public transportation went into effect January 1: you can now get slapped with a $100 fine for taking a puff on a bus, train or plane in California airspace (as well as in most parts of a bus, train or airline terminal), and up to $500 for "repeat offenders." It's not just in lotus land, either. In December the New York City Council passed a bill banning smoking in most enclosed public places, including stores, indoor sports arenas and even taxicabs. And on April 22 a federal law is to go into effect banning smoking on all commercial flights of two hours or less. During the bitter debate over the California law, one Republican state senator aptly denounced "health fascists."

This creeping "health fascism" has nothing to do with the public's welfare. Medical evidence on the effects of "secondary smoke" is inconclusive, and the obvious solution is to provide adequate ventilation for everybody. But that isn't profitable, so of course it's not even seriously proposed. It's bad for your health just living in smog-ridden Los Angeles, and who even knows how much radioactive and chemical poison is leaking out of U.S. military and industrial dumps across the nation? California governor Deukmejian, who approved the anti-smoking bill, meanwhile succeeded in his yearlong attempt to gut already minimal job safety inspection of workplaces by slashing the state agency CalOSHA (a move recently delayed in the courts).

New York Times

**"Health fascism" with a vicious twist: they turn commercial planes into flying coffins, but won't let you have a last smoke.**

We wrote last spring about the wave of "smokeout moralism" sweeping the country: "People should be able to read, eat, drink and enjoy whatever consensual activities they want without the cops or yuppie power prudes sticking their noses in" (*WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987). California is a haven of these mostly white, middle-class eco-freaks and "beansprout totalitarians." Remember Doris Collum, the black woman student stabbed at San Francisco State University in 1982: "She thought she had a right to pollute my air," raved eco-fascist attacker Richard Moss. And where else would you get the infamous Dan White "Twinkies defense"—after coldbloodedly murdering Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk, he claimed junk food made him do it!

These attempts to impose "purer than thou" morality on everybody have intersected the ruling class' continuing attempts to enforce docility and obedience in the population through Moral Majority terror—from drug witchhunts and mass testing to abortion clinic bombings. In the face of the truly horrible health care conditions in this country, this "secondary smoke" moralism is literally a smokescreen. We're supposed to get all upset about somebody lighting a cigarette in a bus terminal? What about the miserable, homeless people huddled in blankets along the walls and stairwells!

The Hitler Youth used to be all for clean living, too. "Social purification" was a rallying call of the German Nazis in the face of capitalist collapse and economic desperation. How far is it from "smoke pollution" to "race pollution"? We salute those TWA passengers who refused to give in to this moralistic tyranny—at least they had the courage of their compulsions.■

# For Militant Waterfront Unity!

# Northwest Port Shutdown

TACOMA, Washington—At 6 p.m. on January 13, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) shut down every West Coast port from Coos Bay, Oregon north to the Canadian border. For 38 hours, 3,500 longshoremen struck to protest plans by the giant ITT-Rayonier Corporation to open up non-union log loading operations at Port Angeles, Washington. During the shutdown, virtually the entire membership of the ILWU in Washington and Oregon, as well as retirees from Canada and California, met at the Tacoma Dome January 14. The Rayonier plan is the opening wedge of a drive by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) bosses which threatens the entire union. If ITT implements their plan to hire up to *2,000 non-union* longshoremen, there must be an immediate coastwise strike by the ILWU!

WV Photo

**Militant longshoremen stream into strike meeting at Tacoma Dome, January 14.**

ITT-Rayonier, one of the largest forest products companies in the Northwest, is aiming at the guts of the ILWU in the area—log operations make up a large percentage of cargo in many Northwest ports. ILWU president Jimmy Herman claims that the longshore division has "thus far emerged unscathed by the attacks on labor over the last decade" (*Dispatcher*, 15 January). But longshoremen know Herman *gave away* union gains. Last summer's ILWU contract, which set up a *six-tier* pay scale, abandoned the six-hour day and gave the PMA sweeping changes in work rules. Only a heavy vote in the Northwest ports for Herman's sellout enabled the ILWU tops to ram the contract through on a second vote. Now Herman's givebacks, coupled with his sabotage of the tugboat workers strike against Crowley Maritime, has encouraged more forays against the ILWU by the maritime bosses.

But the 3,800 longshoremen who gathered at the Tacoma Dome were in no mood for more concessions. Arriving in a blinding rainstorm, longshoremen snapped up copies of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win"; over 450 *WV*s and supplements were sold and distributed as workers streamed into the Dome. They knew they had the power to bust the bosses' scab plans. But inside, the ILWU tops were singing a different tune. ILWU president Jimmy Herman and a host of local union officials from up and down the coast proposed... more givebacks!

When Herman called for "flexibility in work rules" an angry longshoreman shouted, "These are concessions!" (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 15 January). Damn right—Herman's suicidal "flexibility" means fewer longshoremen working harder and longer for less. He even gave the PMA *three weeks notice* of the port shutdown, "far enough in advance to schedule around it" (*Dispatcher*, 15 January). As a result, only 18 ships were tied up in Northwest ports. Obscenely, the ILWU bureaucrats used the strike rally to raise $8,000 for their "friend of labor" Democratic politicians. At the end, Herman sent longshoremen back to work with empty promises that there would be no reductions in log gangs.

West Coast longshoremen are not alone in facing the threat of scab operations. ITT has already established a non-union facility in the South Atlantic, taking on the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). For the first time, the 1986 ILA contract broke coastwise wage parity and instituted a two-tier wage scale. Newly installed union president John Bowers called this "the worst contract we have ever given to the membership" (*Journal of Commerce*, 23 March 1987). Yet these concessions haven't saved a job. Meanwhile, non-union shippers are trying to penetrate the Mid-Atlantic ports. In October 1985, Baltimore ILA Local 333 member Jackson Taylor was run down by a police car while picketing against an unprecedented attempt to use scab labor.

In the Gulf, scab operations from Houston to Mobile pose a deadly threat to the ILA. This summer in New Orleans, ILA freight handlers had *piecework* rates for bagged goods rammed down their throats, after the Dock Board threatened to bring in scab labor. In December a company tried to use non-union labor in New Orleans, but this time pickets from ILA Local 3000 ran them off the docks. The giant Crowley Maritime has shifted operations of its Coordinated Caribbean Transportation subsidiary in New Orleans and Miami to non-ILA ports in Lake Charles, Louisiana and Port Everglades, Florida.

The latest attack on the ILA is a recent Federal Maritime Commission ruling which has struck down a provision in the ILA contract which gives the union jurisdiction over container work within 50 miles of union ports. The container rule, similar to one in Vancouver ripped up by the Canadian courts last year, was part of a deal (along with "pay guarantees" and royalties) which the ILA made in exchange for massive job cuts accompanying the introduction of containers and automation. The 50-mile rule only saved a fraction of the jobs slashed. But from its inception the rule has been repeatedly challenged, not by the shippers, but by the capitalist labor boards and courts.

Union jurisdiction over stripping and stuffing of containers was a focus of Georgia Democratic Senator Sam Nunn's 1981 Senate hearings on "corruption" on the waterfront. From Robert Kennedy's "Get Hoffa" campaign to Reagan/Meese's RICO witchhunt against the labor movement, the bosses' government uses the excuse of "mob influence" in order to break union power. Like their vendetta against the Teamsters, both Reagan and the Democrats have the powerful ILA in their sights. Both of the bosses' parties hate this beachhead of union power in the Jim Crow South.

Last month ILA president Bowers attended the ILWU Longshore Caucus and called for common contract expiration dates "to tie up the SOBs at the same time" (*People's Daily World*, 31 December 1987). But there has been no *action* against union-busting, as longshoremen are under attack *now*, from Port Angeles to the Gulf. What's needed is class-struggle waterfront labor unity by all the longshore/transport unions—the ILA, ILWU, Teamsters and seamen—to smash these scab operations, organize the unorganized and fight for jobs with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

The longshore unions, with their heavily black and Hispanic membership, can be a powerful force for labor and black rights. But this requires integrating the ILA's segregated locals, taking on the government's Taft-Hartley injunctions against hot cargoing and transport strikes, and breaking the stranglehold of the union tops who police the labor movement for capitalism. The key to unleashing the power of the ILA and the ILWU is the construction of a militant leadership that breaks with the partner parties of American capitalism to forge a class-struggle workers party. ■

# War on Homeless...

*(continued from page 3)*

capitalism. And it is a result of bipartisan policy decisions, from the big city austerity programs begun under the Democrats in the mid-'70s to the Reaganites' systematic assault on every social program from Medicaid to Social Security. Tens of thousands of mental patients were thrown out of the hospitals onto the streets. A court has ruled that in New York City alone, 15,000 people were improperly removed from disability programs, and today are eligible for retroactive grants of up to $20,000 each.

Even in the most desperate conditions, many of the homeless haven't given up the fight. In Oakland on Christmas Eve, squatters took over a Victorian house near the Convention Center; cops then dragged them away. Similar occupations have occurred in Chicago and Seattle. In New York, while the homeless huddle on the streets, Condo King Trump rakes in billions. During the NYC 1985 election campaign, Spartacist candidates demanded: "Restore and extend rent control! Homeless should seize Trump City! Expropriate the real estate robber barons!" As for the 60,000-plus empty city-owned apartments—take 'em!

Faced with the vast arson-for-profit devastation wreaked by barrio slumlords, one city councilman a few years back called for "Soviet Aid to the South Bronx." And the Soviet Union has made a powerful point about human rights in America over the homeless. Following the Reagan/Gorbachev summit, Washington, D.C. homeless activist Mitch Snyder received a $5,000 donation from the Soviet Peace Fund for his work. One couple from Erie, Pennsylvania sought and received political asylum in the Soviet Union. Their mother said, "They were assured of a job there and an apartment. That's more than he could scem to get here" (*Newsday*, 20 January).

There are an estimated *three million* homeless people in the United States, including a generation of children virtually without a future. Yet side by side with the homeless, there is the glitzy nouvelle arrogance of the Trumps and the old money opulence of the Rockefellers. As the 19th-century German Jacobin revolutionist Georg Büchner proclaimed: "War to the palaces, peace to the cottages." There can be no solution to the housing crisis or any other of the desperate social conditions in this country short of socialist revolution. ■

Brinzac/NY Post

**Billie Boggs released after madman Koch had her locked up for 12 weeks in Bellevue: "I was not insane when they picked me up—I was homeless."**

# Nicaragua...

*(continued from page 1)*

have been more than 3,000 people killed in the war-torn region. Twice the Sandinistas declared cease-fires and twice the contras used them to resupply and carry out murderous raids in which scores of civilians were killed. In El Salvador, the Arias plan is dead in the water as the tottering Duarte regime is under attack from all sides and leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have struck sharp blows at the demoralized army.

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan regime has certainly been bending over backwards, making concessions left and right. In a private letter to Reagan (conveniently leaked to the kept media although U.S. assistant secretary of state for Central America Elliott Abrams says it hasn't been shown to the figurehead in the White House yet), Ortega reportedly offers to "respect the outcome of elections," reduce the size of the Sandinista Army, expel Soviet and Cuban military advisers and become "partners" with the U.S. But as the radlib *Guardian* (27 January) accurately headlined, "Managua gives a lot, U.S. wants more" and "Reagan won't take yes for an answer."

Larry Boyd/Impact Visuals

**Nicaraguan women march in Managua last fall against amnesty for imprisoned National Guardsmen and contras. Many carry pictures of their children killed by Somoza's butchers and Reagan's terrorists.**

### Washington's War to Make Nicaragua's Economy Scream

So the war goes on and on, and now that "the drums of peace" are beating, the warmasters in Washington have sharply escalated the killing. But now the Sandinistas have shot down another contra supply plane, flying from the CIA's base on Honduras' Swan Island (the site of an Agency radio transmitter supporting the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba). This small victory was made possible thanks to Soviet SAM missiles. Likewise, Soviet-supplied helicopters greatly aided the battle-hardened Sandinista Army to inflict a strategic defeat on the contras in 1985-86. And while liberals and conservatives join in yelping about Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega's declaration that Managua was seeking MiG jets capable of intercepting the CIA's supply flights, the Spartacist League continues to insist: "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

Sylvia Plachy

**Waiting at train station in Managua. Nicaragua is economically devastated after a decade of war organized and bankrolled by Yankee imperialism.**

In the meantime, the U.S. is tightening the screws of its economic war of attrition against the Sandinista regime. They eliminated wheat shipments, canceled Nicaragua's sugar quota, strong-armed international agencies to cancel loans, got Mexico and Venezuela to slash oil shipments. In 1985 Reagan ordered a total trade and financial embargo against Nicaragua. With production stoppages due to lack of spare parts and imported inputs, electricity cut off as much as five hours a day under emergency rationing, water supplies turned off two days a week, gasoline cut to five gallons a month, there have been spiraling shortages and inflation which last year topped 1,800 percent. The inevitable result has been frustration and exhaustion among the Nicaraguan masses.

In popular terminology, Nicaragua became the country of "there isn't any"; the national airline Aeronica is dubbed "Aero*nunca*" for its record of *never* arriving on time. Workers have to walk everywhere, or else stand in line for hours to catch one of the few buses still on the road. But while the poor in Managua barrios such as Villa Revolución are desperately trying to find rice, beans and sugar, the middle-class and bourgeois elements up the hill in Altamira still dine on *churrasco* steaks. They spend dollars in the "diplomatic" stores stocked with Japanese electronics and Scotch whiskey. The Mercado Oriental is stocked to the gills with goods and food priced too high for workers' families living on $50 a month to afford. This flourishing black market is fed by dollar remittances from relatives who fled the revolution to Miami, *and by government dollar subsidies seeking to buy off the remaining professionals and capitalists.*

Contrary to Reaganite propaganda, the Sandinistas are not communists but semi-Stalinized or plain nationalists. They took power with the "anti-Somoza" capitalists in tow, and sought to maintain "national unity" by sanctifying the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) program of "political pluralism, mixed economy and nonalignment." The unstable petty-bourgeois regime is committed neither to defending capitalist property relations nor to establishing a collectivized, proletarian economy through expropriating the bourgeoisie. But in their doomed attempt to straddle the fundamental class divide between capitalism and socialism, the FSLN has increasingly tilted toward the capitalists, breaking up state farms, guaranteeing private property in the constitution, and most recently giving a carte blanche to imperialist companies with a new foreign investment law.

Yet their sought-for "patriotic bourgeoisie" is nonexistent, as everyone from the electoral opposition of the Popular Social Christians and Independent Liberals to the open contra supporters of the "Democratic Coordinator" are on the CIA payroll. And even while admitting that they're making a profit and that "the Sandinista government is becoming more tolerant of private enterprise as the years pass" (*Business Week*, 1 February) the capitalists sabotage production by refusing to invest and using every opportunity to smuggle profits abroad. Reformist cheerleaders for the FSLN such as the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) try to close their eyes to the ominous economic reality, printing articles with Pollyannish headlines such as "Nicaragua: Why the 'black market' is not a black market" (*Militant*, 20 November 1987). But the Nicaraguan masses can't eat *Militant* articles. And while battered taxis are held together with rope and wire, resentment is growing against Sandinista comandantes who zip around town in their Soviet Lada sedans, forming a new "Ladacracy."

### War-Weariness Fuels Counterrevolution

Sandinista Nicaragua is economically and socially exhausted after a decade of war. In this there is a certain similarity between Nicaragua today and Bolshevik Russia at the end of the Civil War in 1920-21. To be sure, there are also fundamental differences. Bolshevik Russia was the product of a *proletarian* revolution led by an internationalist, Marxist party. The Nicaraguan Revolution which overthrew the Yankee puppet Somoza was a political revolution placing in power radical petty-bourgeois nationalists. Moreover, there remain significant survivals of the old ruling class crystallized around Archbishop Obando y Bravo. The economic exhaustion of Bolshevik Russia, a gigantic country, was the by-product of three years of imperialist war followed by four years of civil war and foreign intervention. The devastation of tiny Nicaragua is the *calculated policy* of Yankee imperialism to destroy the revolution.

Today in Nicaragua, a "patriotic" opposition leader like Luis Humberto Guzmán of the Popular Social Christians appeals to the masses' war-weariness in attacking the Sandinistas:

> "The people say, now we have a revolutionary government, but we don't have enough food. The people don't want the war. The war started in 1977 against Somoza and in '87 we still have war. And some people have started to think: under Somoza we had more food. We didn't have war."

A leader of the more conservative Social Christians declares that

> "If the United States invaded...he would pick up a gun and stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Nicaraguans against the invaders. But to join the Sandinista Army and fight contras who are Nicaraguans themselves in


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order to preserve a state that he regarded as totalitarian—this was out of the question."
—*Village Voice*, 3 Novemher 1987

But the contras are the cutting edge of the U.S.' war against the Nicaraguan Revolution: only a fool or a Yankee agent would pretend otherwise. This is the same line that Social Revolutionary and Menshevik agitators used as they allied with White Guard agents against the Bolsheviks at the end of the Civil War.

By the winter of 1920-21 the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky had defeated the main White armies, but they ruled over a devastated country. In the countryside peasant uprisings demanded an end to grain requisitioning for the Red Army and city workers. In the cities conditions were even worse, with workers living on near-starvation wages. Strikes broke out in Moscow and Petrograd as the workers demanded an increase in food rations and immediate distribution of all available winter clothing. The most dangerous revolt was the Kronstadt mutiny in March 1921. Kronstadt was the strategic naval base guarding the approach to Petrograd (now Leningrad). In 1917 the Kronstadt sailors had been in the vanguard of the revolution. But after four years of bloody civil war the best of them had been replaced by raw peasant youth, and the masses at this inactive naval base easily reflected the unrest in the countryside. Demanding freedom of trade for the peasantry and an end to the policies of "War Communism," the Kronstadt mutineers attacked the Bolsheviks:

"Communist rule has reduced all of Russia to unprecedented poverty, hunger, cold, and other privations. The factories and mills are closed, the railways on the verge of breakdown. The countryside has been fleeced to the bone.... The peasants and townsfolk have lost all hope for an improvement of their lives. Day by day they come closer to death. The Communist betrayers have reduced you all to this."
—cited in Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt 1921* (1970)

Penguin

**Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky stand among soldiers sent to suppress Kronstadt mutiny in March 1921. War-weariness and economic exhaustion fueled forces of counterrevolution.**

The Kronstadters' own declared program was the anarchist utopia of a loose-knit federation of autonomous communes. But their overriding hostility to Communist rule was inevitably forcing them into the arms of the White Guards and their imperialist backers. In fact, during the mutiny its principal leader, Stepan Petrichenko, appealed for aid to the main agent of the counterrevolutionary National Center in nearby Finland. After the mutiny was suppressed, Petrichenko fled to Finland where he and his supporters negotiated a secret pact with the White general (and former Baltic baron) Wrangel! The Bolshevik leaders understood that the Kronstadt mutiny had to be crushed if the revolution was to survive.

The suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny was the final, tragic act in the civil war in which the Bolsheviks defended proletarian power against the forces of world imperialism. Yet the economic and social exhaustion of Bolshevik Russia and the imperialist encirclement took their toll, leading to the bureaucratic degeneration of the young Soviet state and the triumph of Stalin in the mid-1920s. But Stalin is no historic option in Nicaragua. There is not going to be a tiny deformed workers state in Central America surrounded by Yankee imperialist puppet regimes. The country is too small and backward, the pressure of the United States too great to afford the luxury of a pernicious bureaucracy standing between the masses and the direct appetites of imperialism.

### Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Nor are the impoverished and embattled Nicaraguan masses inclined to tolerate this. Even as he was pleading with Reagan to become "partners" and denying all speculation about splits in the FSLN, Daniel Ortega admitted:

"...with regard to the common people, people on the street, well, a lot of explanation has to be made because a lot of people are frankly not happy with pardons to members of the *contra*, particularly those whose relatives have been killed by these individuals."
—National Public Radio, 25 January

On January 23, tens of thousands of Managuans attended a Sandinista rally vowing not to let Reagan defeat their revolution.

Now more than ever, defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution means *completing* the revolution by destroying the internal "fifth column" that leeches off the desperate masses—Expropriate the bourgeoisie! For agrarian revolution to take back the land from the cattle barons, sugar and cotton plantation owners and coffee capitalists who themselves "expropriated" the impoverished peasantry under the Yankee-protected Somozas and their predecessors. The Nicaraguan Revolution can survive only by igniting social revolution throughout the Central American isthmus, drawing into the battle the powerful proletariat of Mexico, and linking up with sharp class struggle in the heart of American imperialism. ■

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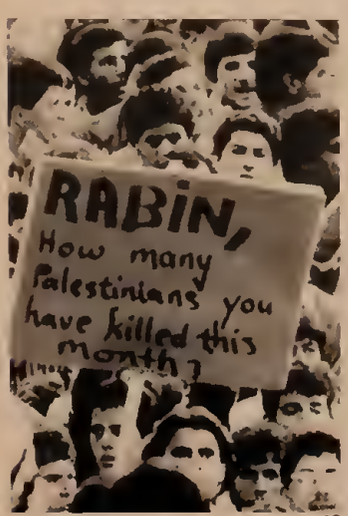
# Palestinians...

*(continued from page 12)*

themselves expressions of secular ideologies. Both Jews and Arabs are increasingly being pushed into the embrace of religious extremists who see themselves as prophets armed" (*New York Review of Books*, 4 February). Would Hertzberg so facilely equate the Nazi beasts with Jewish anti-Nazi partisans?

For all the social-democratic rhetoric of Ben-Gurion's "Labor" Zionism, it was always based on terrorizing and driving out the indigenous Arab population from the Jewish "promised land." It is this that leads the Zionists to sound and act like Nazis. Speaking at a press conference last October, a senior officer of the West Bank military occupation regime explained that they switched from wood to hard rubber riot sticks because "The wood batons have an irritating quality, they get broken.... Their [the Palestinians'] heads become harder" (*Ha'aretz*, 14 October 1987, translated by Israel Shahak). A recent survey revealed that 29 percent of Israeli Jews support mass expulsions of Palestinians, while one in two believe that Arabs in Israel should remain "second-class citizens."




AP

**Israeli Arabs protest in Nazareth against Zionist reign of terror in occupied Gaza and West Bank.**

The bankruptcy of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism in the face of Zionist terror has indeed increasingly driven the youth of the Occupied Territories into the arms of Islamic fundamentalism. The PLO has always preached reliance on the surrounding Arab sheiks, kings and colonels, who have themselves bloodily suppressed the Palestinian people. Today PLO leader Yasir Arafat repudiates the PLO's opposition to UN Resolution 242 acknowledging the integrity of the Zionist state. The Shi'ite Amal militia's "gift" to the embattled people of the Occupied Territories is to lift its grotesque three-year-long siege of Palestinian camps in Lebanon. One Gazan expressed the sense of frustration succinctly: "We're all alone in this fight; Amman, Cairo and the PLO don't do a thing for us" (*Newsweek*, 25 January).

The invasion of Al Aksa and the Temple Mount by the border police was an unprecedented provocation. *Jihads* ("holy wars") have been waged over far less. The Zionist authorities denied they had actually entered the mosque itself, a cover-up dutifully parroted by the *New York Times* (16 January), which reported the incident as a "clash" between Israeli police and "stone-throwing Palestinians." But an Italian reporter who was inside the mosque described how he "saw soldiers enter and take more than 30 people, one by one, and beat them with batons," including an old man who was slammed against a wall and slapped around. A Canadian TV crewman saw police "force open the door and enter the women's mosque" (*Washington Post*, 16 January). With all the arrogance of their "master race" outlook, the Zionists think they can treat the third most holy shrine for 550 million Muslims around the world as though it were a police station dungeon.

At the time of the massacre of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon, we said in "Zionist Holocaust" (*WV* No. 314, 1 October 1982):

"Today the Palestinians face the Zionist holocaust. But there are only three million Jews in a sea of 150 million Arabs. Israel's military expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew-speaking people. Some day the IDF [Israeli army] will be cracked, and then the Begins, Sharons and Peres will be tempted to launch their nuclear bombs at Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, even if this means provoking the ultimate holocaust."

As Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu courageously revealed—for which he is now on trial for "treason"—the Zionist state has hundreds of nuclear weapons, enough to launch even against the Soviet Union. This only reinforces our urgent warning from 1982:

"If the Jewish people in the Near East are to be anything other than a catalyst for a nuclear World War III, the Zionist state must be smashed."

And that requires above all the construction of a proletarian internationalist vanguard party that fights for the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations through a socialist federation of the Near East. ■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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Muslim Holy Site Invaded, Army Starves Gaza Camps

# Israeli Stormtroopers Terrorize Palestinians

As ten thousand people stood in prayer on January 15, the Al Aksa mosque in the Old City of Jerusalem was enveloped in clouds of tear gas, the steps were stained with blood, elderly worshipers slammed against walls, women clubbed over the head with riot sticks, young kids shot at with rubber bullets. For two million Palestinian Arabs, the "Holy Land" has become a hell on earth. The Gaza Strip has been turned into a huge ghetto, sealed off, subjected to a deliberate starvation policy. Soldiers systematically go from house to house, camp to camp, village to village, beating children in front of their parents, beating fathers in front of their wives and children. Young women are shot dead as they hang laundry outside their houses. Men are dragged away from their homes and families in order to be deported to places they've never seen before, in Lebanon. Scores have been killed, thousands more arrested.

Deportation, starvation, religious desecration, "collective punishment"—this is the "Iron Fist," Israel's Hitlerite policy for subjugating the Occupied Territories. Yet, after eight weeks, the most widespread revolt of the bitterly oppressed Palestinian Arab masses since the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 continues with full force. Even the Israeli rulers no longer try to pass it off as simply the work of a handful of PLO "terrorists." Defense minister Yitzhak Rabin admitted that the uprising "started without instructions from outside. It came from within the people" (*New York Times*, 21 January). So they declare open war on the whole population.

On January 19, Rabin announced a "new" policy of "force, might, beatings." For years the border police have routinely broken into homes to beat Palestinians; the Shin Bet secret police routinely hang people by their hands and beat male victims in the testicles; but now the entire occupation army is carrying out massive, naked, random terror. The Americans don't like watching young kids shot down on their TV screens, rants Rabin, so we'll beat them by the hundreds in the dead of night. Arresting a youth means he "will be freed in 18 days unless the authorities have enough evidence to charge him," explains a *Jerusalem Post* military correspondent, "but if troops break his hand, he won't be able to throw stones for a month and a half." One 25-year-old Palestinian shopkeeper who was savaged by Israeli soldiers described his ordeal:

> "They tied my hands and took me to the main square of Ramallah, where the soldiers gather. They didn't check who I was even though I tried to explain in Hebrew and English that I own a store. "All the way to the square, they beat me with clubs, sticks and fists and cursed me. They broke sticks on my shoulders and head, and all the time yelled to the people around, 'Watch, watch!'
> "Then they sat me next to a pile of garbage. I tried to explain I am a businessman, but they weren't willing to hear a word. They asked me to say 'Arafat's a maniac.' I refused. They kicked me in the mouth with their boots. They hit me in the back and spit on me for an hour and a half."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 January

Givon/AP

**Clouds of tear gas pour over Al Aksa mosque in Old City of Jerusalem as Israeli police beat Arabs, desecrate Muslim shrine.**

Holocaust survivors witnessed such scenes when Hitler's SS stormed into the Jewish ghettos of East Europe. Today the Zionist rulers are turning their whole army into SS thugs. And when this latest attempt at "pacification" backfires, as all the other attempts have, it will prepare the way for a much bloodier massacre. When the Israelis first implemented the "Iron Fist," during the occupation of southern Lebanon, it succeeded only in turning a previously friendly Shi'ite population into a solidly hostile mass.

In order to counter a two-week-old commercial strike by shopkeepers in the Occupied Territories, the army has not only attempted to force the shops open at gunpoint; it has sealed off whole districts of the West Bank and virtually all of Gaza, refusing to allow even emergency food shipments by United Nations relief agencies. When Israeli Arabs donated five truckloads of food—bedecked with banners reading, "Food for the Palestinians in the refugee camps under siege and occupation"—for the residents of Gaza, the trucks were turned back.

Israel's American quartermasters bemoan the destabilizing effect this random terror is having on the region. The U.S. even voted against Israel, for the first time in six years, in a United Nations Security Council resolution deploring the deportation of ten Palestinians. When Washington chastised the Zionists over the deportation of moderate Palestinian West Bank mayors several years ago, the mayors were allowed to return to the West Bank, where the "Jewish underground"—the likes of Brooklyn-derived Meir Kahane's fascist thugs—proceeded to blow their legs off with terror bombs. Kahane's goons are implicated in the assassination of Arab American spokesman Alex Odeh in the U.S., yet the FBI has done nothing to track them down.

On January 23, 6,000 Israeli Arabs demonstrated in Nazareth against the Israeli occupation, while 30,000 "Peace Now" supporters marched in Tel Aviv (by comparison, Peace Now mobilized five times as many against the invasion of Lebanon). The liberal Peace Now protesters chanted "two countries for two peoples" while waving Israeli flags. One kibbutznik carried a sign reading, "The occupation is bad for Zionism." But the occupation *is* Zionism.

"Liberal" Zionists wring their hands over the need for a political solution, yet they have none to offer. Arthur Hertzberg wrote recently: "The conflict between Israel and the PLO was once a quarrel between two Western-style nationalisms, both of which considered

*continued on page 11*

AP

**Palestinian women, under Israeli starvation siege of Gaza camps, dash to buy food.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 446

12 February 1988


## They're Bleeding Nicaragua Dry

# Democrats Shift U.S. War on Nicaragua

On February 3, by a vote of 218 to 211, the House of Representatives narrowly defeated more contra aid. In the looking-glass world of Ronald Reagan where mercenaries are "freedom fighters," the $36 million request really totaled $63 million. The vote marked a setback for the White House and a ratification of the Arias "peace" plan. But far from bringing peace to embattled Nicaragua, it only shifts gears in Washington's seven-year war to bring the Sandinistas to their knees. And while Congressmen debated the timing of more blood money for their hired guns, the contra cutthroats showed their military "prowess" by killing 27 men, women and children in cold blood. Throughout the House debate, the Democrats made clear they were not "abandoning" the contras, just putting them on hold while they try to force the Sandinistas' surrender through diplomatic means. House Speaker Jim Wright promised millions in "humanitarian" aid to these terrorists, and everyone agrees the current appropriation will keep them armed to the teeth at least through July.

With last week's vote the Democrats have officially taken over management of U.S. foreign policy in Nicaragua. Now the Honduran generals bypass the State Department and "write right to Wright" when they're worried about what to do with retreating contras. White House spokesman Fitzwater says Reagan will have to see if the Democrats' policy works. The shift has been going on for several months. Stepping into the opening left by the Reagan regime's disarray over the Contragate scandal, the Democrats engineered the Arias plan. With Democratic Senator Chris Dodd as godfather and Democratic Representative Wright as midwife, the puppet presidents of the four U.S. neocolonies in the isthmus were eager to give a "democratic" face to Washington's drive for counterrevolution in Central America. The Democrats think they can succeed through squeezing Nicaragua economically and diplomatically where Reagan's contras have failed militarily. But behind the "give peace a chance" rhetoric is the promise of an even bigger war if the Sandinistas don't toe the line.

Reagan went all-out lobbying for his murderous "freedom fighters." In an eleventh-hour appeal to Congress the contra president laid down the anti-Communist gauntlet to the Democrats: "It is up or down for Central America. It is win or lose for peace and freedom. It is yes or no to America's national security." But Reagan's "contras or death" line isn't going down well. From the beginning, public opinion polls have consistently opposed contra aid by two to one. Significant sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie can see that the policy of relying on the corrupt, degenerate, incompetent contras to defeat social revolution isn't working. The night before the vote, the TV networks pulled the plug on the president, refusing to broadcast his pitch to Congress on the grounds he had nothing new to say. Even ex-contra adventurer James Denby, recently released by Managua, was on Capitol Hill lobbying against contra aid. And with Attorney General Edwin Meese under yet another special investigation over the Iraq pipeline scam, the administration's "credibility" is at a low.

In the election-year debate over contra aid, both partner parties of American imperialism targeted Central America tops on their anti-Soviet hit list. Lee Hamilton's Democratic response to Reagan's pro-contra pitch made it perfectly clear that U.S. strategy in Central America is bipartisan, whatever the tactical differences: "no Soviet

*continued on page 9*

UPI

Nachtwey/Black Star

**Funeral march in Managua (above) for trade unionist Leonardo Rivas, victim of Washington's contra terrorists (left).**

**Black History Month**

**Birth of the First Black Republic: 1791-1804**

**TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION...6**

## Labor Black Struggle League Formed

# Chicago: Victory Party for Callie and Cassandra

CHICAGO—On January 23 more than 85 people came out in a heavy snowstorm to attend a party at Sweet Georgia Brown, a popular South Side bar, to celebrate a victory against racist police terror. Black transit worker Cassandra Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant, were recently acquitted of all the frame-up charges thrown at them by five white cops who brutally attacked them in Cassandra's home last July (see "Cassandra Wins!" *WV* No. 443, 1 January). Attending the party were at least 30 Chicago transit workers, key activists who mobilized the members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 to ensure a packed courtroom throughout the two-day trial.

During the party Local 308 member Bernard Branche announced the formation of the Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL). Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, the LBSL identifies itself as "an integrated organization which stands for mobilizing the masses of labor and blacks for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America." The LBSL calls on labor and blacks to break with the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of this racist capitalist system, and to build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Twenty people, including Callie Bryant and a number of ATU members, signed up on the spot as LBSL founding members. Each received a membership card inscribed with the quote from Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Other speakers included Ed Clarkson of the Spartacist League and Kevin Quirk, a militant in Local 241 who was instrumental in gaining official union support for Cassandra and her family. Mark Kelly of the Partisan Defense Committee announced that the PDC was making a second contribution of $100 to help cover the family's legal expenses. The legal costs continue to mount, as Cassandra's teenage sons, David and D'Artagnan, still face bogus charges stemming from the cop attack. An additional $155 was collected from those at the party.

Callie Bryant recalled the cold-blooded cop murder of disabled black auto worker Larry Hawkins less than a week after the terroristic invasion of her daughter's home last summer, and said, "I really thought they were going to kill us. They *could* have killed us—all of us. But with the moral support and the financial support that we got we didn't feel that we were fighting this battle by ourselves.... I still want to thank everybody for staying with us, and the battle's not over yet until my grandsons are free."

* * *

To help cover the family's legal expenses, contributions should be made out to "Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant" and sent to: Loraine Ray, Attorney at Law, 1120 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. ■

WV Photo

**Cassandra Seay (left) and supporters celebrate victory against racist cop terror.**

TROTSKY

LENIN

### France: The Fight Against Fascism

*As the threat of a resurgent mass fascist movement looms in France, the lessons of the 1930s are of burning relevance. In February 1934, following Hitler's march to power the year before and on the eve of the victory of clerical fascism in Vienna, French fascists and royalists staged a major provocation in Paris. The Communist and Socialist parties responded a few days later with a united-front mobilization and general strike. Leon Trotsky pointed to the urgent need for revolutionary leadership to mobilize the power of the proletariat to crush the fascists.*

The gangrene of barbaric reaction is spreading over one land after another. France is next in order. February 6 marked the first rehearsal of fascist banditism....

On February 12, the day of the general strike and powerful demonstrations, the workers of France forced the two bureaucratic apparatuses into a united front for twenty-four hours. This was, however, *improvisation*, and for victory *organization* is needed....

Today proletarian France is next in historic order. Again in France is being decided not only the fate of France but that of Europe and, in the final analysis, of the whole world. Should fascism succeed in crushing the French proletariat, the whole of Europe will have to drink of the bitter cup. On the other hand, under present conditions the victory of the French proletariat would far surpass in significance even the October victory of the Russian proletariat!

Workers of the world, you can help the French proletariat best and most surely by an irreconcilable struggle against your own bourgeoisie. Call on the other French workers' organizations to unite in the struggle! Under the fire of the enemy, gather the most intrepid, farsighted, devoted among you and weld them together into detachments of the Fourth International.

—L.D. Trotsky, "France Is Now the Key to the Situation" (March 1934)

January 11, 1988
c/o Loraine Ray, Attorney at Law
1120 W. Belmont
Chicago, IL 60657

Workers Vanguard
Box 1377 GPO
New York N.Y. 10116

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The attempt by the racist Chicago police and the State's Attorney to frame up and destroy our family has been defeated. On December 23 we won "not guilty" verdicts on all the charges they threw at us. Testimony in the two day-trial proved beyond any doubt that the real criminals were the five white policemen who invaded our home and beat and arrested us last July 21.

Uniformed Chicago transit workers and other trade unionists packed the courtroom during the trial. Telegrams and donations came in from all over the U.S. as well as from two transit locals in England. Union power made this victory possible. We warmly thank you for your support in this case. The racist police terror which constantly threatens all working people and minorities must be stopped.

Sincerely,

Cassandra Seay

Cassandra Seay, member of
Amalgamated Transit Union
Local 241

Callie Bryant

Callie Bryant, member of
AFSCME Local 1006

# Letter

## From the BT...

January 29, 1988

...In conclusion, let us reiterate: 1) the BT was not present at the PSC demonstration in San Francisco on January 7th when you were excluded; and 2) the BT protested your exclusion as soon as we learned of it. We would appreciate, but given your recent record do not really expect to see, an appropriate correction in a forthcoming issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

Fraternally,
Gerald Smith
For the Bolshevik Tendency


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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**No. 446** **12 February 1988**



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# Secret "Plan of Attack" Targets CISPES

# FBI Witchhunts Central America Protesters

Death squads cruising the streets of Los Angeles, a Vietnam vet mutilated by a Navy death train in the Bay Area, scores of "black bag" jobs on the offices and homes of Central America activists, and now new proof of a far-reaching government program to intimidate and criminalize its political opponents. Documents obtained by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) have provided a glimpse of the government's witchhunting campaign against opponents of its contra war in Nicaragua and of death squad "democracy" in El Salvador. Reagan's "terrorism" campaign is part of the attempt to regiment the American people for war against anything labeled a Soviet "surrogate" regime. The flip side of the administration's perpetual "terrorist under every bed" scare is systematic *government* violence against its political opponents, whether you're a striking coal miner in Kentucky or a religious peace activist in Minnesota.

WV Photo

Rick Reinhard

**FBI COINTELPRO-type operation targeted CISPES and other peace groups. Methodist minister (right) shows photos of break-in at Washington, D.C. church.**

The CCR filed suit on behalf of CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, a left-liberal pressure group which seeks (in vain) to lobby Congressional Democrats for a "political solution" to stop the class war in El Salvador. But despite its tepid program, CISPES is squarely in the government's sights. A document from the New Orleans FBI office baldly stated that "it is imperative at this time to formulate some plan of attack against CISPES." The widespread campaign of harassment, intimidation and violence which is revealed in the documents gives the lie to the claim that "it all stopped with J. Edgar Hoover." Membership lists and phone numbers were stolen, students were tailed, brigadistas returning from Nicaragua were harassed on their jobs, thousands of photographs and license plate numbers of protesters were wired to FBI offices. And FBI director William Sessions baldly declares the feds did nothing wrong.

Oer Spiegel

Rick Reinhard

**U.S. government informer Frank Varelli fingered Salvadoran deportees to death squads.**

The material obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) consists of only 1,320 heavily censored pages, out of 17 volumes on CISPES held at FBI headquarters. In the course of infiltrating local CISPES chapters, the FBI's "El Salvador Terrorism Unit" spied on over 150 organizations across the country, involving 52 out of the FBI's 59 field offices. Included on the feds' hit list were the United Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Hospital Workers, ACTWU, AFSCME and the National Education Association. With the purpose of intimidating political opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, the CISPES documents show heavy FBI infiltration and harassment against "respectable" liberal and religious peace groups, from the Maryknoll Sisters to Witness for Peace, particularly in small and medium cities, from Norfolk to Oklahoma City. The New Orleans office alone holds a 6,000-page file on CISPES.

### Executive Order 12333

The CISPES "investigation" is just the tip of the iceberg in the government's war on Central American protesters. It is the continuation of the "counterintelligence" program of disruption, violence and murder known as COINTELPRO. First aimed against the Communist Party in 1956, COINTELPRO was expanded in the 1960s to target the Socialist Workers Party, antiwar protesters and particularly black militants. Black Panther Party members were murdered as they slept, or framed up and locked away in prison like Geronimo Pratt. Yet in *500,000* covert investigations of "subversives" from 1960 to 1974, there was not a single prosecution, according to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In the post-Vietnam/Watergate climate, in 1977 the Justice Department issued "guidelines" supposedly restricting general "investigations" of political dissent.

In December 1981, Reagan issued Executive Order 12333 giving the FBI legal cover to "conduct counterintelligence and coordinate counterintelligence activities of other agencies within the Intelligence Community" (*Nation*, 7 March 1987). The investigation of CISPES was begun in 1981, with the claim that it was an "agent of a foreign power." In 1983 the feds classified CISPES as a "199 organization" under Order 12333, which gave the FBI and CIA sweeping powers to burgle offices, tap phones and open mail. Coupled with the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines issued in 1983, Reagan and Attorney General Meese have an arsenal of "legal" weapons to go after their political opponents.

In addition to the long list of groups targeted in the CISPES "investigation," the FBI has targeted a host of leftist and peace organizations under "terrorism" and "national security" pretexts. The pro-Democratic Party All-Peoples Congress, a creature of the reformist Workers World Party, was the subject of surveillance and harassment for its participation in Central America demonstrations. Now Meese is using "national security" grounds to appeal the decision awarding the reformist SWP damages in their 15-year "Watersuit" against the COINTELPRO witchhunt. A San Francisco FBI agent was fired for refusing to open a "terrorism" file on Brian Willson, the pacifist activist who was nearly killed by a Navy weapons train in Concord, California. Even the Physicians for Social Responsibility, of Nobel Peace Prize respectability, was the subject of an FBI "terrorism" investigation.

### From COINTELPRO to Contragate

The new COINTELPRO is a lot more sinister than wiretaps and photographs. The CCR suit which obtained the documents was begun in Dallas after the exposure of FBI operative Frank Varelli, a.k.a. Gilberto Mendoza Varelli was an FBI link-man with the Salvadoran National Guard and its death squads, and infiltrated the Dallas CISPES chapter in 1981. His cover was blown in 1984, and three years later he appeared before California Representative Don Edwards' Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, bellyaching that the FBI still owed him $60,000 for his dirty work. Varelli and the FBI ran an assassination operation against Salvadoran refugees:

> ". . . he was sent to El Salvador to establish contact with the National Guard there. He returned bearing the Guard's hit list of political opponents. The F.B.I. checked Salvadorans arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service against that list. Varelli says, and when someone on it was deported to El Salvador, he informed the National Guard."
>
> —*Nation*, 7 March 1987

In New Orleans, the FBI said its "plan of attack" was directed:

> "specifically, against individuals, [censored] who defiantly display their contempt for the U.S. government by making speeches and propagandizing their cause while asking for political asylum. New Orleans is of the opinion that Departments of Justice and State should be consulted to explore the possibility of deporting these individuals."

Checking a list of death squad victims, the ACLU found over 100 who had been deported from the U.S., delivered into the hands of "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson and the sadistic right-wing killers in El Salvador. Varelli provided the death squads with the names of CISPES members and other peace activists in the U.S. (see "Death Squad Kidnappings in L.A.," *WV* No. 433, 24 July 1987). He also revealed that the FBI conducted break-ins of the Dallas CISPES office and members' homes. In recent years there have been over 90 such break-ins of liberal and church offices.

The real "state-supported terrorists" are the ones working for the government. And like the Reagan gang's plans to "privatize" everything from contra aid to the National Institutes of Health,

*continued on page 10*

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Young Spartacus

# Berkeley Students Protest Fascist "Smash Metzger's Klan Terror!"

Tom ("Mr. Lynch Rope") Metzger, führer of "White Aryan Resistance" and former Grand Dragon of the terrorist Ku Klux Klan, thought he could ride in Berkeley, with a little help from the liberals at KALX, the University of California's campus radio station. But when KALX made public their plan to interview the white racist Metzger—on the first day of Black History Month!—the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club swung into high gear to mobilize a protest against Klan terror. On February 1, the street outside KALX rang with chants of "The Klan must not ride in Berkeley!" and "Smash Metzger's Klan terror!" An integrated protest of about 80, including students from the university and three area high schools, Spartacist supporters and other anti-racist militants, picketed the station in the morning and at noon while Metzger was on the air.

Young Spartacus Photos

**Demonstrators picket UC Berkeley radio KALX, as station broadcasts fascist führer Metzger.**

Black students at Cal, who've been the target of a wave of racist provocations, and other enemies of racism recognized the deadly threat represented by Metzger (his name means "butcher" in German). Many took stacks of the SL/SYC leaflet (reprinted below) to hand out in their dormitories and classes—some 4,000 copies of this leaflet were distributed at UC Berkeley in no time. Several large and athletic young black students showed up at the radio station after hearing an announcement for the protest in one of their classes. They hoped to give the Klan nightrider a real "education" on his campus foray, but Metzger spewed his race war message by long-distance telephone hookup—a dress rehearsal for in-person appearances on college campuses. Black sanitationmen passing by raised clenched fists in support of the anti-Klan protesters and pointed to the business end of their garbage truck as the spot where Metzger should be dumped if he showed up in town.

Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander told the anti-Klan protesters that fascists have historically recruited from the petty-bourgeois layers in times of sharp crisis; thus in Germany in the '20s and '30s the Nazis recruited heavily among college students. Berkeley, like the other elite schools in the country which are also rife with naked racism, looks ripe for the picking to scumbag Metzger who has organized "White Student Unions" at colleges and high

# "The Klan Must Not Ride in Berkeley!"

## Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth Club Leaflet

Campus radio station KALX has announced that on Monday, Feb. 1 at 9 AM it will have a live call-in show with "White Aryan Resistance" (WAR) Führer and KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, a notorious organizer for racist genocide. KALX's ostensible reason for this is to "expose" Metzger's "ideas," with a rebuttal to follow in a week. This is falling into a deadly trap. Metzger's KKK and the Nazis are *not* a debating society! They are paramilitary *action* groups that exist to terrorize and *kill*.

This forum for racist terror follows by one week a racist letter to the *Daily Cal* titled "White man's burden" in which one "L. Wheeler" makes a pitch for the Nazi swastika, symbol of the genocide of millions. The letter obscenely equates the swastika with the clenched-fist Black Power symbol, and defends the swastika used by white racist firemen in San Francisco against a "powerful black firefighters union." This letter is nothing but a white-supremacist apology for Nazi genocide and a call for race war against blacks. The "NAAWP" the letter mentions exists—it is the "National Association for the Advancement of White People," the latest face of Ku Klux Klan "wizard" and Nazi David Duke.

What is going on here? Why does this "interview" take place right after the racist letter is printed? Are these things just a coincidence? Or is somebody working a campaign here, probing to recruit would-be fascists to translate their racism into the language of Klan/Nazi terror in Berkeley?

Metzger has reason to believe he can recruit here. Last fall this campus was swept with a wave of racist attacks against black students. A black student chased out of a football game by white racists. A dead chicken placed at a dorm gym with a death-threat note around its neck reading "Kill niggers and Jews." The letters "KKK"—symbol of lynch-rope murder—carved above a black woman's dorm-room bed. Racist epithets scrawled on black organizations' flyers. Two black women run out of a housing co-op.

Around the Bay Area racist attacks have escalated. Concord: Timothy Lee, a gay black man, found lynched. San Jose: skinhead Nazi-lovers beat and terrorize a black woman. Redwood City: a series of synagogues defaced. San Francisco State: racist threats and attacks from a proto-fascist "Residents Liberation Army" (who were driven back into their ratholes by a Spartacist campaign that mobilized student groups and unionists). The San Francisco Fire Department is a cesspool of racist reaction with constant abuse and attacks against black, Asian and Jewish firefighters. A Jewish fireman who protested when his locker was repeatedly defaced with Nazi swastikas was savagely beaten.

This racist climate has been prepared by Reagan and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan went to Germany to honor SS graves at Bitburg, paying homage to the murderers of millions of Jews. The Republican/Democrat drive to "roll back Communism" means *war* on the working people and blacks in particular, and fuels the growth of racist terror groups from coast to coast.

Since the horrible murder in broad daylight of leftists and civil rights activists in Greensboro, North Carolina by Klansmen and Nazis in 1979, the fascists have made attempts to establish a base in urban centers like Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago and Washington, D.C. In each case they were interdicted and *stopped* by a strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League. These were important victories for all decent people. The fascists must be crushed in the egg!

But a flabby, liberal, moralistic, legalistic response of symposiums and consciousness-raising sessions only emboldens the race-terrorists. And the city and campus of Berkeley are pretty weird—a place where a lot of people think animals have more rights than humans and some beansprout totalitarians would just as soon kill you for smoking. A lot of people in Berkeley couldn't tell a fascist from a right-wing Libertarian. The Democrats have a "liberal" face here, but behind that façade are the Dixiecrats. And let's not forget that KKK Dragon Metzger ran for U.S. Congress in 1980 as a Democrat. So there's a problem here.

Exactly who has masterminded putting Metzger on the air? What next—a talk show with Adolf Eichmann and Josef Mengele? By providing a forum for fascist recruitment KALX is lending itself to the Klan's program of genocide against blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays, unionists, leftists and all those on the hit list for racist murder.

This is deadly serious business. Ask the victims of these race-terrorist killers. Like those attacked in March 1980 when "grand dragon" Metzger's armed mob launched a vicious race-terror assault, complete with attack dogs, on demonstrators in Oceanside, California. Ask the Mexicans under the guns of the KKK "volunteer border patrols" Metzger set up to shoot down "illegal aliens"—Metzger boasted that their "dead bodies stack up along the border." Alan Berg, a Jewish talk-show host, was machine-gunned to death in Denver by the fascist killers of the "Order"/"Aryan Nations." An "Order" member testified that they gave a quarter of a million dollars—proceeds of an armored-car robbery—to Metzger, who has since set up "White Student Unions." *This* is what Metzger uses the media—cable TV and now KALX—to recruit to. *This* is what KALX is lending itself to and helping make "respectable."

This viciously racist capitalist society faces either class war or race war. The fascist murderers like Metzger's KKK are the shock troops kept in reserve by the capitalist class to drown the labor movement and oppressed in blood. It will take a socialist revolution to smash the fascists once and for all by destroying the vicious capitalist system that breeds these scum.

In our leaflet "Smash Racist Attacks at U.C. Berkeley!" (26 October 1987) we wrote: "Racist terror will not be stopped by moral suasion—it must be smashed by the social power of the working class, united with the intended victims of race-terror and all anti-racist fighters." Don't "interview" fascists—MOBILIZE TO SMASH THEM!

Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth Club
29 January 1988

**Spartacists say: At the other end of the Democrats' "Rainbow"—fascist Metzger. Break with the Democrats!**

schools. During the anti-Klan protest Kathleen Hayes, a UC student and member of the Spartacus Youth Club, called on her fellow students to ally with the working class in the fight for socialism, "the only means that can destroy once and for all the system which breeds the fascists."

Labor Black League for Social Defense spokesman Jeff Higgins denounced those like Jesse Jackson who seek to chain workers and blacks to the class enemy. Higgins stressed: "The Democratic Party, with its roots in the old slavocracy, is a capitalist party, and keeping black folks 'in their place' is one of the key elements in maintaining capitalist profits." Against reformist illusions in the bosses' party, Spartacist placards told the plain truth: "At the Other End of the Rainbow—Metzger" and "Capitalist Politics Mean Liberal Fakery, Reagan Reaction, Klan Terror to Screw the Working People."

The liberals put out the sucker bait that broadcasting the Klan's call for genocide is a matter of "free speech." *Those who push this line make themselves advance men for the fascists*, willy-nilly or perhaps knowingly. The lynch rope, the nightrider's torch, the gas chambers and ovens of Auschwitz and Treblinka, four little black girls blown to pieces in a church basement in Birmingham—*this* is the language of fascism. While you're debating the nonexistent issue of their "free speech," they're out wiring a bomb to your car. As for civil liberties, KALX *deliberately censored* free speech for the intended victims and enemies of genocide and racist terror, screening out all calls that were not polite "questions for Mr. Metzger." As the SL/SYC call for action declared: "Don't interview fascists—MOBILIZE TO SMASH THEM!"

Many of the young people who came out to protest Metzger were clearly attending their first political demonstration. Yet their determination and felt urgency to fight racist reaction far exceeded that of most of the self-styled Berkeley "leftists." To their credit, the divestment liberals of the "Campaign Against Apartheid" group voted to support the protest and took leaflets to distribute. But when the hour for united action was at hand, they took a powder and were not to be counted on except for a few sideline gawkers who wouldn't even join the picket. It would appear that the struggle to reshuffle the university's stock portfolio and keep "their" corporations' hands clean of South Africa evokes a far greater response than the struggle against the fascists who seek to impose apartheid terror on black students right here on the UC campus. Worse still was the miserable "Marxist-Leninist Party" (MLP) whose supporters shamefacedly *abstained* on the vote in the CAA meeting.

As the Labor Black League spokesman stated:

> "It is the integrated labor movement, under the leadership of a Trotskyist multiracial vanguard party, that has the social power to stop the whistling of Dixie, bring down the hated Confederate flag, and sweep the fascist scum from the streets. That power can only be successfully brought to bear in the fight for a workers government."■

## Columbia University

# Protesters Drive Off Israeli General

Angry protesters shouted down Brigadier General Amnon Straschnow, Judge Advocate General of the Israeli Defense Forces, February 4 when he tried to speak at Columbia University Law School. Boos and shouts of "U.S., Israel, End the Occupation!" "PLO!" and "West Bank, Gaza—Self-Determination!" repeatedly broke out as General Straschnow approached the podium. After 45 minutes the Zionist butcher was escorted out of the auditorium and ushered into a taxi.

Straschnow, billed by his hosts as the man "responsible for Israel's system of military justice within Israel, Gaza and the West Bank," was invited on campus by the Council of Jewish Organizations and Columbia Students for Israel. This bloody executor of torture, jailings and deportations was supposed to "explain" Israeli policy in Gaza and the Occupied Territories. With Zionist stormtroopers breaking down doors, beating, shooting and starving the Palestinian masses, his presence was an obscene provocation.

As Straschnow approached the podium, the room exploded in anger, which erupted repeatedly each time he tried to speak. At one point, he incredibly told the protesters: "The problem of the Palestinians is that they never listen." A voice in the crowd rang out, "I listen and I hear the shots of Israeli guns." Rabbi Charles Sheer, Chaplain of the Jewish Office, threatened to direct NYC cops to arrest students who continued to "disrupt." But faced with the prospect of mass arrests, officials decided instead to escort Straschnow out.

A demonstration outside the Law School had been called by a coalition of campus groups including the Student Committee for Palestinian Human Rights, the campus Arab Club, Columbia Students in Solidarity with Nicaragua, the Black Students Organization and Columbia/Barnard Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). But the demonstration was marked by the anti-communist "unity" of the Palestinian nationalists and pro-imperialist "left."

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club joined the picket line protest, posing a clear pole of proletarian internationalism with our slogans: "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!" "Right of Self-Determination for Palestinians and Hebrews!" "For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!" "Nationalism—Dead End for Palestinians! Zionism—Death Trap for Jews!" "Smash U.S./Israeli/Pretoria Anti-Soviet Axis!" and "Free Mordechai Vanunu!"

For the coalition and their reformist hangers-on of the SWP, RCP, Workers World and ISO, this was literally waving a red flag. What the coalition wants was conveyed by a postcard pre-addressed to Israeli defense minister Yitzhak Rabin (copies to the U.S. State Department) being circulated by the Workers World-promoted Palestinian Solidarity Committee. This read in part, "We urge you to respect human rights and international law in the West Bank and Gaza Strip...." So they pressure bloody U.S. imperialism to pressure the murderous Zionist state to stop being Zionist!

After 20 minutes, with Koch's racist killer cops standing by to seize on any "trouble" with the demo, the coalition demanded the Spartacist signs come down. A spokesman explicitly stated that the issues we raised were "divisive" to the coalition, which he said included "progressive Zionists"! Seeking to simultaneously appease Arab nationalism and Zionism, the reformists frantically censor communist politics. But Zionism can only mean continued Israeli expansionism and terror in the Occupied Territories, and expulsion and massacre of Palestinians.

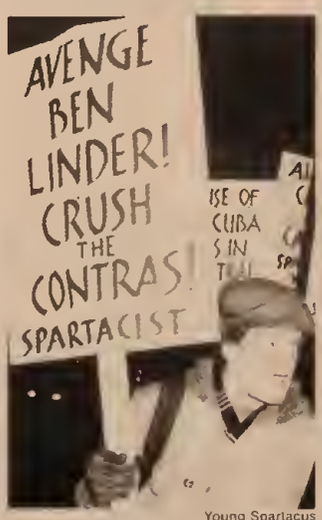
The Zionist fortress-state must be exploded from within by joint revolutionary class struggle of Palestinian and Hebrew workers. For Trotskyist parties which defend the right of self-determination of both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking nations in fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East!■

**Spartacists oppose Zionist henchman Straschnow, February 4.**

# Harvard Protest Against Contra Terrorist

CAMBRIDGE—More than 50 students and activists picketed in front of the notorious Kennedy School of Government as Harvard welcomed another war criminal on January 28. This time it was one Alfredo César, a leader of Reagan's loser contra band in Nicaragua. The Spartacus Youth Club joined the protest with energetic chants that were picked up by the crowd as we called to "Defend Nicaragua! César off campus!" and "Avenge Ben Linder! Crush the contras!" Several joined our chants "From Managua to Afghanistan, smash Reagan's contra band!" and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

César was protected by a phalanx of 30 Harvard cops and two State Department officers, whose purpose was to prevent leftists from getting inside the auditorium. Even so, the cops threw out more than two dozen people from the audience who responded with justified outrage to this butcher's presence. Obviously Harvard was intent on preventing a replay of last October 2 when Joshua Laub, a PL/InCAR supporter, chased another contra honcho, Adolfo Calero, from a Harvard podium. The Harvard Spartacus Youth says, "Defend Josh Laub! No reprisals against anti-contra protesters!"





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# Birth of the First Black Republic: 1791-1804

NY Public Library

Mary Evans Picture Library

**Left: Toussaint L'Ouverture. Above: Freed slaves battle French army. Toussaint's army fighting to win their freedom and independence defeated the best troops Napoleon and the British could muster.**

# TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

## Black History Month

Haiti today is a desperately poor country beset by neocolonial exploitation and despotism. The Duvaliers, father and son, and their hand-picked successors are only the latest in a line of dictators propped up and frequently installed by Washington. Before that came 20 years of direct occupation by the United States Marines. Yet two centuries ago this land was the richest colony in the world. And in a dozen years of brutal struggle, a black slave revolt won Haiti's freedom in battle against the most powerful colonial empires of the era. The Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804 touched off a wave of slave revolts in the Caribbean and inspired blacks in the American South. Today, as the Haitian masses cry out for revolution to break the chains of imperialist domination and the most literal wage slavery, they will look back to the father of the first black republic, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the man known as *Black Spartacus*.

Toussaint forged an army of black slaves who won freedom for Haiti by defeating the best troops the British and French colonial empires could muster. His regime restored the island's wealth and prosperity after the devastation of war. Toussaint was able to accomplish these remarkable achievements because he brought together the hurricane-like power of slave rebellion with the program and ideals of the great bourgeois revolutions. Even if Haiti's independence would ultimately be won only in bitter battle against both the French Republic of Robespierre and the Empire of Napoleon, the French and American Revolutions were the detonators of the Haitian Revolution—from the military experience of mulatto commanders who fought in the French expeditionary force during the American Revolutionary War, to the adoption of the American revolutionary slogan "Live Free or Die," to the driving force of the watchwords "*Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité*."

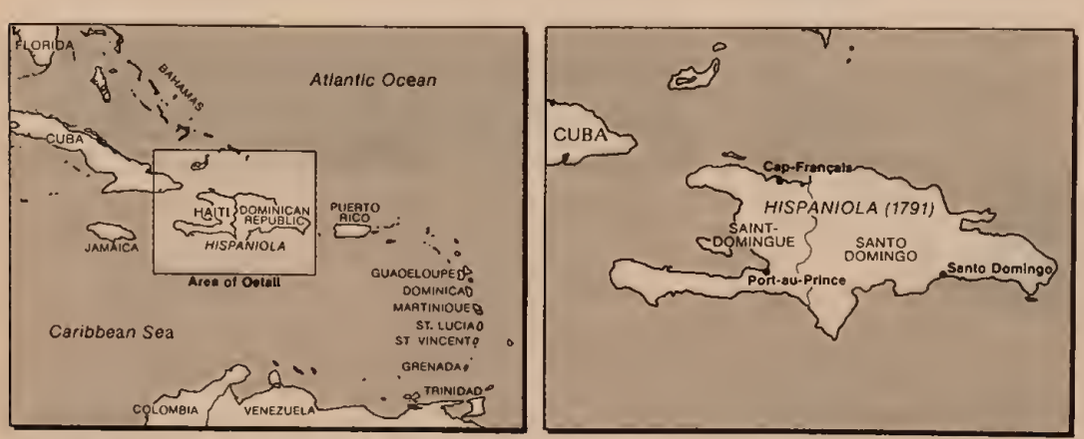
The Haitian Revolution was a beacon in the fight against slavery and for national independence throughout the 19th century. But by abolishing slavery through a social revolution surging up from the very bottom of society, it struck fear into the slavemasters and men of property. When the slaves rose up in Saint-Domingue, the French part of the island of Hispaniola, in August 1791, the United States hastened to send arms to put down the uprising. George Washington wrote, "How regrettable to see such a spirit of revolt among the Negroes." In the U.S., the Haitian Revolution inspired slave revolts from Denmark Vesey and Gabriel Prosser to Nat Turner. As the abolitionist fighter Frederick Douglass said, "When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world."

### The Richest Sugar Colony

At the end of the 18th century, Saint-Domingue was described by the English economist Adam Smith as "the most important of the sugar colonies of the Caribbean." By 1783, trade with Saint-Domingue was more than a third of all French foreign commerce and more than double the value of Britain's trade with all its colonies taken together. Largely due to trade with the newly independent United States, production in Saint-Domingue nearly doubled between 1783 and 1789. By the start of the revolution two years later there were almost 800 sugar plantations, more than 2,000 coffee plantations and 3,000 of indigo. While sugar production in the British West Indies was declining, Saint-Domingue was at the height of its productivity and prosperity. Seeking to defend Britain's mercantile domination of the Caribbean, William Pitt began to agitate for an end to the slave trade (though not slavery itself) in order to cut off the vital supply of labor to the burgeoning French colony.

In Saint-Domingue, the class and caste divisions of prerevolutionary France overlapped the race/color question. In 1789, this was perhaps the most race-conscious society in the world, legally recognizing 128 "degrees" of blackness (that is, counting all ancestors back seven generations). Broadly, society was divided into three essential strata. At the top were the white planters, economically dependent on the merchants of Bordeaux and Marseille, but, dominating a slave society, ideologically attached to privileges equivalent to those of a feudal aristocracy. At the bottom were the black slaves. In the middle were the mulattos, many of whom were freedmen, small businessmen and tradesmen; a significant number themselves owned slaves and were increasingly wealthy. By 1789 the mulattos owned nearly one-third of the property in Saint-Domingue.

Like the classic petty bourgeoisie, the mulattos played a pivotal role, switching allegiances rapidly depending on the situation. At the outset of the French Revolution, these *gens de couleur* (men of color) were motivated by grievances against the aristocratic plantocracy. According to the *Code Noir* (Black Code) decreed by Louis XIV in 1685, the freedman was to enjoy "the same rights,




WV Maps

**The Caribbean was divided among France, Britain and Spain. Slave revolts occurred nearly everywhere, but were successful only in French Saint-Domingue, renamed Haiti when it won independence in 1804.**

privileges and immunities of persons born free." But a century later, these rights had been eroded so that "free" mulattos were forbidden to be on the streets after 9 p.m., to sit with whites in a public place, to hear a European name, or even to wear clothes of European material and fashion. Mulatto women could wear petticoats of cotton but not silk, and petticoat inspectors stood at church doors requiring them to raise their skirts as they entered! The 40,000 whites in Saint-Domingue resorted to such grotesque discrimination to shore up their caste privileges against an almost equal number of mulattos, many of whom were educated in Europe and far wealthier than the poor whites.

When the French Revolution refused to grant them political rights and threatened existing rights because of their color, the mulattos allied with the black slaves. But when the French bourgeoisie sought an alliance with them based on private property (i.e., slavery), they turned and fought the slaves. Thus in Saint-Domingue the questions of color and class were directly related, and the mulattos' changes in position were an immediate reflection of this intersection. Originally a reflection of the distinction between property owners (mulattos) and slaves, the color hostility took on a life of its own in the course of the war against the French and the civil war which followed independence, laying the basis for much of Haitian politics even up to the present.

But the central preoccupation of French colonial society was to keep down the more than half a million black slaves. And for this purpose they employed extreme violence with barbarous ferocity. Vastey, a former slave who was secretary to the future black "king" Henri Christophe, raged against the crimes perpetrated against the slaves of Saint-Domingue:

> "Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive... flayed them with the lash... lashed them to stakes in the swamp to be devoured by mosquitoes... thrown them into boiling caldrons of cane syrup... put men and women inside barrels studded with spikes and rolled them down mountainsides into the abyss... consigned these miserable blacks to man-eating dogs until the latter, sated by human flesh, left the mangled victims to be finished off with bayonet and [dagger]?"
>
> —cited in Robert and Nancy Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1971* (1978)

The French masters were even more brutal than their British counterparts of the time as they were "breaking in" slaves imported from Africa in the murderous work of clearing new lands.

In barely 100 years of slavery in the French colony such extreme repression produced a succession of slave revolts, beginning as early as 1679 with the uprising of Padrejean and recurring throughout the 18th century—in 1724, 1730, 1734, 1740 and the legendary conspiracy of Macandal, who organized slaves in the North to poison their masters and was burned alive at the stake in 1758. In addition, there were bands of escaped slaves, the *marrons*, in the hills. In the last years before the Revolution (1785-1789), as a result of the explosive economic growth, 150,000 slaves were imported into Saint-Domingue. Unlike in the American South in the 1800s, where most slaves were born in captivity in the U.S., fully 60 percent of all slaves in Saint-Domingue were born in Africa. The Marquis du Rouvray wrote in 1783: "This colony of slaves is like a city under the imminence of attack; we are treading on loaded barrels of gunpowder."

## Beginnings of the Haitian Revolution

The French Revolution of 1789 overthrew the monarchy and landed aristocracy and brought the mercantile bourgeoisie to power. It proclaimed the watchwords of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Yet the bourgeois revolutionaries in Paris dragged their feet on equality for freedmen and looked with horror on abolishing slavery in the colonies. This seeming paradox is explained by the fact that the wealth of the leading capitalists of the epoch—the shipbuilders, merchants and slave traders of Bordeaux, Nantes and Marseille—was dependent above all on the enormous profits flowing out of the sugar islands of the Antilles. The Girondins, who took power following the execution of Louis XVI and the proclamation of the French Republic in 1792, were named after the region around Bordeaux, the Gironde. Even as the Revolution radicalized, it was not until the end of the Jacobin reign in 1794 that they reluctantly abolished slavery, and then only in the face of black revolt and to ward off an English attack on France's most lucrative colony.

The successive stages of the French Revolution were directly reflected in the developing revolution in Saint-Domingue, but through the prism of race/color/class divisions of the plantation society. The first phase of the Haitian Revolution resulted from the debate in the French Constituent Assembly on the question of who should have voting rights. The *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks), which *opposed* the immediate emancipation of the slaves, asked only for the rights of freedmen under Louis XIV's Black Code. But despite their modest demands, the Assembly's resolution of 28 March 1790 did not resolve the rights of mulattos. It decreed that "any adult male person" with certain property qualifications could vote, without specifying that freedmen were "persons." (Slaves were considered "property.") And implementation of the

Flammarion

**Painting by Delacroix (detail): "Liberty leading the masses." French Revolution sparked revolt by mulattos and blacks for freedom and abolition of slavery in the French colonies.**

decree was put in the hands of the colonial assembly, which refused to promulgate it. Both the mulattos and the planters were infuriated. The balance of forces would decide.

The freedmen's response came from Vincent Ogé, a mulatto intellectual who had been active in Paris among the *Amis des Noirs*. Disappointed with the decree of March 28, he returned to Saint-Domingue via the United States where he obtained guns and ammunition. He was joined by Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, a professional soldier who had fought with the French in the American war. The mulatto revolt at Cap-Français in October 1790 was quickly crushed; the leaders fled to the Spanish side of the island, but were captured and turned over to the French colonists. Even though they appealed to the common interests of whites and mulattos as slaveowners, Ogé and Chavannes were brutally tortured and executed on the wheel—at the opposite end of the square to that reserved for the execution of whites.

Blood was flowing in the colonies, and the division among the slaveowners threatened to provide an opening for the blacks to rise up. Raymond, leader of the *Amis des Noirs*, pleaded for equality for the mulattos, arguing that "if nevertheless the blacks want to revolt, they will not be able to, because the persons of color, interested in keeping them in slavery, will unite with the whites and will then constitute a single class." On 15 May 1791 the Constituent Assembly granted the mulattos some political rights, while constitutionally "protecting" slavery. These concessions were the cement that held together the French-mulatto alliance for the next several years. They were aimed at maintaining property rights and the vital economy of Saint-Domingue, all the more urgent in the face of the rising of the Paris masses and attacks on the French Revolution by the European monarchies. But it was already too late. While the Revolution was marking time in the metropole, the blacks were rising in Saint-Domingue.

Planters in the North were in revolt against the decrees of the Paris Assembly. They had arrested a mulatto leader, André Rigaud, a large landowner who had also fought along with the 800 Saint-Domingue "colored" volunteers at the siege of Savannah in the American Revolutionary War. French troops freed Rigaud, and the mulattos prepared to form a federation in the South. But before they could move, a black slave insurrection broke out. The leader was Boukman, a work-gang leader in Limbé, the same place where Macandal had launched his conspiracy. On the night of 14 August 1791, Boukman held the famous ceremony at Bois Cayman where the slaves vowed to revolt. A week later the insurrection was general in the northern plain—the richest and most prosperous area of the country. Some 200 sugar plantations and 600 coffee estates were laid waste and hundreds of whites killed. At this point, it was more an inchoate *jacquerie* (peasant revolt) than a revolution. When they attacked Cap-Français, they were defeated and Boukman killed.

Mansell Collection

Haiti-Progrès

**Left: Henri Christophe, one of Toussaint's main generals, ruled the North 1807-1818. Right: Dessalines brought Thermidor to Haitian Revolution while winning final war of independence. Crowned himself Emperor Jacques I in 1804.**

## The Rise of Toussaint L'Ouverture

Yet the battle had been joined. It was at this time that Toussaint L'Ouverture threw in his lot with the rebels. Toussaint was, as his best biographer, C.L.R. James, has written, undoubtedly one of the political and military geniuses of the late 18th century. In ten years of warfare, he forged groups of illiterate slaves into a disciplined army which evoked the astonishment of European commanders and defeated both a British expeditionary force and the best troops Napoleon could muster at the height of his power. A British military historian, Fortescue, has put total British losses at 100,000, including 40,000 dead—more than the total losses of Wellington's army from all causes in the Spanish Peninsular campaign. The French lost over 55,000 soldiers in Saint-Domingue, including veteran troops of Napoleonic victories.

After Boukman's death, Toussaint rose rapidly. A small, frail man with an iron will, Toussaint had led a relatively privileged life under an enlightened master. He was literate and had read widely, including the 1780 treatise on the politics and economics of the Indies by Abbé Raynal, who declared of the fugitive slaves: "Those lightnings announce the thunder. A courageous chief only is wanted." From Caesar's *Commentaries* he derived valuable military knowledge. He had already gained organizational experience, having risen to the position of steward of livestock, in charge of hundreds of slaves and foremen. With this background, at the age of 45, "Old Toussaint" joined the slave revolt. But with the Constituent Assembly under Girondins in alliance with the mulattos, the former slaves faced the combined forces of the mulattos and the French.

The blacks were considered outlaws,

*continued on page 8*

# Haitian Revolution...

*(continued from page 7)*

to be dealt with as such. In order to give himself time and establish a safe retreat, Toussaint formed a temporary alliance with the Spanish, retaining his freedom of movement and command, and the organizational integrity of his forces. Nevertheless, Toussaint was on the verge of failure when Louis XVI was executed in January 1793. The British, seeing an opportunity both to defeat the hated Revolution and regain a monopoly of trade in cotton, indigo, coffee—and slaves!—declared war on France and prepared to seize the French colonies in the Antilles. The threat of invasion of France and the Paris masses' demands to halt the spiraling price of food brought the Jacobins to power. Still the Revolution refused to come to grips with the question of slavery. But the all-sided civil war in Saint-Domingue forced the issue.

As the Republic was in its birth pangs, Paris had dispatched three commissioners led by the right-wing Jacobin Sonthonax. By the summer of 1793, he had pacified the South by placing the mulatto leader Rigaud in command, and defeated a royalist uprising in the North by forming black regiments with the promise of freedom to all those who fought against their former masters. On August 29, faced with a British fleet at sea, a Spanish invasion on land and Cap-Français in ruins, he took the fateful step, abolishing slavery with the proclamation: "The slave-drivers and cannibals are no more.... The Republic desires liberty and equality among all men regardless of color; kings are content only amid slaves." Sonthonax acted of his own accord. As late as November 1793, Robespierre attacked the Girondins for wanting to undermine France by plotting "to immediately free and arm all blacks to destroy our colonies."

By happenstance, the very day Sonthonax decreed the liberation of the slaves, Toussaint issued his famous proclamation, declaring:

> "Brothers and Friends,
> "I am Toussaint L'Ouverture, my name has perhaps become known to you. I have undertaken vengeance. I wish Liberty and Equality to reign over Saint-Domingue. I strive to make them happen. Join with us, brothers, and fight with us in the common cause."

Culver Pictures

**Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831, one of many slave revolts that looked to the Haitian Revolution for inspiration.**

Since Sonthonax' decree had not been ratified by the Convention, Toussaint did not trust it and continued to fight against the mulatto armies under Rigaud and Beauvais. Faced with the British invasion and Toussaint's progress, in February 1794 the Convention finally ratified the abolition of slavery in the colonies. When news of ratification reached Saint-Domingue weeks later, the British were on the verge of successfully occupying the entire island. Toussaint immediately broke with the Spanish and rallied to the forces of the Republic against the slaveholding British. In a series of lightning campaigns, winning seven victories in as many days, Toussaint's army rapidly reversed the situation, and drove the British onto the defensive.

### The Reign of Toussaint

Toussaint L'Ouverture soon became master of the island. The governor was General Laveaux, who after being saved by Toussaint from mulatto rebels at Cap-Français acclaimed his rescuer "that black Spartacus foreseen by Raynal, whose destiny is to avenge the outrages on his race." In France, in the meantime, the Jacobins had been overthrown in the coup of 9 Thermidor. (24 July 1794) and the Directory was in power. Encouraged by Thermidor and by appeals from the colonists, the British hung on in isolated outposts for two more years before finally evacuating. The Directory formally approved Toussaint's victories and increasing power. He was made Lieutenant Governor of the colony in April 1796 and commander in chief of the French forces in March 1797. At the same time, the Directory rightly realized that the logical extension of Toussaint's course was independence and, unwilling to accept something akin to a commonwealth status, which Toussaint desired, they began plotting his overthrow.

In 1797 Paris sent a new emissary as Sole Agent to the colony, Hédouville. Hédouville had secret orders to do everything in his power to curb Toussaint's powers and eventually to eliminate him. Hédouville succeeded in poisoning relations between Toussaint and the mulatto leader Rigaud, so that the loose bloc between them became a de facto separation of Saint-Domingue into two entities: Toussaint in the rich plantations of the overwhelmingly black North, and Rigaud in the South, the historical center of mulatto power. When Toussaint defeated the British, he refused to allow Hédouville to accept General Maitland's surrender, accepting it personally instead. His triumphal entry into Port-au-Prince, renamed Port Républicain, as French representatives looked on, signaled his triumph. Yet Hédouville continued his intrigues, attempting to pit Toussaint's nephew, Moïse, against him.

Finally Toussaint reacted, dismissing Hédouville, who fled back to France. His last act was to promote Rigaud to equal rank with Toussaint and to declare him the independent commander in the South. In his official report, Hédouville called on the Directory to "embitter the hate which exists between the Mulattoes and the blacks and to oppose Rigaud to Toussaint." The mulattos were to be the beachhead for the return of French power and, eventually, the restoration of slavery. Toussaint obviously could not tolerate this situation and had to subdue the South. The bloody civil war, pitting blacks against mulattos, lasted about a year and cemented the distrust and even hatred between the mulattos and blacks. When Toussaint sent his lieutenant Dessalines to restore order in the rebellious army, Dessalines unleashed a bloodbath against mulatto officers. In response Toussaint is reported to have said: "I said to prune the tree, not uproot it."

With the South integrated, Toussaint marched on the slaveholding Spanish half of the island (directly contravening the instructions of the French) and took it over in a lightning campaign. On 7 February 1801, he proclaimed in Santo Domingo the liberation of the slaves (Juan Bosch, *De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro: El Caribe, frontera imperial* [1969]). In contrast to Dessalines' later invasion and Solouque's bloody debacle in 1844, Toussaint carefully avoided aggravating racial tensions, appointing a mulatto governor. Ruler of a unified and rich island, Toussaint now faced problems more intractable than those posed by foreign troops. Twelve years of warfare and civil war had devastated the island's economy. Two-thirds of the whites had left or been killed (though three-quarters of the mulattos remained) and perhaps a third of the black population had perished. Ever since Sonthonax, blacks had said, "*Moin pas esclave, moin pas travaye*" (I'm not a slave, I won't work).

The plantations were in ruin: Toussaint urgently had to salvage them. To restore productivity, he was forced to militarize the entire economy, placing planters and laborers under what amounted to martial law, eventually confining workers to the plantations. Anyone without employment was to be conscripted into the army. Instead of breaking up the large plantations into subsistence plots, he maintained them as the most efficient form of production. At the same time, he banished the whip, that symbol of slavery, and decreed that laborers receive one-quarter of the produce. Realizing that he needed the skills that only the whites and mulattos possessed, Toussaint left them in charge of the plantations. But he made them directly answerable to the black army, and purchased 30,000 guns from America. He would wave a rifle at public gatherings, shouting to the black laborers: "Here is your freedom!" His general staff was composed almost totally of whites, but his army was led by black generals.

Not unlike Trotsky, who following the Russian October Revolution used tsarist officers in building the Red Army, Toussaint made use of the most talented and capable people he could find. And it worked: in the two years of his administration, Toussaint was well on his way to restoring the economy to its former wealth. There was a noted drop in black-mulatto hostility and a thriving trade with the United States, from which Saint-Domingue imported foodstuffs and arms. But he was faced with an intractable problem: the Haitian economy was based on large-scale plantation cultivation of coffee, sugar, cacao. At that point in history, before the industrial revolution mechanized farm production, the only possible way this production could succeed was with a degree of labor discipline at least roughly equivalent to what had existed under slavery, whether voluntary or not. Nevertheless, freedom was decisive for the black ex-slaves. As C.L.R. James put it:

> "The black labourers were free, and though there might be dissatisfaction with the new régime, as in the Paris of 1800, there was no regret for the old. Where formerly the labourers had worked from dawn until far into the night, now work began at five and ended at five. No employer dared to beat them. Dessalines whipped blacks in his province, and Toussaint threatened to take away his command at the least complaint."
>
> —C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1963)

Toussaint's use of whites and mulattos in positions of privilege caused widescale resentment among the blacks, in particular in the Northern province, governed by Toussaint's nephew Moïse. In September 1801 revolt broke out, in some places under the slogan "Long Live Moïse." Moïse refused to take a clear position, and the revolt was defeated by Toussaint, Christophe and Dessalines. Toussaint had Moïse shot.

[TO BE CONTINUED]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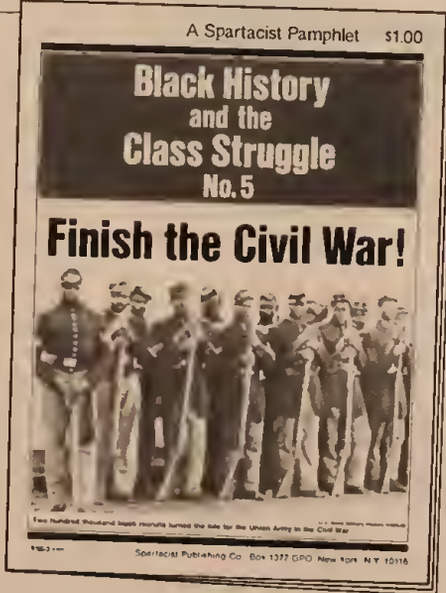


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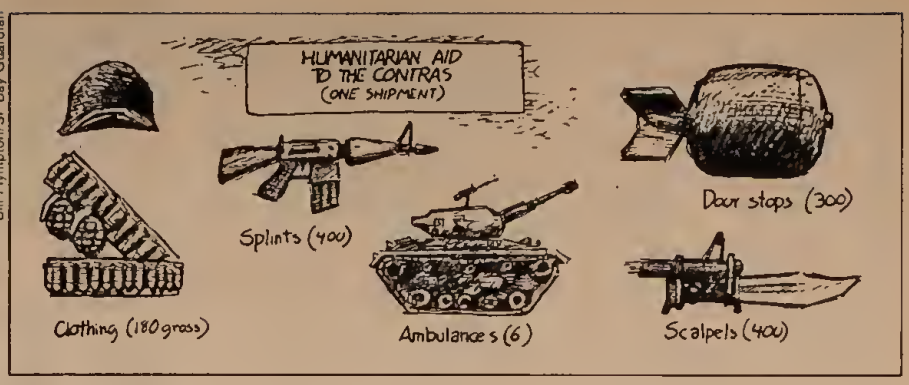
# U.S. War on Nicaragua...

*(continued from page 1)*

or Cuban bases, no export of revolution, no subversion and no more delays in progress for democracy." In this drive to reassert U.S. military dominance both parties confront the spectre of their humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese masses. As Republican Senator Alan Simpson put it, "There's a confusion in the public over this issue. Every time they hear the word *Contras*, there's the word *Vietnam* in the back of their retinas, like a big neon sign." The heaviest threats came from the Democrats: New Mexico Democrat Bill Richardson warned the Sandinistas to "clean up your act" or else, Kansas Democrat Jim Slattery laid it out: "the United States lacks the moral justification to pursue a military solution until we have exhausted our diplomatic remedies."

Liberal columnist Mary McGrory wrote that the contra aid vote was "The Last Gasp for Reagan's War" (*Washington Post*, 31 January). Hardly. To begin with, it was never just Reagan's—the Democrats have voted *hundreds of millions of dollars* to the contras, who just came within five votes of getting another hefty increase. Eager not to be labeled the party that "lost" Nicaragua to "Communism," the Dems were falling over each other to declare the vote was "easily reversible." (House whip Tony Coelho promised, "We'll have 10 votes on Contra aid this year.") Moreover, the current spending appropriation doesn't run out until the end of February; administration officials are promising "a veritable Berlin airlift" of accelerated CIA drops in the meantime. And Gary Hart came out on TV the other day for a U.S. invasion if the Sandinistas ever got the MIG jets Nicaragua needs to interdict the contra supply line. Reagan has said as much, but the discredited administration can't deliver.

The Democrats' complaint is that Reagan speaks loudly while carrying a small stick. Now, while talking peace they are waving a very Big Stick over the Sandinistas' heads.




**Democrats' "humanitarian aid" to contras.**

### Arias "Peace," More Contra War

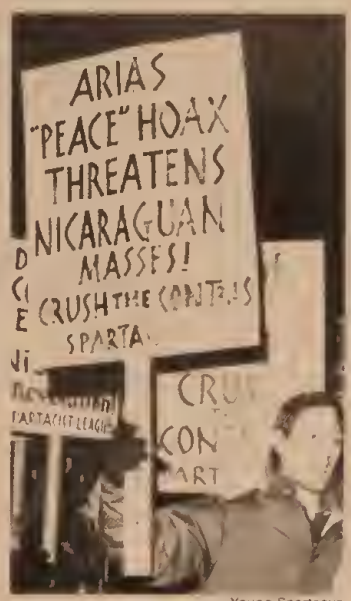
The Democrats now want to use the threat of renewed contra aid to accomplish what Reagan claimed to be for all along: bludgeoning the Sandinistas into allowing an upsurge of reactionary forces to undermine the revolution from within. Where they say "democratization," read "destabilization"...and remember Chile. This is just what has been happening under the Arias plan. The trumpet of the internal contras, *La Prensa*, has been blaring away, financed by $90,000 from the CIA conduit "National Endowment for Democracy." According to Nicaraguan interior minister Tomás Borge, "A high percentage of the 1,000 people pardoned have reincorporated themselves into the ranks of the armed counterrevolution" (*New York Times*, 9 February). Yet the Sandinistas are preparing to free some 3,000 more. *Times* man Stephen Kinzer crows that rightists can now paint "Death to the Sandinistas" on the walls, former contra leader Fernando Chamorro returned to Nicaragua, and arch-anti-Communist crusader Jimmy Swaggert has been given permission to hold a revival meeting in Managua.

Meanwhile, the contras, knee-deep in gore as they appealed for more dollars from Congress, upped their "body count" by vicious attacks on civilian targets. In the early morning of February 2 they descended upon the families of the Panfilo Campos farming cooperative, pulverizing their homes with heavy calibre weapons and killing eleven—including three women and three children. Two days later a contra unit ambushed a truck carrying 60 civilians near the northern town of Quilali. Using rifles and Claymore mines, the contra scum killed 16, including six children, and wounded 16 more. Since the Arias plan was signed last August, they have murdered 125 civilians in Nicaragua. To keep up their military exploits and make up for the cancellation of open U.S. funding, General John Singlaub (head of the fascistic World Anti-Communist League) and convicted Contragater "Spitz" Channell have launched a drive for contra "war bonds" (which will soon be as worthless as Confederate war bonds). These killers are losers, but their godfathers in Washington are desperate.

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega cautioned against taking the Congressional vote as a victory, "This is only a setback for the Reagan administration. The war continues. There should be no rejoicing in Managua." "We won't let down our guard," Ortega said. "As long as the war goes on, all Nicaraguans must remain massively, permanently mobilized to defend our revolution by every means...and to complete the total defeat of the mercenary forces" (*Washington Post*, 5 February). He warned that "The miracle of converting the President of the United States into a man of peace is not likely. The danger of provocation and the danger of invasion are real."

### Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

After Congress voted down Reagan's contra aid bill, the Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (5 February) crowed "Peace Gets a Chance!" insisting that here was "Cause for Celebration." Likewise, the signing of the Arias "peace plan" elicited paroxysms of jubilation from the American fake-left. The SWP's *Militant* (28 August 1987) headlined it as a "Blow to U.S. War." The CISPES "solidarity" crowd hailed the "Winds of Peace in Central America" (*Alert!*, September 1987). Irwin Silber's *Frontline* (17 August 1987) praised it as a "Historic Step."




Young Spartacus

**SL contingent in Harvard protest against contra terrorists.**

While the American "left" either whitewashes or enthuses over every concession by the Sandinista leadership to U.S. imperialism and its contra cutthroats, the Nicaraguan masses who gave their blood to free their country from the yoke of Somoza are less sanguine. The amnesty of National Guard killers, which is part of the Arias agreement, has led to particular outrage. Rosario Antunez, a National Assembly member tortured by the National Guard and one of the "Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs" (her daughter was murdered by Somoza's butchers), exclaimed: "To accept that the Guard go free...to forget that past...I would have to forget that I had ever given birth."

At the time of the signing of the Arias plan, we called it "an attempt to reverse by negotiations the spread of revolution...the 'Arias plan' would impose international controls to guarantee the survival of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. It would prop up Duarte's death squad 'democracy' in El Salvador by banning aid to leftist insurgents. The signing of this counterrevolutionary accord by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega is a betrayal" (*WV* No. 435, 4 September 1987). And ever since, the contra war has *escalated*, the number of death squad murders in El Salvador and Guatemala has risen, the blackmailing demands of U.S. imperialism have grown shriller and steeper. To defend the Nicaraguan Revolution, it must be completed by expropriating the bourgeoisie, and extended throughout the region.

Today, even Michael Harrington's Democratic (Party) "Socialists" of America admit that the net result of the peace plan to date has been the release of death squad killers in El Salvador and continued war against Guatemalan leftists. But this is the gang that went "all the way with LBJ" over Vietnam in '64 and hollered for Humphrey in '68. Is the DSA preparing to support another Democratic administration invasion against "Communist totalitarianism"? The DSA had a raging internal debate at its recent convention over whether Sandinista Nicaragua is..."democratic."

What they're all talking about is "democratic" with a big D. For all their hot air about "solidarity" with Sandinista Nicaragua and the Salvadoran insurgents, the fake-lefts march in lock step behind the Democratic Party right here at home. But after years of being the best builders of "peace" demos for the Democrats, all they get is more contra aid from Congress...and deadly surveillance from the FBI. The *Guardian* (20 January) quotes the complaint of one "anti-intervention" activist: "There is very deep anger and frustration among activists, who feel the Democrats have repeatedly sold out."

*Sold out!?* This is the party that brought you the Bay of Pigs, the Vietnam War and the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo. Indeed, the Democratic Party has always been the primary party of imperialist war, succeeding with its "friends of labor" rhetoric in mobilizing the population for war where the Republicans cannot. The Democrats are no less committed to the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union than the Reaganites: today the Democrats try to bleed the Nicaraguan masses dry through negotiations and economic sabotage; on the morrow, it may be a Democratic administration that orders U.S. troops into Nicaragua. We say: "Bay of Pigs, Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

The struggle against U.S. military intervention in Central America, in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, requires the independent mobilization of the American *working class*. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! From the start we have insisted on the necessity for "hot-cargoing" military supplies to Central America and labor political strikes in the event of a U.S. invasion. The key to mobilizing U.S. labor for concrete solidarity action with its Central American class brothers and sisters is a fight against the pro-imperialist labor tops and *breaking the stranglehold of the Democratic Party* by forging a revolutionary workers party in opposition to the partner parties of American imperialism. ■

Brack/Black Star

**Democratic House leader Jim Wright (left), architect of counterrevolutionary "peace plan," with Costa Rican president Arias (right).**

# FBI Witchhunt...

*(continued from page 3)*

their terror network is making widespread use of "free enterprise." The documents obtained by the CCR reveal that the operation against CISPES was aided by the Young America's Foundation (YAF), a right-wing outfit whose board of directors includes Reagan's chief political adviser, Frank Donatelli, and Kenneth Cribbs, an assistant to Reagan for domestic affairs (*Village Voice*, 9 February). YAF spied on CISPES meetings and "discovered" a plan to "provide direct military assistance to the Soviet supported Marxist terrorists." This turned out to be a publicly announced CISPES campaign to build a *shoe factory* in Tequeque, El Salvador!

All roads in this private/governmental COINTELPRO operation lead straight to the basement of the White House and the president's fall guy on the National Security Council—Lt. Colonel Oliver North. An article in *Newsday* (10 February 1987) detailed the activities of Los Angeles cop Jay Paul, who in 1981 and 1982 fed LAPD red squad files on 6,000 Central America activists to an outfit called Western Goals, which disseminated them to other cops and right-wing organizations. And who is Western Goals? Its führer was Contragate arms supplier and head of the fascistic World Anti-Communist

Wide World

**May 1960: Police attack demonstrators protesting McCarthy's HUAC witchhunters in San Francisco.**

League, "retired" General John Singlaub. Singlaub was succeeded at Western Goals by North's chief Contragate fund-raiser, Carl Channell.

The CCR speculates that the whole operation came together through the NSC: The man who ran the "terrorism unit," FBI executive assistant director Oliver Revell, and Oliver North both sat on the Restricted Interagency Group, along with CIA Central American operations boss Duane Clarridge. This was the directorate behind the spying, break-ins and death squad terror. Now the "review" of the FBI's operation is being conducted by none other than Attorney General Meese, presumably between his grand jury appearances.

The FBI's war on Central America protesters isn't just Reaganite policy, it is shared by the Democrats—just as they are equal partners in the anti-Soviet war drive. They simply want it "limited" to "legitimate" targets—labor, blacks and the left. And the Congressional FBI "oversight" committees were informed every step of the way. Democratic Representative Edwards, himself a former FBI agent, *defended* the core of the FBI's operation:

> "There may have been a proper basis for the investigation initially, but it just got out of hand. What troubles us is the scope of the investigation."
>
> —*New York Times*, 28 January

In other words, just get CISPES and the left, like FBI director Sessions says. But from the moment the Varelli operation was exposed, CISPES placed their hope in the demand for "a full Congressional investigation into possible FBI violations of the law" (CISPES *Alert!*, March 1987). CISPES and the APC police antiwar protests for the Democratic Party, excluding Spartacist contingents calling for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents." But this hasn't done them much good.

### War Drive and Witchhunting

The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, ushered in under Jimmy Carter and deepened during the Reagan years, is necessarily accompanied by an attack on even purely liberal dissent at home. This was certainly the case in Cold War I, when McCarthyism served to whip into line all sections of U.S. society. Class-struggle militants today can learn, however, from the reception longshoremen gave the government witchhunters on the West Coast. When the House Un-American Activities Committee targeted labor, it:

> "ran into an unforeseen obstacle when it barged into San Francisco to open a 'subversive' hearing in City Hall. Some 6,000 members of Local 10, ILWU (independent), 'hit the bricks' on December 3, 1953, to protest [the] investigation. The waterfront was paralyzed. The CIO Council in the East Bay area denounced [the] committee as an enemy of democratic rights.... At the first real resistance by organized labor, the government witch-hunters had to cut and run."
>
> —Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step* (1964)

But the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops knuckled under to Taft-Hartley anti-Communist clauses, and purged Communist Party supporters and other leftists from the labor movement. What finally cracked the years of witchhunt and reaction was the explosion of black struggle in the civil rights movement.

The original McCarthyite witchhunting was able for a time to line up the country for a crusade against Communism. But Reagan-style McCarthyism has not been successful in overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome." In 1983 the Spartacist League filed a successful lawsuit against the Reagan/Meese Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations, which falsely targeted the SL and all political opponents of the government as "criminal enterprises" and "terrorists." In a modest but real victory the government conceded the central aim of our challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism. We have no illusions that capitalism's secret police will stop their war on the left, on blacks and all working people. In a speech on our victory, SL General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein spoke of the government's "foreign intelligence" cover for its COINTELPRO-type operations:

> "...the government may be thinking of using something more sinister against us, like declaring us a target for 'foreign intelligence' surveillance. The foreign intelligence guidelines are so broad, and give the government so much room for maneuver, that the *guidelines* themselves are classified—Congress can't get them."
>
> —"Marxists vs. FBI Repression," *WV* No. 385, 9 August 1985

As we stated when we began the suit against the targeting of the SL: "We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution."■

Le Bolchévik Photos

**German Trotskyists (left) say "Bury Le Pen at Bitburg!" French Trotskyists (right) call for vengeance for victims of racist terror.**

# French Protest...

*(continued from page 12)*

its words: we offered savagely critical support to the PCF in the presidential elections of 1981 if it stood in its own name against the anti-Soviet Mitterrand and his coalition with the bourgeoisie. But instead, the PCF launched its obscene anti-immigrant action, bulldozing the housing for African workers in the Paris suburb of Vitry, to prove its loyalty to the bourgeois order.

The PCF leadership crawled into the Mitterrand government, the recruiting sergeant of the imperialist war campaign against the Soviet Union in Europe. Today, the PCF leadership is still intent on getting its members to swallow a vote for the anti-working-class Mitterrand on the second round of the presidential election. This perspective is so unappetizing for many militants that at the last PCF congress, the leadership didn't dare put to a vote a motion calling explicitly for a vote to Mitterrand on the second round.

Le Pen owes his "respectability" to the anti-immigrant policy of police terror and the anti-Soviet campaign waged since 1981 by governments of the "left" which put wind in his sails. Supporting a new popular front means not stopping Le Pen, but opening the road to him. Our contingent underlined the bankruptcy of the popular front and the need for socialist revolution when we chanted, "Mitterrand, anti-worker! Mitterrand, anti-immigrant! Mitterrand, anti-Soviet! Workers government!" Opposing the anti-Soviet war drive and the French nuclear arsenal, the LTF contingent also chanted "Down with NATO! Down with the 'force de frappe'! Defend the Soviet Union!"

### The "Far Left" to the Right of the PCF

At this decisive moment, when the Communist Party finally did call for everyone to demonstrate against the fascists, where were the fake-Trotskyists? The bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lieutenants opposed this mobilization and the "far left" followed suit.

The apostles of impotence of Lutte Ouvrière (LO) *deliberately* chose to *desert* the anti-fascist workers' mobilization of January 27. For LO, Le Pen is only an "unscrupulous demagogue" and his racist, anti-communist terrorists are only "poor people fooled by a millionaire." This disgusting economist pablum which LO continues to serve up, after the fascist raids against immigrant communities in Marseille and Lyon, after the murder of Philippe Brocard by National Front thugs in March 1986, after the dozens of attacks against immigrants and working-class militants—*including its own militants*—is becoming more and more disturbing.

As a result of working the minefield of the "little man" and the backward fringes of the proletariat, LO has ended up hypocritically refusing to see the daily reality of racial segregation and racist terror by *not wanting* to recognize a fascist danger. The January 27 demonstration was not—as the social democrats also say—a "diversion" by the PCF. On this day, LO chose the camp of the anti-communist social democracy. The anti-social-democratic pretenses of LO are, like the rest of its politics, "revolutionary" hot air.

The Mandelite LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire), on the other

Ehe Kagan

**French Communist Party finally holds mobilizations against fascist threat, after shamefully "debating" Le Pen on TV.**

## Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists!

# Le Pen—Enough is Enough!

## Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!

*The following is the text of the leaflet by the Ligue Trotskyste de France calling for a contingent at the January 27 demonstrations organized by the Communist Party against the leader of the fascist National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen.*

On Wednesday, 27 January, the anniversary of the date the victorious Red Army liberated the Auschwitz extermination camp, Le Pen, the fascist gang leader for whom the massacre of Jews in the Nazi gas chambers is a "detail," will appear on "The Hour of Truth" [TV program] to push his calls for racist murder. At long last, the PCF is calling for protest demonstrations across France, expressing the hope that they will be joined by "others—organizations and individuals—for this demonstration." Yes, *Le Pen—enough is enough!*

Like hundreds of thousands of Communist militants, the Ligue Trotskyste is pleased to see mass working-class mobilizations against the fascists. After the victory of the Antilles anti-fascists in December, it is high time the Le Pen-ite scum were given a taste of the social power of the organized working class. The LTF, together with the Tribune Communiste group, calls on workers, youth, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals, all those targeted by the National Front stormtroopers, all anti-fascists to participate in the 27 January demonstrations and to join our contingents in Paris and Rouen. Le Pen, enough is enough! *Mass working-class demonstrations are needed to crush the fascists before they crush us!*

The fascists' first target is immigrant workers and their families. *Worker/immigrant defense groups based on the unions* must defend the factories and immigrant neighborhoods against the fascist goons! But you can't mobilize immigrant workers for that kind of action behind the slogan "Produce French." We must demand *full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families,* and wage a relentless struggle against all forms of racist segregation and discrimination.

Ever since 1981, Mitterrand's anti-Soviet, anti-working-class and anti-immigrant popular front has paved the way for reaction and the fascists. Four times, that's enough! We must break the infernal cycle of popular front/reaction, build a revolutionary party which fights for a real workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie, to undertake the socialist reconstruction of France in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe and to inflict the fate of the Russian pogromist Black Hundreds on Le Pen's gangs.

EVERYONE OUT FOR THE DEMONSTRATION 27 JANUARY!

Join the contingent of the Ligue Trotskyste!

PARIS: Rèpublique 6:30 p.m.
ROUEN: Place St. Sever 5:00 p.m.

AFP

AP

**Fascist Le Pen spews racist genocide; his thugs beat immigrant workers in Marseille, 4 April 1987.**

hand, was present. The bourgeois press even made a big deal of them. Why? Because of their impressive mobilization, their strength, their militant slogans? To the contrary, the LCR did not carry any banners. The LCR's contingent would hardly have been identifiable without the well-known face of its honcho Alain Krivine, strolling with the anti-Soviet Juquin, leader of the "Renovators" group who split from the PCF in the direction of social democracy.

Indeed, the LCR was mixed into the "Renovators" contingent—about 700 demonstrators in Paris—behind an anonymous banner held by Juquin and his faithful Krivine, calling for "Unity Against Racism and Fascism." But the LCR did nothing to build the demonstration with contingents, for example, from the CFDT unions in which it has a certain influence. No, its anonymous banner was emblematic of its criticism of the PCF *from the right*, which is that any mobilization must include "the left"—i.e., a new class-collaborationist Union of the Left. For the LCR, there's no redemption outside of the popular front. *Rouge* (21 January) explains: "And, while having our sympathy, the thousands of demonstrators assembled on that day by the PCF won't be equivalent to the gigantic demonstrations which will inevitably respond to the call of the left and democratic associations."

But the left which *Rouge* is talking about is liberal SOS-Racisme leader Harlem Désir, who still prefers "debating" with racist terrorists, and Socialist leader Jospin, who declares that Le Pen should have been protected from the just outrage of the masses of Martinique and Guadeloupe. (Last fall the National Front leader and his fascist cohorts were run off these Caribbean islands as thousands surrounded their plane.) The reformist misleaders tremble at the thought of thousands of the most militant workers of Paris marching to the Bastille with Le Pen as their target. The social democrats didn't want to be there. On the 27th the LCR came as agents for Juquin and Mitterrand, whose popular front opened the gates to reaction; for this "contribution" these anonymous salon "Trotskyists" were hailed by the bourgeois press.

Trotsky remarked of the pre-1933 German Social Democracy that political corpses were of no use in a fight, but serve to prevent the living from fighting. Today that characterization applies to Krivine & Co. There was only one Trotskyist organization which unfurled its banners in this demonstration, underlining that there is indeed only one Trotskyist organization in this country. The Ligue Trotskyste de France has fought for years, with our modest forces, for actions to stop the fascists. When fascist thugs attacked far left newspaper sellers, the LTF initiated a 400-strong demonstration (called by a dozen trade unions and organizations) in Rouen on 11 December 1981. This demonstration drove the fascist rats back into their holes, albeit temporarily.

More recently, the LTF mobilized (together with Tribune Communiste in Paris, with trade unionists, North African youth and the MRAP at Rouen) against racial discrimination at the Flunch restaurant in Rouen last spring. When the fascists came to the rescue of the racist manager, we wrote, "It is now more than ever up to the leadership of the workers movement—and above all the CGT and PCF—to take up the challenge" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 75, July-August 1987).

### Program for Victory

Our contingent offered a political perspective opposed to popular frontism and anti-Sovietism. What's necessary to annihilate Le Pen and his fascist bands is independent workers' mobilization, bringing into play the organized social power of the proletariat, and which can draw behind it the millions of oppressed who are the intended victims of the fascist killers. This requires an all-sided struggle by the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard against all manifestations of racist terror and oppression.

In fighting racial oppression—the dunghill which generates racism—it is necessary to raise the elementary demand for full citizenship rights for immigrants. This demand, in response to their situation as pariahs, is the only answer to the government's maneuvers around the "Code of Nationality." This barrier which dramatically isolates immigrants and second-generation immigrant youth from the rest of the working class must be broken. Every racist attack, every crime committed by the racist cops and fascists in immigrant neighborhoods must be answered: Cops out of immigrant neighborhoods! For self-defense patrols, based on trade unions, uniting French and immigrant workers and residents of these neighborhoods to ensure their defense!

There must be an intransigent struggle against the popular frontism which has far too long enchained the French proletariat. The formation of workers militias to protect strike picket lines and sweep the fascists from the streets can only occur in opposition to the bourgeois state, which will oppose any challenge to its monopoly of power. The road of the popular front is the road of bowing to the state power of the exploiters. Only independent workers' mobilization leading to the expropriation of the exploiters is capable of crushing the mortal danger which Le Pen represents to the workers and oppressed.

For class struggle to destroy capitalism, by overthrowing the bourgeois state and installing a workers government, rather than managing moribund capitalism! A real fight against fascist barbarism means the struggle for socialist revolution and a new leadership for the proletariat: the revolutionary party armed with the Leninist-Trotskyist program. ■


**SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY**

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
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Cleveland, OH 44101
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**Detroit**
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Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
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(608) 251-6431

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(212) 267-1025

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**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D C 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Trotskyists in United-Front CP Protest

# France: Thousands March Against Fascist Le Pen

*Adapted from* Le Bolchévik *No. 80, February 1988, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.*

PARIS—On January 27, throughout France the streets resounded with the slogan, "*Le Pen ça suffit!*" (Le Pen—enough is enough!) For years one racist murder has followed another as the fascist thugs strut and storm. Finally the Communist Party (PCF) launched a national call to come out onto the streets against this scum. The January 14 call by the Political Bureau of the PCF was addressed to "the workers of Paris and its region, men, women and youth in favor of progressive values, freedom and human rights...." It concluded, "We will be happy if we can join together with others—organizations and individuals—for this demonstration."

This could only mean the united front: march separately and strike together. All those who participate in common action against a common enemy should mobilize under their own political banners. And we answered: *Yes, Le Pen—enough is enough! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to crush the fascists! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!* Together with the Tribune Communiste group, the Ligue Trotskyste de France mobilized all of our forces to build contingents to participate in the January 27 demonstrations.

In Lyon, Rouen and Paris, the LTF marched with numerous signs and red flags. In Paris, our 130-strong contingent was organized jointly with Tribune Communiste, a group which came out of the "anti-opportunist" milieu of the PCF. Also marching behind our banner were militants of the Union of Tunisian Immigrant Workers, as well as delegations from different sections of the international Spartacist tendency, notably the Spartacist League/Britain, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia and the Spartacist League/U.S. To emphasize the key importance of the struggle against racial discrimination and racist terror, our mobilizing leaflet for January 27 (of which 20,000 were printed) was published in French, Arabic and Turkish.

Le Bolchévik

**Joint contingent of Ligue Trotskyste and Tribune Communiste joins thousands of militant workers January 27 in Paris protest. Banner reads: "Le Pen—Enough is enough! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to crush the fascists! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!"**

These demonstrations could be the harbingers of other larger, broader actions determined to crush the fascists. Or the PCF leadership could seek to divert its ranks' outrage against Le Pen into a popular-frontist and electoralist dead end. With an eye on the upcoming presidential election and the mooted candidacy of "Socialist" president François Mitterrand, the PCF's *L'Humanité* (19 January) headlined, "The Right, There's the Enemy." It is necessary to break with the endless cycle of alliances with the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants like Mitterrand!

Le Bolchévik

**French Trotskyists say: "Mitterrand's racist and anti-Soviet campaign puts wind in the fascists' sails."**

### PCF Militants: What Now?

For many Communist Party members, their party's call was a long overdue change. They remember the humiliating spectacle of PCF presidential candidate Lajoinie "debating" the pig Le Pen on an earlier television appearance. Three times, Le Pen was allowed to spew his appeals to racial genocide on television. The fourth time, he chose the anniversary of the Red Army's liberation of Auschwitz, where the full horror of the Hitlerite "final solution" was played out. But this time, the PCF said: four times, enough is enough!

While at the beginning of its campaign for January 27, the PCF rightfully emphasized in its propaganda the 104 racist murders in the last few years, at the demonstration, it spoke mainly of "liberating" television from Le Pen. But the struggle against the fascists will not be waged nor won in the studios of TV station Antenne 2, any more than in the voting booths or from the seats of the National Assembly. It is the streets and cities which must be liberated from the fascist gangsters! When the LTF denounced the repulsive Lajoinie-Le Pen "debate," we struck a chord among PCF militants. They know that you don't debate fascists, you fight them!

As is only to be expected from an organization which for decades has invested (or rather squandered) its resources in class collaboration, the PCF's mobilization, while real, was partial and minimal. Where there should have been hundreds of thousands under the banners of the CGT and the other union federations, and hundreds of thousands of North Africans, blacks, Jews, homosexuals, marching against their common enemy, there were some 12,000 people at the Bastille. But the country was watching; for every person who demonstrated the 27th of January, there could be dozens the next time.

These demonstrations come in a situation where the policies of the leadership of the USSR (*glasnost* and *perestroika*) are creating turmoil in the various CPs around the world. The PCF is wracked by contradictions. Many of its militants know that there is no alternative to a struggle to the death against the fascists, but the PCF is a party imbued with decades of reformism. For its social-patriotic leaders, Le Pen can be "stopped" by an obscene competition as to who is the greatest "defender" of "national interests"—the logical consequence of the PCF's own chauvinist slogan "Produce French," a slogan which pits French workers against their foreign class brothers.

Eight years ago, PCF leader Georges Marchais said of the popular front, "three times is enough"—referring to the PCF's participation in class-collaborationist coalitions with the Socialists and capitalist parties in 1936, 1946 and 1973. We Trotskyists seized on this fleeting admission of the truth to demand that the PCF follow through on

*continued on page 10*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 447

26 February 1988


## Zionist Sadists Bury Arab Youths Alive

# Palestinians Defy Israeli "Iron Fist"

Avakian/Woodlin Camp

Bakhshandagi/Black Star

**Israeli troops seize Palestinian youth in West Bank town of Ramallah (left). Mass protests in Gaza Strip (right). Israel out of the Occupied Territories!**

The Palestinians call it *Al-Intifada*, "The Uprising." From one month to the next, the mass protests which started in the Gaza Strip in early December have cascaded and grown, reaching beyond the Occupied Territories, engulfing ever wider areas, ever more people. Flinging stones against bullets, wielding slingshots against machine guns, throwing themselves bodily against their tormentors, the Palestinian Arab masses have battled without respite for ten weeks. The Zionist stormtroopers with their "Iron Fist" of murderous, indiscriminate savagery have succeeded only in unifying all the Arabs under their jackboot—from the "refugees" in the concentration camps of the Gaza Strip to the Israeli Arabs of Haifa and the Galilee to the Druze and Bedouin communities once deemed to be loyal to the Zionist state.

Israel "celebrates" its 40th year of existence with the same naked terror it used to dispossess the Palestinian people out of whose living body the Zionists carved their "promised land." The gruesome incident in the West Bank village of Salim, in which four Arab teenagers were beaten bloody by Israeli soldiers and fascistic "settlers" and then

*continued on page 10*

## Another Imperialist Provocation in the Black Sea

# Soviet Navy Sends U.S. Warships Packing

On February 12, two U.S. Navy warships invaded Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea. In fact, these were the same two ships—the destroyer *Caron* and the guided missile cruiser *Yorktown*—which had penetrated the exact same region off the Crimean coast in March 1986. This time the ships penetrated the Soviets' 12-mile coastal limit up to about seven miles from shore, *just off Soviet Black Sea Fleet headquarters* at Sevastopol. This was no accident: officers noted it "was approved by the White House" (UPI, 13 February). Wars have been started for far less. And this time the U.S. Navy got more than a mere protest note.

"Soviet ships have orders to prevent violations of territorial waters. I am authorized to strike your ship with one of ours." That was the warning issued by the Soviet commander on the spot, as Soviet Badger planes and Hind helicopters closely monitored the intruder ships, whose crews went to "a high state of readiness" during the two-hour provocation (*New York Times*, 13 February). As Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov explained later, the American ships did not react to the warning and continued their "dangerous maneuvering." So the 7,800-ton *Caron* was humped on the side by a 1,150-ton Mirka-class frigate, and three minutes later the 9,600-ton cruiser *Yorktown* was struck by the 3,900-ton Krivak-class frigate *Bezzavetny*. The Soviet military response was a carefully measured but firm defense of home waters.

In 1986 and again this time, the U.S. claimed it was merely asserting the

*continued on page 8*

U.S. Dept. of Defense Photos

**Soviet frigate (center) confronts intruding U.S. destroyer Caron off Crimean coast in Black Sea.**

## Tugboat Strike Against Union-Busting

# ILA: Shut Down New York Harbor!

WV Photo

ILA picketers in Staten Island.

"This is a lifetime strike. They want to cut us to the bone, and we won't take that," a picketing bargeman declared on February 16, the first day of the strike by 2,800 members of United Marine Division, Local 333 of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The New York harbor tug and barge owners are demanding the elimination of 750 jobs, and wage and benefit cuts of *40 to 62 percent!* After their successful assault on tugboat workers in the Mid-Atlantic ports, where hundreds of jobs were wiped out last fall, they are out to break this key local in the heart of the longshore union. The entire ILA must enter the battle. Picket lines mean don't cross! Shut down New York harbor!

The employers have recruited scabs in ports from New Orleans to Boston to man the 250 tugs, barges and small tankers. A union spokesman told the New Jersey *Record* (17 February), "Our men are up in arms. They catch a scab and he's gone." But Local 333 is fighting alone. As scab tugmen and docking pilots bring in the ships, ILA longshoremen are working the cargo. NYC mayor Koch, who got Jimmy Carter to call in the Coast Guard to run scab sanitation barges in 1979, has over 100 cops, including mounted cops, at Staten Island picket sites. Already a half-dozen strikers have been arrested.

ILA longshoremen are also under attack. For the first time in decades the employers won concessions under the 1986 two-tier contract. Gulf and South Atlantic locals are reeling under the pressure of scab operations. Maritime/transport labor solidarity strike action is urgently needed to win the tug strike and reverse the pounding that waterfront unions have taken in the Reagan years. This requires integrated, united class struggle—eliminating segregation in ILA locals, and reversing the historic discrimination against blacks and Puerto Ricans, mainly employed as cooks, in the New York tug local. Smash the assault on Local 333! ■

# Solidarity Rally for Maine Paper Strikers

BOSTON—On February 19 a crowd of over 500, including building tradesmen, striking rail workers and Harvard clericals, along with students and community activists, jammed into the IBEW Local 102 union hall in Dorchester. Chanting "Scabs out! Union in!" they rallied in solidarity with the embattled strikers of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 in Jay, Maine.

The 1,200 paper workers have been out on a bitter eight-month-long strike against International Paper, the largest company in the industry worldwide. Last June, IP demanded a 12 percent wage cut and launched a union-busting campaign against the Jay workers and 2,200 other paper workers in De Pere, Wisconsin, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania and Mobile, Alabama where workers have been locked out since last March. The company built a barbed wire fence around the Jay plant and brought in a professional union-busting thug outfit, B.E.&K., to put nearly 1,000 scabs in the plant.

The scabs have caused at least three spectacular gas and chemical leaks. On February 5, thousands of Jay residents had to be evacuated when 112,000 gallons of highly toxic chlorine dioxide escaped in a thick green cloud after two scabs tried to repair a steam pipe with a blowtorch. Local 14 president William Meserve said, "IP shows as much concern for the people of the Androscoggin Valley as Union Carbide did for the people of Bhopal" (*Portland Press Herald*, 6 February).

At the rally the largely white audience gave a standing ovation to Hank Sanders from Mobile, Alabama when he described the attempt by himself and other black legislators to rip down the Confederate flag of slavery that flies over the state capitol in Montgomery. The strikers have faced racist provocations: in October scabs in the Mobile IP plant flew the racist flag from the main smokestack, and in Maine the Ku Klux Klan staged a rally in nearby Rumford, unsuccessfully attempting to mobilize backward workers in supposed opposition to the introduction of black scabs by B.E.&K.

The Boston rally was part of a caravan the Jay strikers are taking through the Northeast. But instead of a fight for class-struggle solidarity *action* like hot-cargoing (refusing to handle) scab paper, the strike has been diverted into writing letters to IP's board of directors and a boycott of Hershey bars and Coca-Cola! These diversions are sponsored by Corporate Campaign Inc., a New York-based labor consulting firm headed by Ray Rogers. When Rogers shows up, you *know* your strike is in trouble! At Hormel, faced with company and cop scabherding and criminal backstabbing by the union International, his impotent strategy of consumer boycotts helped sink the bitter P-9 meatpackers strike.

WV Photo

Boston: Striking paper workers at February 19 rally.

It took hard-nosed class-struggle tactics like hot-cargoing and plant occupations (sit-down strikes) to build the industrial unions in this country. It's going to take the same to win against union-busters like IP. No more PATCOs! No more Hormels! Victory to the paper workers! ■

### The Appeal of Tom Mooney, Labor Martyr

TROTSKY

LENIN

*In 1916 Tom Mooney, a union leader who had just led a bitter strike of San Francisco streetcar workers, and Warren Billings, another SF workers' leader, were framed for allegedly throwing a bomb into a patriotic prowar parade. They were sentenced to death, but international labor protests caused President Woodrow Wilson to pressure the governor of California to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. In the late 1920s, James P. Cannon, chairman of the International Labor Defense and subsequently founding leader of American Trotskyism, visited Mooney in San Quentin and publicized his appeal to the workers of the world.*

"Our hope is in a new protest movement," [Mooney] said. "Every possible legal and technical move has been made to prove our innocence and our right to an unconditional pardon, but without success. The years go by until nearly 12 have elapsed, and still we are held in prison for a crime of which the world knows we are not guilty. Our crime was loyalty to the workers. Now, let the workers speak again in our behalf. I have confidence that our friends will find the way to make our appeal heard throughout the world....

"I have been fortified all through these years of prison," he said, "by my faith in the movement which I serve and by the consciousness that, even though confined here, I am an instrument of the workers' cause and a symbol of their struggle. I have not forgotten the protest of the Russian workers which saved us from the gallows, and I have not lost my confidence that the workers of America, and the world, will again make their mighty voices heard in our behalf."

—James P. Cannon, "Tom Mooney's Appeal" (April 1928)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO New York NY 10116

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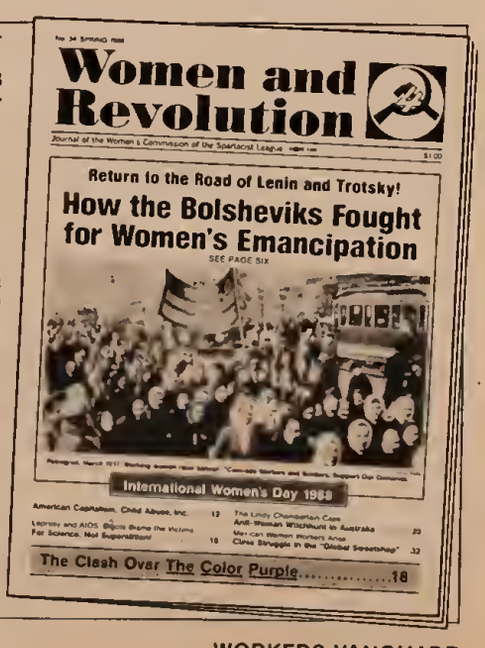
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SEE PAGE SIX
International Women's Day 1988
American Capitalism, Child Abuse, Inc. 12
Leprosy and AIDS: Bigots Blame the Victims For Science, Not Superstition! 18
The Lindy Chamberlain Case: Anti-Woman Witchhunt in Australia 23
Men can Women Workers Arise 32
Class Struggle in the "Global Sweatshop"
The Clash Over The Color Purple.....18

# Steel Workers March in the Ruhr

# Fissures in the West German Reich

*The following article is abridged from* Spartakist *No. 55, January/February 1988, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.*

With the regime of Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl plunged into deep crisis, West Germany's *relative* prosperity and stability, thrown into relief by the sharp decline of U.S. imperialism, is *breaking down*. The reactionary character of resurgent German nationalism is being intensified by redoubled capitalist austerity and attacks on the working class, and racist terror against immigrant workers and asylum seekers in the context of the imperialist Cold War drive.

In the name of "peace," the imperialists continue to arm against the Soviet Union. Sea-launched cruise missiles replace the Pershings and U.S. imperialism's first-strike "Star Wars" plans continue unabated. Yet for the German "peace" movement, the Reagan-Gorbachev accord on medium-range missiles in Europe represented a great victory within the framework it had set itself—the removal of American missiles from German soil.

The Pershings—six minutes from Moscow—represent a deadly threat to the USSR, but they also fueled the rise of anti-Americanism and German nationalism. This nationalism, which drew deeply on the real popular fear that Germany would become a nuclear battlefield, was behind the massive "peace" demonstrations quite unlike anything in any other West European country in the '80s.

The Washington summit excluded the French and British nuclear arsenals from the negotiations. Therefore, "European defense" schemes are being given greater weight in the anti-Soviet war drive. West Germany, the linchpin of NATO and the powerhouse of the Common Market, naturally dominates these schemes. Germany will lead Europe either to socialism or to barbarism.

Der Spiegel

**German and Turkish steel workers block Rheinhausen bridge. Ruhr region was paralyzed by near-general strike last December.**

### Krupp Makes Class War, SPD Preaches "Social Peace"

The German bourgeoisie has postponed a decisive confrontation with the country's powerful unions, which have suffered no major defeat on the order of, for example, the British miners strike. In the past, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and German Labor Federation (DGB) misleaders were able to contain working-class discontent with minimal concessions. Even the spring 1984 strikes for the 35-hour workweek, the most massive labor struggle in decades, ended in a draw—a 38.5-hour compromise. But this kind of tradeoff is becoming increasingly difficult for the DGB bureaucracy.

Permanent unemployment has spread beyond the foreign workers, women and youth to strategic sectors of the German industrial proletariat. The Ruhr valley in particular has been hard hit. In the past 25 years, 70 percent of the jobs in steel were destroyed, and in the coming decade the capitalists are planning to cut another 35,000 jobs in steel and 30,000 in coal.

Unrest flared in the Ruhr when news was "leaked" on November 27 that the Krupp steel trust was going to close its Rheinhausen plant, one of the most modern in Europe. For two weeks demonstrations and strikes spread throughout the Ruhr, culminating in a near-general strike that was called for December 10. Rheinhausen was shut down tight as was neighboring Duisburg across the Rhine. Even small shopkeepers pulled down their shutters. Steel workers backed up by coal miners blocked highway bridges across the Rhine. They were joined on the picket lines by government workers who spontaneously walked off the job. Sanitation and postal workers came with their trucks and even farmers brought their tractors.

The massive display of labor power and solidarity relegated cops to redirecting the region-wide traffic jam. An estimated 250,000 workers participated in the December 10 action which [right-wing press baron Axel] Springer's *Hamburger Abendblatt* wryly noted was the largest protest in this industrial heartland of Germany since the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

Workers have the power to sweep out the Kohl gang with its police-state and austerity measures in the service of the Krupps and Thyssens, but not if that power is shackled by the SPD which pines away for a coalition with the big bourgeoisie of the Free Democrats (FDP) or petty bourgeoisie of the Greens, who would just as soon see all steel plants closed to defend their precious German forests. The SPD's reformist stranglehold must be broken. This bourgeois workers party must be split in the struggle to forge a party capable of mobilizing the proletariat, including its sizable immigrant component, for its own class rule.

Der Spiegel

**West German "peace" movement serves as left cover for resurgent German nationalism.**

### Reaction Overreaches Itself

A wing of the ruling coalition, headed by [federal interior minister] Zimmermann and [arch-rightist and Bavarian strong-man] Strauss, is pushing for stepped-up repression. The Zimmermanns would like to treat the entire radical movement, and even the not-so-radical Greens, like the RAF [Red Army Faction, referred to as "Baader-Meinhof Gang" in the bourgeois press]. But the well-organized labor movement and mass petty-bourgeois ranks of the Greens constitute a powerful reservoir of opposition to police-state measures that many sections of the Christian Democrats want to impose, as was demonstrated in the course of last year.

In 1987 the regime felt emboldened to make the issue of the census into a test of strength. A wave of repression came down on organizations that called for boycotting the census: police raids of leftist offices, books seized, leaflets confiscated, Green deputies fined thousands of marks. This "test of strength" backfired. What in other countries is a routine collection of statistical data was instinctively identified by a large segment of the population with a draconian police state. They didn't believe in the promised "confidentiality" and resented questions about their religious beliefs. Jews couldn't help recalling the 1939 census which prepared the round-ups for the gas chambers.

Zimmermann then attempted to seize upon the Frankfurt airport runway affair, in which two cops were killed by gunfire while brutally attacking a demonstration at the Rhine-Main airport November 3, to push through a ban on any demonstrations in which demonstrators wear masks. (It turned out that the two cops at the airport runway were shot with a police handgun, which was later conveniently found by the cops near the flat of one of the protesters as he was arrested.) Foreign leftists would be particularly vulnerable, but this would mean that the police could disperse any demonstration by simply planting one masked provocateur in the crowd. The secret police have a history of such provocations.

Seven thousand cops marched through the streets of Frankfurt in full uniform and bearing torches in the Nazi tradition, as did tens of thousands in other cities, defying West German law. Slogans like "How many dead do we need," "Politicians awake" and "Right to demonstrate in Hesse—police killed by murderers," expressed contempt for and hostility to the constraints of bourgeois democracy. This outburst of police bonapartism was however tempered by a sense of isolation and frustration. One cop demonstrator complained, "The 'good citizens,' mid-40s, maybe 50 years old, say to us, 'Pigs, you're worse than the Nazis'" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 5 November 1987).

After the Frankfurt airport events, all eyes turned to Hamburg where squatters brought out all the trappings of '70s-style New Left defiance of the bourgeois state—barricades, masked demonstrators, pirate radio stations, etc. The SPD state interior minister Lange was itching to clean up this "symbol of the state-free sector of the militant 'fighting left'" (*Der Spiegel*, 23 November 1987). When the Hafenstrasse squatters association rejected Hamburg bürgermeister Dohnanyi's lease offer,

*continued on page 11*

# Young Spartacus

## Black Students Seize Building at UMass

# Smash Racist Attacks at Amherst!

AMHERST, Massachusetts—Outraged over racist attacks at UMass Amherst, nearly 200 black and minority students staged a six-day occupation of the campus' New Africa House beginning February 12. Following a vicious attack on an interracial couple and an apartheid-style police sweep through a dorm the weekend before, black students turned a meeting to celebrate Black History Month into a sit-in that quickly drew support from students, faculty and campus workers. The protesters demanded the immediate expulsion of the students involved in the assault, suspension of the cops responsible for the dorm sweep, and programs for increased minority student enrollment and faculty.

The occupation ended when students established a maze of committees to negotiate, monitor and advise the administration, which made vague promises to increase minority enrollment and establish procedures to improve the racial climate on campus. *But on the very day the New Africa House sit-in ended, the racists struck again.* On February 16, four white students roughed up a group of Puerto Ricans in a campus garage, kicking and spitting at them and calling one of the Hispanic students a "Cuban bastard." This latest attack once again shows the urgent need for militant student/faculty/labor action to *drive the racist punks off campus!*

Amherst grabbed national headlines a year and a half ago when a hundreds-strong white mob rioted against 20 black students after the 1986 World Series—and despite all the "sensitivity training" and "racial awareness" seminars, the campus is rife with bigotry and racist violence. On February 7, six white punks screaming racist epithets savagely attacked an interracial couple, Jerome Smith and Sarah Whittle, and a black friend, James Cunningham, after a dorm party. The attackers punched Cunningham and prevented Sarah Whittle from coming to her friends' aid as they held Smith down, one viciously kicking him in the ribs and head with heavy work boots as another of the gang taunted him, "So, you like white women?" The scene resembled nothing so much as a Southern lynching—black men have *died* at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan for so much as *looking* at a white woman ("reckless eyeballing," it's called). The victims at Amherst have filed charges of assault with a deadly weapon, civil rights violation and conspiracy.

The attack on Smith and Cunningham came on the heels of a cop rampage through a dormitory the previous day, when female students reported harassment from strangers in Cashin Hall. After storming several floors of the dormitory, the cops rounded up a number of black men at random, driving them to the lobby and holding a "lineup" without so much as telling them what was going on. Even the dean of students described it as "hideous," but the cops and administration vehemently denied any wrongdoing when this act of apartheid-like "law and order" was revealed.

Nick Sakoloff

**Black students outside the occupied New Africa House greet rally in support of their protest against racist attacks at UMass Amherst, February 16.**

During the sit-in, relations with the administration took on an air of oozy friendliness—the demonstrators sent Chancellor Joseph Duffey a card because he had to cancel a meeting with them due to a relative's illness; Duffey in turn personally delivered a large basket of fruit to the students. A supporter of the Young Communist League (which ludicrously calls on the ultra-racist Reagan/Meese government to "ban the Klan" and enact new laws against racism) begged "Chancellor Duffey, the UMass administration...and the five-college community to give solid support to the brothers and sisters demonstrating inside the New Africa House" (*Collegian*, 17 February).

We say: no confidence in the administration or the campus cops! After Halloween threats against blacks in 1986 the administration banned *masks*, as if that would stop racist thugs, and obscenely blames *alcohol* for the attack on Jerome Smith and James Cunningham. It's not booze, but rampant *bigotry* that's at work here! And all the powerless "talk shops" and committees set up with the administration will only be used to derail militant *action* to smash racist attacks on campus.

The change of climate is striking in a school that used to take pride in being the alma mater of black basketball great Julius Irving. The politicians and administrators who run the state university system have flashed a green light to the racists by making clear that black students are not welcome here—they've slashed black enrollment by two-thirds—down to just *3 percent!* And they harbor the ultra-right-wing punks grouped around the *Minuteman* and Conservative Alliance, whose supporters regularly try to break up leftist meetings on campus (see "Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting," *WV* No. 443, 1 January).

At New Africa House, white anti-racist protesters were banned from the sit-in and confined to outside support rallies, reinforcing rather than breaking down racial divisions and the isolation of black students. The New Africa House demonstrators originally demanded more minority cops—this despite the fact that the chief of the racist campus security force is black. To their credit, the protesters dropped the demand for more cops, who, whatever their color, are enforcers of the racist status quo. In the space of one week there were several mass integrated demonstrations in support of the black students' demands. This kind of action by students, faculty and campus workers is necessary to drive the racists back into their sewers!

The ominous tide of attacks and provocations against blacks, Hispanics, Asians, gays and Jews on campuses across the country is fueled by the decaying racist, capitalist system; the attackers emboldened by a Klan-endorsed president whose administration has been committed to rolling back every gain of the civil rights and union movements. Sections of a frenzied white petty bourgeoisie, whose own economic position has gone to hell with the rot of American industrial capacity, are lashing out against minorities on the

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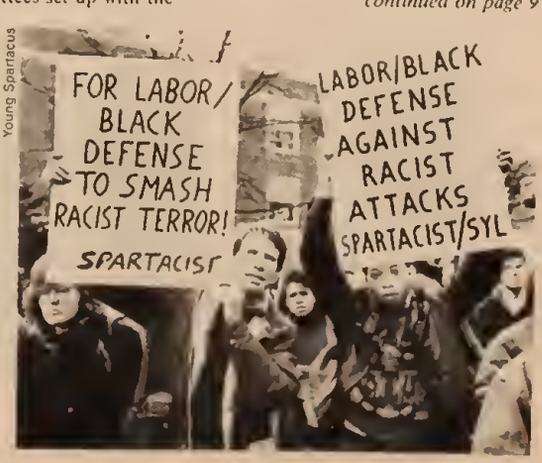


Young Spartacus

**Spartacist supporters at rally in defense of minority students. To combat segregation and class bias of universities, SYC demands open admissions, free tuition and a state-paid stipend for all.**

# Radical Student Confab at Rutgers

Over 650 students from more than 100 colleges thronged Rutgers University February 5-7 for a "National Student Convention" that conference organizers promised would herald the birth of a "new New Left." The right-wing remnants of the old New Left and their young protégés who organized the conference got a lot more—and ended up with a lot less—than they bargained for. Almost triple the number of students expected showed up and the first thing they did was turn slogans from the conference call like "Free the university!" against the conference honchos themselves. At a pre-conference open mike on Friday night an angry revolt broke out against the high price (25 bucks a head!) and stifling bureaucratic rules. Conference organizers attempted to make sure that open political debate didn't break out again.

Young Spartacus

**Students pack gym at Rutgers, looking for radical solution to social injustice, but conference organizers could provide only liberal confusion and anti-communist exclusionism.**

Much of the conference turned into a running battle over the democratic rights of the participants themselves. After Friday, conference organizers posted signs saying that literature tables were *verboten*, but they couldn't keep up with the magic markers of students who mocked the self-appointed censors by signing Ronald Reagan's name under each edict. On Sunday morning the bureaucrats used the threat of the campus police to try and force the Spartacus Youth Club to take down our literature table, expecting that we'd wimp out like the Young Communist League or Young Socialist Alliance did. Instead, SYC members got up and forced the issue to a vote of about 150 students in the cafeteria—which we won *three times*—establishing the right for all left groups to distribute their literature and for everyone to read and discuss whatever they bloody well wanted.

In the end, no new national student organization was formed because the convention organizers, paralyzed by white liberalism and black nationalist guilt-tripping, blocked discussion of the substantive political issues that brought hundreds of students there in the first place. The Democratic Party Rainbow Coalition organizers, wacko anti-communist anarchists, no-nuke peaceniks, etc. will go back to whatever single-issue campaigns capture their spirits for the moment, but a lot of self-described radicals are still out there looking for a comprehensive means to change a world they see as profoundly unjust.

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The racist oppression of black people is the most explosive question in American society. Racist reaction has erupted on college campuses in naked violence against black students and other minorities. Particularly after thousands of students demonstrated nationwide against apartheid, the issue of combatting racist oppression *in this country* is the challenge posed pointblank to any radical student organization. At a workshop on racism on the campuses, a Spartacist comrade spoke to the urgent need for *labor/black defense* against racist attacks. The strategy of mobilizing the power of labor in mass, integrated mobilizations has scored victories against racist terror—from the successful Spartacist-initiated mobilization which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, to the recent victory won against a racist police attack and frame-up of a black woman bus driver, Cassandra Seay, and her family in Chicago.

Another Spartacist comrade stressed that blacks are fast becoming "missing persons" at universities. To combat the *resegregation* of education and the dramatic drop in black enrollment, we fight for *open admissions and free tuition*, for free, quality education with a state-paid stipend for all. Nationalize the private universities!

Discussion of these urgent issues was derailed by liberal psychologizing, calls for "anti-racist consciousness raising," and gross guilt-tripping by black pseudo-nationalists who then convened their own, exclusionist, caucus. The "People of Color Caucus," representing only about two dozen students, then insisted that the conference had no right to decide anything because there weren't enough minority students present. A gay and lesbian caucus put forward a similar resolution, and in short order the conference disintegrated into competing sectors.

To be sure, the organizers did precious little to involve minority students in the conference—including ignoring black students right there at Rutgers who had staged a sit-in and protest over racist provocations as recently as December. But the action of the People of Color Caucus was a slimy maneuver *in the service of the racist Democratic Party*. D.C. SCAR (Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism), which led the Caucus, wrote in an editorial ("A Note of Caution About National Student Groups," *SCAR News*, February 1988) that "Jackson '88 students will provide the youth base for longer-term Rainbow organizing, an idea D.C. SCAR endorses as a way to maintain a relatively strong and independent student voice." So much for an "independent" voice! The Rainbow Coalition speaks for shackling workers and the oppressed to Dixiecrats like George Wallace through the Democratic Party!

When a black supporter of Progressive Labor Party attempted to speak against racial exclusionism, he was physically manhandled and ejected by an all-white goon squad while a People of Color Caucus spokesman took the mike to add their seal of approval to this attack on a black communist! A Spartacist comrade from Columbia University denounced this anti-communist, anti-black thuggery and then our delegation walked out. Some students had already left the conference in disgust and many of those remaining gave hearty applause to our comrade for

*continued on page 9*

## Don't "Interview" Fascists–Mobilize to Smash Them!

# Liberal Muddleheads Make Way for Fascist Metzger

On February 1 the campus radio station at the University of California at Berkeley conducted an "interview" with "White Aryan Resistance" führer and former KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club mobilized an integrated picket-line protest against this recruitment pitch for fascist terror. Chanting "The Klan must not ride in Berkeley!" and "Smash Metzger's Klan terror!" about 80 anti-racist militants demonstrated outside the KALX studios (see *WV* No. 446, 12 February).

The protest churned up a storm of controversy on campus. Letters pro and con appeared in the main campus paper, the *Daily Californian*. The right-wing *Cal Spectrum* denounced the idea of "free speech" for Nazis as "ridiculous." But these junior McCarthyites outrageously equate anti-Klan protesters with the fascist terrorists and seek to outlaw "extremists." The bourgeois media used this same deadly equation to alibi the Greensboro Massacre in November 1979, labeling the broad-daylight murder of five Communist Workers Party supporters by the KKK/Nazis a "shoot-out" between two "extremist" groups.

Not to be outdone, an editorial in the "liberal" *Daily Californian* (11 February) put the right of blacks to organize for civil rights on a par with the "right" of fascists to organize to kill black people: "Denying the right to interview Metzger would do nothing to help end racism. Instead it would undo much of what we have gained as a result of the Free Speech and Civil Rights movements." We say: Don't interview fascists, smash them!

We print here the Spartacus Youth Club's reply to the *Daily Californian* editorial.

Young Spartacus

**Spartacus Youth Club called demo against fascist Metzger which drew wide support from intended victims of racist terror, Berkeley, February 1.**

19 February 1988

To the Editors of the *Daily Cal*:

When asked his definition of a liberal, black comedian Dick Gregory once replied that liberals are ones who will hang you from a lower branch when they lynch you. This captures something of the profile of the *Daily Cal*'s 11 February editorial, "Free Speech." The Berkeley Free Speech Movement and the Civil Rights Movement are obscenely perverted into a defense of fascist Tom Metzger's "rights" against the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club who mobilized to stop Metzger from organizing for racist terror on

*continued on page 9*

# TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

Schomburg Collection

Bibliothèque d'Histoire Coloniale

**Toussaint L'Ouverture (left), leader of the Haitian Revolution. Black slaves battle white colonial masters in 1791.**

*Part One of this article appeared in* WV *No. 446, 12 February.*

"Do they think that men who have been able to enjoy the blessing of liberty will calmly see it snatched away?... But no, the same hand which has broken our chains will not enslave us anew. France will not revoke her principles....

"But if, to re-establish slavery in Saint-Domingue, this was done, then I declare to you it would be to attempt the impossible: we have known how to face dangers to obtain our liberty, we shall know how to brave death to maintain it."

—Toussaint L'Ouverture,
"Letter to the Directory"
(1796)

In January 1802, a French armada anchored in Samaná Bay on the east coast of Hispaniola. With 20,000 veteran troops and officers, the invasion force was the largest expedition that had ever sailed from France. It was sent, said Napoleon Bonaparte to his foreign minister Talleyrand, "to annihilate the government of the blacks in Saint-Domingue" (Haiti). From the heights overlooking the harbor watched Toussaint L'Ouverture, the ex-slave who led the revolution that broke the chains of slavery, who defeated the British, unified the island and restored its prosperity after a devastating war. All that had been won through colossal struggle was now at risk.

Toussaint knew that Napoleon's war fleet had come to re-enslave the blacks, just as surely as Napoleon could see that Toussaint's policy led inexorably to independence. French admiral Le Clerc brought with him a letter promising to respect black freedom...and secret instructions to restore slavery as soon as Toussaint was eliminated. "Rid us of these gilded Africans," cried out Napoleon, whose wife Josephine was a plantation owner from the Antilles. But the racist ravings of the First Consul of France, and his crack troops could not defeat the revolutionary black army fighting, literally, for "Liberty or Death."

Toussaint L'Ouverture was a man of the French Revolution. While he did not trust Napoleon, at the same time Toussaint could not bring himself to deny his political origins and break sharply from France. Toussaint presided over what was de facto an independent country. He signed treaties with the British and Americans. In May 1801 he promulgated a constitution proclaiming Saint-Domingue an "independent colony of France" and himself governor-general for life. But he did not come to grips with the fact that Thermidor had partially reversed the conquests of the Revolution. So at a crucial moment, he was politically paralyzed.

Napoleon's campaign lasted from February to June 1802. During this time Toussaint's forces bested the French militarily, but his failure to rouse the blacks to all-out resistance, to warn that French victory would bring back the slavemaster's whip, politically disarmed his followers. As his key generals—Christophe, Maurepas and the mulattos Rigaud and Pétion—defected to the French, Toussaint concluded a truce. Shortly afterwards, he walked into an obvious trap and was kidnapped by the French. He was deported to a cold damp mountain cell in the Jura, 6,000 miles away, mistreated and deprived of medical care until he died in April 1803 at the age of 55.

### Toussaint: Black Spartacus and Black Jacobin

All historians have asked the same question: given Toussaint's brilliance, his awareness of what Napoleon's expedition had to mean, why did he give up when he could have defeated the French and declared independence? Aimé Césaire, the literary champion of *négritude* and obedient satrap of the French colony of Martinique, speculates that Toussaint's surrender was a "sacrifice," that he would "leave in order to unite" blacks and mulattos against the colonial power. Nevertheless: "The truth is that the defeat of Toussaint was not military in nature but political.... There is a magic word that Toussaint always refused to say: the word *independence*" (Aimé Césaire, *Toussaint Louverture* [1961]).

C.L.R. James writes that Toussaint's "allegiance to the French Revolution and all it opened out for mankind in general and the people of San Domingo in particular...had made him what he was. But this in the end ruined him" (*Black Jacobins* [1938]). James, who was then a Trotskyist but later became a Pan-Africanist, contends that Toussaint alienated the black masses, refusing to take racial feelings sufficiently into account, and that this led to his downfall. He writes: "These anti-white feelings of the blacks were no infringement of liberty and equality, but were in reality the soundest revolutionary policy." What Toussaint rejected was the mass slaughter of whites, carried out later by Dessalines following independence, which far from being "sound revolutionary policy" led instead to economic devastation.

Both James and Césaire assume that the logical outcome of the Haitian Revolution could only be independence as it ultimately occurred. They project 20th century national liberation struggles back to the dawn of the 19th century, and equate the Haitian black struggle with the North American and Latin American wars of independence. This misses what was fundamental to Toussaint: the connection with the French Revolution, the vanguard of social progress of the epoch, the only capitalist country which (however reluctantly) had decreed the abolition of slavery. The Liberator of Saint-Domingue was on the cutting edge of the transatlantic bourgeois-democratic social revolution.

There is a direct connection here to Toussaint's attitude toward the former plantation owners. He was motivated not by love toward the Saint-Domingue whites, whose bestial crimes against the slaves produced the black masses' thirst for vengeance. Rather, as James writes, "he was convinced that San Domingo would decay without the benefits of the French connection." While criticizing Toussaint's supposed "unrealistic attitude to the former masters," James is right in recognizing that this sprang "from a recognition that they alone had what San Domingo society needed." Similarly, with the French connection

**Haitian Revolution inspired slave revolts throughout the Caribbean.**

the white officers who made up Toussaint's staff were in the forefront of revolutionary struggle; without it they became at best mercenaries, at worst fifth columnists.

For Toussaint, independence was not a "magic word" but required collaboration with the most socially and economically advanced countries. He recognized intuitively that an isolated Haiti was condemned to sink to a poverty-stricken subsistence level. As Leon Trotsky wrote in "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution" (1939) referring to peasant revolutions in ancient China, "So long as the revolution maintained its purely peasant character, society did not emerge from these hopeless rotations." In Europe, in contrast, "a peasant uprising proved victorious only to the extent that it managed to establish the position of the city population's revolutionary sector." Haiti without a connection to the vanguard of the bourgeois revolution—France—was a peasant revolt without the city.

The key to understanding Toussaint, as C.L.R. James' title accurately puts it, is that Toussaint was above all a *black Jacobin*:

> "What revolutionary France signified was perpetually on his lips, in public statements, in his correspondence, in the spontaneous intimacy of private conversation. It was the highest stage of social existence that he could imagine.... No one else was so conscious of its practical necessity in the social backwardness and primitive conditions of life around him."

Toussaint desperately tried up to the end to influence the course of the French Revolution, linking up with the most

Macmillan Company

**Leaders of the Haitian Revolution.**

advanced elements embodied by the Jacobins. But following the overthrow of the Jacobins on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794), a political counterrevolution set in which ultimately meant the re-establishment of slavery in the colonies. The defeat of Toussaint in Saint-Domingue was not due to some "unrealistic attitude" toward whites, but was the direct consequence of the defeat of Robespierre and Saint-Just in Paris.

The triumph of Thermidorean reaction with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte cut short the international spread of the revolutionary-democratic wave. For blacks in Hispaniola it meant that without an alliance with an advanced country where the industrial revolution was taking hold, like France, an isolated national independence was the only alternative to the reimposition of slavery, as the "party of property" decapitated the Jacobin revolutionaries, white and black.

### Dessalines and Thermidor

Following Toussaint's death, Dessalines broke with the French, ripped the white stripe out of the Tricolor

John Stockdale, London

J. Bourgoin

**Leonard Parkinson (above), leader in 1795 Jamaica Maroon revolt (right), aided by Jacobin commissioners.**

and began the struggle for independence. When news of the restoration of slavery in Guadeloupe reached Saint-Domingue in July 1803, the revolt became general. In six months, it was all over. The French withdrew in December, independence was declared on 1 January 1804, and the new state was named Haiti (*Ayiti* is an Arawak Indian word meaning mountains). The annihilation of the Napoleonic armies led immediately to Napoleon's decision to abandon further expansion into the Americas and thus opened the door to the Louisiana Purchase of 1804.

Dessalines fought and won the final battle for independence. Today the Haitian left uncritically accepts the Duvalierist glorification of Dessalines as "founder of the nation." *But Dessalines succeeded where Toussaint failed precisely because he brought Thermidor to Saint-Domingue.*

While Dessalines' Declaration of Independence speaks eloquently of Freedom, it does not mention Equality or Fraternity. In symbolic imitation of Napoleon, he had himself crowned Emperor Jacques the First in October 1804. As a result of Dessalines' large-scale slaughter of whites (although it pales in comparison with the standard treatment those same whites had routinely inflicted on black slaves) he destroyed the trained cadres crucial to economic progress. For the masses of blacks, he reintroduced whipping in barely disguised form with the *liane* (a lash made up of vines), as a means of ensuring labor discipline.

To his advisers who protested that the masses should be provided with moral education in the spirit of the French Revolution, Dessalines replied: "you are wrong: the laborers can be controlled only by fear of punishment and even death; I shall lead them only by these means; my 'morale' shall be the bayonet."

Within two years, there was a widespread revolt. Dessalines was assassinated by his own army in October 1806 and his body stoned by the crowd as it was dragged through Port-au-Prince. The country split. After 1806 the black north was ruled by Christophe and the mulatto south first by Rigaud and then Pétion. Christophe instituted an autocratic regime in the north, while in the mulatto south the forms of a republic were maintained. But there the plantations were broken up into small plots and the economy rapidly declined toward bare subsistence level, with the new mulatto bourgeoisie firmly in the saddle. It was not until 1820 that Haiti was reunited under the mulatto Boyer following Christophe's death.

### Haiti and Caribbean Slave Revolts

But as the ex-slaves of Saint-Domingue were defeating the colonial armies of Britain and France, they were not alone. The Haitian Revolution sparked slave revolts throughout the Caribbean; more than that, it linked them to international bourgeois-democratic revolution.

From the beginning of the plantation system, slaves had risen up to throw off their chains of servitude. The first black slave uprising in the New World was recorded in 1522, on the island of Hispaniola, when West African Wolofs fled from the sugar estate of Admiral Diego Colon. From then on, slave risings occurred almost yearly during the 16th and 17th centuries on one or another Caribbean island.

The slave uprisings were everywhere viciously repressed. Those who escaped fled into the interior to set up colonies of maroons (*marrons* in French, *cimarrones* in Spanish). Maroons frequently sought to come to terms with the slaveholders, tracking down runaways and aiding in suppressing slave revolts, yet the planters turned on them, finding the existence of communities of free blacks intolerable. However, in the maroon revolts, slaves at most sought to escape the master's whip, never to overthrow the system of slavery.

The Haitian Revolution changed all that, shifting the goal from restoration of primitive communal African social relations to the spread of social revolution. And this was made possible precisely by the combination of the greatest slave revolt of all with the bourgeois revolution in France. As Eugene Genovese has written, "the French Revolution provided the conditions in which a massive revolt in Saint-Domingue could become a revolution in its own right":

> "By the end of the eighteenth century, the historical content of the slave revolts shifted decisively from attempts to secure freedom from slavery to attempts to overthrow slavery as a social system. The great black revolution in Saint-Domingue marked the turning point."
>
> —Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the New World* (1979)

Saint-Domingue was no backwater but the world's most lucrative colony, linked to the most dynamic sector of French capitalists. The ex-slaves of Hispaniola did not seek to erect an "oversized maroon colony" but joined with Parisian *sans-culottes* in the vanguard of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. As Genovese notes: "The Haitian Revolution, in contradistinction to one more rising of slaves, would have been unthinkable without the French Revolution." And their fates were necessarily linked.

But before the (failed) Napoleonic invasion of Saint-Domingue, in the heyday of Jacobinism, the struggle for liberty, equality, fraternity and the destruction of slavery spread throughout the Caribbean, irrespective of the colonial master. An American historian has noted.

> "...British slaves in most colonies were agitated by the potential of revolutionary unrest elsewhere and in Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada took an important part in actual uprisings, which included radical whites as well as free coloreds, Caribs and maroons."
>
> —Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (1982)

Much of this story turns around the activities of Victor Hugues, a mulatto Jacobin leader dispatched as a Republican commissioner to carry the revolution to the Windward Islands. Hugues came with only 1,500 men, a guillotine to impose revolutionary terror, and above all a printing press to publish the revolutionary decree of 16 Pluviôse of Year II (4 February 1794) abolishing slavery in the colonies. Landing in Guadeloupe, he raised an army of ex-slaves who quickly drove out the British invaders. Soon Hugues was dispatching emissaries throughout the Antilles.

In 1795 revolts broke out in Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and Jamaica. As a result, the British had to weaken their expeditionary force in Saint-Domingue. The first big rebellion was that led by the mulatto French planter Julien Fédon in Grenada. The mulattos, chafing under British colonial discrimination, sent delegates to Hugues in Guadeloupe who supplied them with arms and ammunition. They gathered an army of several thousand slaves which defeated successive British reinforcements. By the beginning of 1796, Grenada was effectively a black republic with the British hanging on only in the capital of St. George's.

Simultaneously Black Caribs in St. Vincent rose up together with French-speaking mulattos and likewise had bottled the British up in that island's capital. Meanwhile, the largest British Caribbean possession, Jamaica, was racked by the last of several maroon wars. As a result of the revolt in Trelawney Town in July 1795, the British were forced to withdraw to Jamaica troops just dispatched to bolster the expeditionary force in Saint-Domingue being pounded by Toussaint's black army. Even then, it took eight months to force the surrender of the last of the several hundred Jamaican insurgents led by Leonard Parkinson.

The Jacobin commissioners in Guadeloupe had also attempted to spark an uprising in June 1795 in Dominica, but the rebellion was discovered and crushed. Meanwhile, in the colony of Demarara (now Guyana) on the South American coast, slaves and maroons had revolted in 1795, the last year of Dutch rule. They were put down with

*continued on page 8*

# Soviet Navy...

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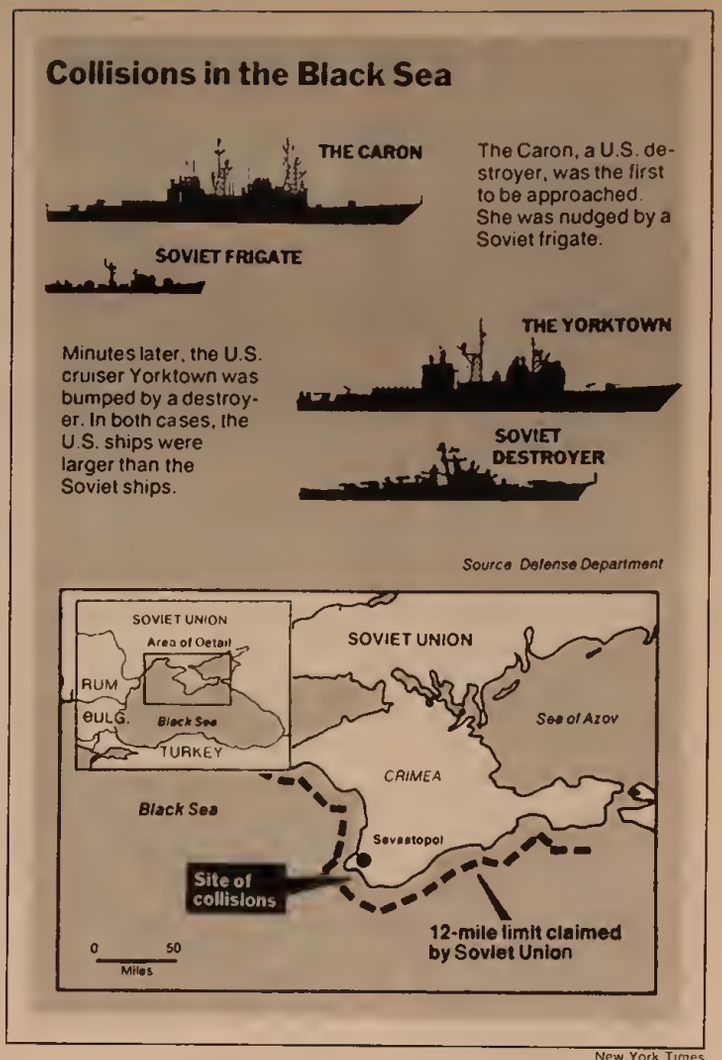
so-called right of "innocent passage" according to an international treaty (which the U.S. has not signed!). But the Soviets have repeatedly noted that such rights apply only to recognized sea lanes, as in the Baltic Sea, not to the sensitive Crimean region. If the Soviets wanted to turn the tables and hold the U.S. to its supposed three-mile coastal waters claim, they could sail their fleet up the Chesapeake Bay—but you can imagine the screams or worse which would emanate from U.S. Navy headquarters at Norfolk. So now the Americans have been served notice that they cannot commit these outrages with impunity. "This is what Soviet captains will do," warned Soviet Admiral Markov.

The Soviet peoples are particularly sensitive about Sevastopol. They remember that in 1942 the Soviet garrison of over 100,000 heroically fought to the death against the German onslaught before the Nazis finally destroyed the HQ of the Black Sea Fleet.

Make no mistake, the American action is a *war provocation*—literally. It is part of a whole *strategy of provocation* during the Reagan years—playing "chicken of the sea" ramming Soviet ships and submarines, running massive "exercises" off sensitive Russian naval bases from Vladivostok to Murmansk, and so on. Last May these "periodic" exercises included sending the nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser USS *Arkansas* right into the home waters of the Soviet strategic submarine fleet at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula (see "Kamchatka Provocation: U.S. Missile Ship in Soviet Waters," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88). The 1986 Black Sea incident was a prelude to the massive confrontation/attack on Libya. Who are they going to attack this time?

Anonymous Pentagon officials openly bragged that the mission was "to collect intelligence on Soviet defenses," and the *Yorktown* is equipped with the computerized Aegis missile-firing system, while the *Caron* is well known to be equipped with special electronic gear to probe shore defenses. So what kind of defenses are they probing just off Soviet fleet headquarters? This is a blatant threat of a Pearl Harbor-style sneak attack. And that *is* U.S. naval doctrine. Even the (now ex-) Secretary of the Navy, James Webb, felt compelled to criticize the "forward strategy" laid down by his super-Reaganaut predecessor John Lehman: "Driving the carrier groups down the throat of the Soviets [is] not a strategy," he said. The *Navy Times* (4 May 1987) noted "some critics" call it "suicidal." But the policy of provocations continues.

The Reagan administration felt compelled to play down the incident in order to avoid another "U-2 incident," when the American spy plane shot down by the Soviets wrecked the planned 1960 "peace" summit. But Congressmen on both sides of the aisle immediately displayed their Tonkin Gulf knee-jerk reflex, blaming the Soviets for a provocation planned by the White House. Senate majority leader Democrat Robert Byrd had the gall to attack the Soviets for defending their coastline, saying the ship collisions contribute to "skepticism" about the "Soviet leadership" and suggesting that ratification of the INF missile treaty was in jeopardy. It's clear that despite tactical differences both parties are committed to nuclear brinkmanship against the homeland of the October Revolution. Only international workers revolution can thwart World War III. ■




New York Times

# Haitian Revolution...

*(continued from page 7)*

difficulty as whites were divided between pro-British conservatives and partisans of the short-lived pro-French Dutch Batavian Republic. The unrest in the Windward Islands was crushed after the arrival in March 1796 of a British expeditionary force of 17,000 men.

### The Haitian Revolution and Black Emancipation

Most importantly, as we have seen, the Haitian Revolution transformed struggles for black freedom from isolated, backward-looking slave revolts and linked them with the revolutionary-democratic tide throughout the Americas. Britain's abolition of the slave trade in 1807, while reflecting the commercial interests of the English bourgeoisie whose Caribbean colonies were in decline, was strongly influenced by fear of contagion spreading from Hispaniola. The young black republic was seen as a beacon for independence struggles worldwide: in the 1820s, the Greeks struggling for independence from Turkey appealed to Haiti for aid. Haiti responded by sending the only thing it could: coffee.

The Haitian Revolution also had an impact on the Latin American wars for independence. After Simón Bolivar had suffered a string of defeats in Venezuela, in 1815-16 Haiti twice gave him refuge and provided him with money and arms to return to the mainland to fight. At Haiti's request, the Liberator proclaimed the abolition of slavery in Spanish America. But Bolivar, scion of a landowning family, repaid the aid of the black former slaves by never recognizing Haitian independence and refusing to have Haiti invited to his projected Congress of American States in Panama.

News of the black revolution in Saint-Domingue also spread to the American South. In the wake of the slave insurrection, large numbers of French planters fled to North America, primarily to New Orleans and Charleston, bringing their slaves with them. Toussaint took care to spread the news, publishing official notice in the Charleston *City Gazette* of the decrees issued by his regime after its consolidation.

From the early 1790s on, real or suspected slave revolts were ascribed to the pernicious influence of the French Revolution. Thus a 1793 report in Portsmouth, Virginia notes: "Our town swarms with strange negroes, foreign and domestic.... The Household family negroes are trusty and well disposed, but many others did belong to the insurrection in Hispaniola." In 1796 a series of recurrent fires in Charleston were ascribed to arson by "French negroes" who "certainly intended to make a St. Domingo business of it."

The leaders of American slave conspiracies and revolts all looked to Haiti as an example. The undeclared war between the U.S. and France led Gabriel Prosser to expect French assistance for his aborted revolt in 1800. In Philadelphia in 1804, embattled blacks rallied against a racist mob attack under the shout of "show them a San Domingo." And in the slave revolt in southern Louisiana in 1811, the largest in American history, one leader, Charles Deslondes, was a free mulatto from Saint-Domingue.

In many parts of the American South, free blacks refused to celebrate July 4th, celebrating instead Haitian Independence Day. In 1822, Denmark Vesey, who had visited Haiti, twice wrote to the Haitian president seeking aid for his revolt. His plan was eventually to escape to Haiti after seizing Charleston. Indeed, he originally symbolically scheduled the revolt to begin on Bastille Day in honor of the French Revolution. Following Vesey's revolt, South Carolina outlawed the entry of blacks from the Caribbean and the disembarkation of any black crewman coming from the region.

Library of Congress

**During American Civil War, Union soldier reads Emancipation Proclamation to blacks in South.**

In 1825, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri declared, "We receive no mulatto consuls or black ambassadors from [Haiti]. And why? Because the peace of eleven states will not permit the fruits of a successful Negro insurrection to be exhibited among them" (Nicholas Halasz, *The Rattling Chains* [1966]). The next year, slaves hijacked a ship and attempted to force it to sail to Haiti. Nat Turner, who rose up in southeastern Virginia in 1831, was also inspired by the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Despite all the corruption and shortcomings, Haiti stood as a beacon to the oppressed of all countries. And its impact was above all to join the fight for black freedom to a broader revolutionary-democratic struggle. The prime example was the American Civil War, with the Emancipation Proclamation which finally declared the abolition of slavery, and the enrollment of 200,000 black troops under the Union banners. Haiti was the only former British or French colony which backed the North in the war, and it was only in the course of this second American revolution that the U.S. finally recognized the black republic.

Frederick Douglass, the great black abolitionist, summed up the impact of the Haitian Revolution in 1893 after spending several years in Port-au-Prince as the U.S. consul:

> "We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy to-day, that the freedom that eight hundred thousand colored people enjoy in the British West Indies, the freedom that has come to the colored race the world over, is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti ninety years ago."

Haiti has "taught the world the danger of slavery and the value of liberty," he went on, and "striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world." ■

# Student Confab...

*(continued from page 5)*

drawing a key lesson from history that the "New Leftovers" wanted to bury. It was only after SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) broke with "State Department socialism" and dropped its previous anti-Communist exclusion in 1964 that it became a mass organization of student radicals.

### Back to the Future with Lenin and Trotsky!

Most of the conference participants have been active in the student protest movements of the past few years—driving war criminals like Jeane Kirkpatrick and contra leader Adolfo Calero off campus, keeping out CIA and military recruiters, demanding university divestment from South Africa, etc. However, for the most part these student activists believe that the United States government can be made, through protest and pressure, to pursue a non-imperialist and just foreign policy. This is especially clear in the divestment campaign which appealed to the arch-rightist and rabidly racist Reagan regime to pressure its junior partners in Pretoria into dismantling apartheid.

The American government, under both Democrats and Republicans, aims to maintain the *capitalist exploitation and superexploitation* of workers and peasants from South Korea to South Africa by Wall Street financiers and multinational corporations. Today the CIA spies on the African National Congress for the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria, arming the Nicaraguan contras against the Sandinistas and the Afghan Islamic tribesmen against the Soviet forces, as part of the imperialists' drive to roll back and ultimately destroy the power of the Soviet Union, what they see as the source of the "red menace" worldwide.

During the 1960s New Leftists maintained that the Cold War was over and that Washington and Moscow were now collaborating against revolutionary movements in the so-called Third World. However, in the past decade both Carter and Reagan have made it crystal clear that for U.S. rulers, Russia is the main enemy. Here is a government that is literally taking milk from ghetto schoolchildren to build nuclear missiles targeted at the USSR. Thus for American radicals the defense of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, is posed pointblank.

However, most young student radicals do not recognize that the evils they oppose at home and abroad are the product of capitalist imperialism. Many haven't broken from the anti-Soviet prejudices embodied by the conference organizers. Radical students must *take a side* in the great battles of the workers and oppressed for freedom, from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 to Nicaragua today. The Rutgers event's organizers, opposed to taking a clear class line against imperialism, could "organize" only chaos and political confusion.

Young Spartacus

**Madison Spartacus Youth Club contingent marches in anti-CIA protest, 29 September 1987.**

Spartacus Youth Club members intervened at the conference around the following basic line: Anti-imperialism abroad means the struggle for socialist revolution at home. Only the working class has the social power and fundamental interests to destroy the capitalist system and reconstruct society for the benefit of all humanity. Only through a revolutionary proletarian party can radical intellectuals play an important role in fighting for such a society. Thus at the Rutgers conference we called for forming a Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, within a non-exclusionist socialist youth organization, around the following demands:

- Democrats/Arias "peace" hoax threatens Nicaraguan masses! Crush the contras! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!
- Down with the Democratic/Republican parties of racism and imperialism! For a workers party!
- Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Defend the Soviet Union!
- For labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror!
- Labor's gotta play hardball to win!
- For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

We're looking to build a communist youth organization that intervenes in social struggles armed with the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Our goal is to put an end to capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racial, sexual and national oppression, through world socialist revolution. If you want to fight against this rotten capitalist system that threatens the entire world with nuclear annihilation, then join us. Build the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

# Amherst...

*(continued from page 4)*

campuses and on the streets in an eruption of raw racism. And now the emblems of fascism, the Nazi swastika and the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror, are not an uncommon sight on American college campuses.

To wage a victorious fight against racism, students must know who their friends and enemies are. Much ado was made of Jesse Jackson's message to black students at UMass noting their "principled nonviolent direct action." But the real program of this front man for capitalist oppression was seen when he hustled to Ann Arbor to chill out a militant student protest against racist attacks there. From Jackson's disgusting courtship of racist George "Segregation Forever" Wallace to Ted Kennedy and his Camelot crowd, who were knifing busing for school desegregation in Congress while racist mobs were bashing black schoolchildren in the streets: as Malcolm X said, "when you vote Democrat, you vote Dixiecrat." Students should look to the power of labor as the hammer to smash racist attacks—Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!

The Student Government Association has called for a two-day boycott of classes on February 23-24 "to deal with racist violence that is quickly turning this university into an apartheid situation" (*Collegian*, 18 February). Earlier, one black student told a Spartacist supporter during the sit-in of an "unofficial" pledge to strike by one campus union should the cops storm the New Africa House sit-in. Good! Strike action against racist attacks would pack more wallop than any truckload of fruit baskets from the administration. Our program is to link students to the power of the organized working class, which—armed with a revolutionary, class-struggle program to *finish the Civil War*, for black liberation through socialist revolution—can destroy the roots of racism once and for all. ■

# Berkeley...

*(continued from page 5)*

campus. Metzger's "White Aryan Resistance" speaks with the lynch rope, the nightriders' torch, the shotgun blasts that murdered five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina, the bomb that ripped apart the bodies of four young black girls in Birmingham, Alabama. In short, "free speech" is not an issue here. For that matter it never was for the *Daily Cal* until we mobilized an integrated picket against KALX's obscene "interview" with Metzger.

Our demonstration struck a real chord among the opponents and intended victims of fascist terror, who keenly understand that for Metzger "free speech" means murder, and organized in self defense. It is the specter of students, unionists and other anti-racist militants marching with communists that really haunts the *Daily Cal* editorialists. Their declaration that KALX "performed a real service for the community" makes only more obvious that they choose the defense of private property over the defense of dark-skinned people in this country against total extermination. It's like the "good" German circa 1926 who served as the advance man for Hitler by proclaiming that the real "danger" was Communism. And it is a measure of how far to the right liberals have gone in Reagan's America that while the *Daily Cal* acts as Metzger's lawyers the Buckleyite *Cal Spectrum* feels compelled to come out against KALX for providing a forum for Metzger. These are the guys whose co-thinkers of the *Dartmouth Review* "celebrated" Martin Luther King Day in 1986 by taking sledgehammers to a campus anti-apartheid shantytown!

Walking in the shadow of Reagan, who saluted Nazi SS graves at Bitburg in the name of "reconciliation," the *Daily Cal* argues that: "Now when most Americans—or at least most Berkeleyans—take racial equality for granted we need free speech...to be able to talk *to* racists..."! For black students at Berkeley the reality is not racial equality but increasing vicious and naked racism. For Metzger this makes a lot of "Berkeleyans" look pretty ripe for recruitment to his "White Student Union" storm troopers who declare: "Men, women and children, without exception, without appeal, who are of non-Aryan blood shall be terminated or expelled." And KALX provided the scaffold.

At one end of the Democratic Party "Rainbow" is the KKK nightrider Metzger. At the other are the *Daily Cal* liberals appealing for the fascists' "right" to organize under the guise of the First Amendment. As one of our placards at the demonstration against Metzger read: "Capitalist Politics Mean: Liberal Fakery, Reagan Reaction, Klan Terror to Screw Working People." The *Cal Spectrum* complains that "it is unfortunate that the only campus group which vigorously protested the airing of the interview was the Spartacus Youth League." We think that is unfortunate as well. But it certainly is a sign of the times that it happened to be communists who organized to defend the population against fascist genocide. While the liberals of the *Daily Cal* obscenely attempt to warp the democratic rights and gains of the first two American revolutions to the advancement of scum like Metzger we fight for a third American revolution—a working class, socialist revolution to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War and finish off the fascist terrorists once and for all.

Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth Club


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
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**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
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# Palestinians...

*(continued from page 1)*

buried alive as a bulldozer dumped earth and mud over them, has sent shock waves even through the violently nationalist Hebrew population of Israel. Two weeks later, Israeli troops fired tear gas into a hospital maternity ward while hundreds of sharpshooters surrounded the Jerusalem holy site of Al Aksa mosque as worshippers streamed in for Friday prayer services.

The atrocities which have shocked the world are not an aberration or excess but the end result of the Zionist dispossession of the Palestinian Arab people. Mass terror carried out by the same kind of sadistic racists who made up the Nazi SS is the only way the Israeli state can maintain its rule over the more than two million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

Reuters

**Palestinian youths who were buried alive by Israeli soldiers—townspeople dug them out.**

### Arab Revolt Spreads

On February 14, Druze demonstrators in the Golan Heights protesting the sixth anniversary of its annexation by Israel threw stones at a thousand Israeli Border Police and carried signs declaring, "We will liberate the Golan in blood and fire." For years the Border Police has relied so heavily on Druze officers that Palestinians called it the "Druzi." Today, over 800 Druze youth are in jail for refusing conscription into the Israeli army. In the West Bank, Israeli troops launched an "offensive" of terror against rural villages, which were long deemed immune from "PLO agitation." For eleven days, Israeli troops kept the 120,000 residents of Nablus confined in their homes, then fired pointblank into a crowd of demonstrators.

The Arab sector of Jerusalem, which since its annexation immediately after the 1967 war was portrayed as a haven of Jewish-Arab "coexistence" under "liberal" mayor Teddy Kollek, was subjected to its second curfew in weeks, with public schools in Arab neighborhoods shut down. Kollek moaned, "The situation in Jerusalem has changed in a fundamental way. Coexistence is on the verge of collapse" (*New York Times*, 12 February). The Israelis thought they could buy off the Palestinians in East Jerusalem with social services, but the incessant terror has served only to unify the Palestinian nation, inside and outside the "green line" (the pre-1967 borders). "Coexistence is not the problem," one Jerusalem Arab replied, "what about the people in Ramallah?"

A journalist who visited Gaza in December, and was himself wounded by Israeli gunfire, captured both the defiance of the Palestinians and the bloodlust of the Israeli troops in one of the incidents he witnessed: "The soldiers began shooting at a young man standing on the roof of the [hospital's] eastern building.... The young man tried to escape, then saw a soldier in front of him. He stopped running, stood facing the soldier, opened his shirt, exposed his chest and said: 'shoot.' The soldier aimed his rifle at a distance of 15 meters and shot" (*Ha'ir*, 18 December 1987, translated by Israel Shahak).

As the Palestinian masses of the Occupied Territories were courageously confronting Israeli gunfire, Yasir Arafat's PLO organized a "ship of return" to carry deported Palestinians from Cyprus back to Israel, graphically evoking the memory of the famous Zionist refugee run on the *Exodus* in 1947. A PLO spokesman announced that "If the ship of return project fails, it will have shown to the world the true anti-pacifist face of Israel" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 13 February). So the Zionists showed their face! Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, one of the terrorists responsible for the Deir Yassin massacre, denounced the "ship of return" as a "declaration of war," and "Labor" defense minister Yitzhak Rabin vowed to stop it "in whatever ways we find." They found the way of Israel's Mossad spy agency: three PLO leaders in Cyprus murdered in a car-bombing, and then an explosive mine tears a gaping hole in the ship's hull.

In the face of unbridled, mass Zionist terror the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, which for years has preached reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies and an endless succession of United Nations resolutions, finds itself impotent. As one Palestinian in the Bakaa refugee camp in Jordan poignantly exclaimed of the numerous UN resolutions appealing for a "just peace" and "secure boundaries": "How many numbers do we have to collect? We have 242, 338, 600 or 700. We can't remember the numbers anymore, but we know we are still refugees" (*New York Times*, 14 February). The Zionists gave a grisly display of their attitude to the UN resolutions during the siege of Beirut in 1982, when they ordered artillery barrages of the city timed at exactly 2:42 and 3:38. Ironically, the *Sol Phryne*, chartered to be the "ship of return," was last used by Arafat & Co. to evacuate PLO fighters from Beirut in 1982 under the "protection" of Reagan's Marines. This left behind defenseless Palestinian refugees to be massacred at the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Not since that massacre—following on the heels of Israel's invasion fiasco—has Israeli society seen such open revulsion over anti-Arab terror as over the incident in Salim. An Israeli teacher, who considers herself a devoted Zionist, said: "How can I go on living here? What do I have in common with the people who did that?" Two of the soldiers were detained and embarrassed officials decried it as an "excess." But Labor and Likud are united on the need to suppress the Palestinian protests with as much terror as necessary, while the Israeli clerical-fascists scream for *more* Palestinian blood.

Guardian [London]

**Thousands of Arabs and Jews demonstrate in Haifa against Israeli army terror.**

Sadistic savagery against Palestinians is not an "excess" of Zionism but the norm. On the eve of the October 1956 invasion of Egypt, Israeli Border Police indiscriminately massacred 47 people in the village of Kfar Kassim. When the scandal broke, Labor prime minister Ben-Gurion cut his losses by denouncing it as a rogue operation. He threw a handful of the most incriminated murderers into prison for a few years, only to reward them upon their release, including one who became security chief of the Dimona nuclear installation. So now they'll lock up a few of the soldiers involved in the Salim atrocity until the scandal is forgotten, as fall guys for what is in fact *state* policy.

At the same time, significant sections of the Israeli establishment are concluding that some sort of territorial deal has to be made, playing up to their American paymasters' hypocritical insistence on trading "land for peace." Washington is desperately trying to revive the "spirit of Camp David," the Israeli-Egyptian agreement which called for local "autonomy" under the Israeli army in the Occupied Territories. The U.S. and the bourgeois Arab regimes bordering Israel are deeply concerned that the mass protests convulsing the Occupied Territories will shatter what little stability there is in the region. Thus Labor foreign minister Shimon Peres, also voicing the thoughts of the Israeli high command, is hinting about "demilitarizing" Gaza. But Shamir dismisses the American moves as unacceptable, while Egyptian president Mubarak recognizes that the Camp David agreement is "a thing of the past."

The Arab sheiks and strong-men fear that the mass protests will spread throughout the Palestinian diaspora in the Near East and into their own countries. The Palestinian Arabs are among the most educated and cosmopolitan people in the Near East. They form a critical component of the workforce in the oil-rich Gulf states and constitute 80 percent of the population of Jordan. Palestinian trade unions have been organized even under the violently repressive conditions of the Gaza Strip, which is virtually one huge concentration camp. Indeed the workers' organizations have become so significant a force that even leaflets of the fundamentalist Islamic Jihad call for "the workers of Palestine to unite" (*Middle East International*, 9 January).

Under the leadership of an internationalist Bolshevik party, the Palestinian workers can be the catalyst for socialist revolution throughout the region. The reactionary Zionist consensus among the Hebrew people must be shattered if they are to escape the death-trap their rulers have prepared for them. Racist Zionism is not the savior of the Jewish people but its deadly enemy. Before the Nazi Holocaust, Zionism was a marginal sect, despised by the Jewish workers of East Europe, who constituted a key element of the revolutionary socialist movement. One Israeli occupation officer recalls:

> "My father was a Holocaust survivor from Poland. He was in five different concentration camps. He was very radical politically, very leftist. Basically, my father and I disagreed about things here. He believed, in kind of a naive way, that there was a solution of two people living on the same land."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 January

Under capitalism there is no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations. But there is a way in which two peoples can share this land. Their very survival dictates that the Hebrew workers break with the Zionist bourgeoisie and champion the national rights of their Palestinian brothers. A socialist revolution which sweeps away the Zionist butchers and the Arab bourgeoisies will guarantee the right to self-determination for both nations, i.e., the right to a separate state. The Trotskyists fight for a binational workers state on both sides of the Jordan. Forge Trotskyist parties—For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■


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# German Trotskyists Honor the "Three L's"

## Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg

At the end of January, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) held meetings in Hamburg and West Berlin to honor the "Three L's" of Bolshevism: V. I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. These meetings continued the communist tradition of rendering homage to these leaders who died in the month of January (see *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 40, Summer 1987).

This marked the first public event of the TLD after its reconstitution following a year during which the majority of the members worked in other sections of the iSt. This expansion of the international experience of the comrades was decided upon after the TLD, along with the rest of the German left, abstained from the protest demonstrations by Jewish groups against the obscene visit by Reagan and Kohl to the SS graves in Bitburg in 1985.

On January 27, just before the Hamburg and West Berlin meetings, many members and sympathizers of the TLD marched, along with delegations from other iSt sections, in the contingent of the Ligue Trotskyste de France at a demonstration called by the French Communist Party against the fascist Le Pen. At the same time, the TLD brought out the first issue of its newspaper *Spartakist* after the section's reconstitution, some hundreds of which were sold at German union demonstrations.

In East and West Berlin the Stalinists demonstrated in January for the "Two L's"—leaving out Lenin. As Stalin made Lenin into an icon, usurping his authority to cover the Kremlin's betrayal of the world revolution and the internationalism for which the "Three L's" fought, so the East German and West German Stalinists try to portray Luxemburg and Liebknecht as nationalists, parliamentarists and petty-bourgeois pacifists. Thus in West Berlin the march was obscenely dominated by the Social Democracy, who bear responsibility for the murder of the two German Communist leaders!

Spartakist

**TLD commemoration January 31 at Berlin bridge where Rosa Luxemburg was murdered in 1919.**

The TLD's January 31 meeting in Berlin, where the Spartacusbund of Luxemburg and Liebknecht was founded, took on special significance. It was opened with greetings sent by Oskar Hippe, a veteran socialist now in his 80s who fought in the ranks of the Spartacusbund and later together with Trotsky. More than 30 participants marched with portraits of Luxemburg and Liebknecht to the Landwehrkanal, first to the site where Karl's body was recovered from the water and then to the bridge where Rosa's dead body was dumped by the murderers.

The speakers for the TLD emphasized the strong connection between the Russian and German revolutions symbolized by the "Three L's." Comrade Silvia Lenz noted that "The sign of a revolutionary is that words and deeds are not two separate things, but rather you live by what you say. On 2 December 1914, Karl Liebknecht was the only Reichstag deputy to vote against war credits; on May Day 1916 Liebknecht came to Berlin from the slaughter and horror of the front and led thousands of workers under the slogan, 'Down with the war! Down with the government!'" Lenz recalled that Liebknecht's first act upon being freed from prison in 1918 was to visit the Soviet embassy to greet his Russian comrades.

Comrade Fred Zierenberg stressed: "Lenin understood that only the international revolution could break the isolation of the Soviet Union. With his last efforts he fought against bureaucratism in the Soviet Union, and internationally he struggled to convey the experience of the Bolshevik Party—to build and educate communist cadres with the capacity to lead the world revolution. The international Spartacist tendency seeks to continue this struggle to build such an international party, a reforged Fourth International, armed with the program of the 'Three L's'."■

# West Germany...

*(continued from page 3)*

thousands of cops were brought in from as far away as Bavaria for a showdown. On November 12 the barricades went up.

The ruling class and its social-democratic agents weighed the political risks. A constant stream of visitors to the barricaded Hafenstrasse had demonstrated just how widely popular defying the bourgeois state could be. German president von Weizsäcker personally intervened in favor of a "peaceful solution." Dohnanyi overrode the Hamburg Senate and put his job on the line. He was hailed as the "miracle worker" when the squatters agreed to take the barricades down on November 18 and accept the deal they had previously rejected. He and von Weizsäcker were cheered as part of a "coalition of reason" by the New Left *Tageszeitung*.

### Greens in German Colors

The response of the Greens to the Frankfurt shootings could only fuel the split in their ranks. After all, Green Bundestag deputies participated in police demonstrations calling for the repression of their own supporters! The bourgeoisie pressured the Greens to live up to the vow by Green *Realo* (short for "realist") Otto Schily to respect the "state monopoly of violence."

This recognition of the "state monopoly of violence" goes for the army as well as the police. It's no accident that Schily, Joschka Fischer and many Baden-Württemberg Greens (who are discussing with the Christian Democrats) are in open rebellion against their party's traditional call for withdrawal from NATO. And they are only the most shameless pro-imperialists among the Greens. Furthermore, as shown by French imperialism's zealous participation in the Cold War campaign while remaining formally outside of NATO, the slogan "West Germany out of NATO" is no opposition to the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive.

In a revealing incident last September, 5 out of 12 Green federal deputies voted against a motion inside their parliamentary fraction demanding that the Bundeswehr (army) Pershing 1-A missiles be included in the disarmament talks (these missiles have nuclear warheads which remain under U.S. control, but are a step to preparing West Germany's open emergence as a nuclear power). The five agreed with Kohl that the Federal Republic is a "third country" outside of the Soviet-American dialogue—an echo of the Franco-British position concerning their atomic weaponry.

Reagan is feared and reviled by broad sections of the population as the crazy and dangerous warmonger that he is. Last June the police had to turn West Berlin into an armed fortress to secure the city for the "Great Communicator." Thousands of young activists and, passively, working people believe in a nuclear-weapon-free Europe through "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. Things from the Soviet Union are "in," and Gorbachev owes a large part of his current popularity in the West to his disarmament proposals.

But Green/social-democratic pacifism serves as a "left" cover for the demand of the German bourgeoisie to gain distance from Washington while they follow a kind of German "Gaullism": an independent line combining economic undermining of the East with strengthening the Bundeswehr. The opposition of the "peace" movement to the "superpowers" is based on a nationalist continuum stretching from the Hafenstrasse squatters and the Kreuzberg (West Berlin) anti-Reagan demonstrators to the Greens and establishment politicians like Dohnanyi of the SPD or the CDU federal president von Weizsäcker.

"European defense" is a cover for the nuclear ambitions of German imperialism, but all that the *Fundis* (Green "fundamentalists") can counterpose to this is Adenauer's worthless pledge, enshrined in the Constitution, not to produce atomic weapons on German soil (in fact, the preliminary tests, under the SPD regime, were carried out in South Africa). Against this constitutional cretinism we uphold in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht the Bolshevik principles: Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist army! Defend the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

### For an Internationalist Workers Party!

The same deep-seated nationalism which blinds it to the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet revanchism is also behind the left's refusal to fight rising anti-Semitism, demonstrated most drastically by its absence from the protest organized by Jewish groups against Reagan and Kohl's despicable salute of SS Nazi graves at Bitburg. This rehabilitation of the SS gave a green light to murderous racist terror by cops and the resurgent fascist movement as preparation for a new "Operation Barbarossa."

The left/Green milieu plays with rhetoric about a coming police state as a means of embarrassing the bourgeoisie and supporting the SPD as a "lesser evil" (the DKP [German Communist Party] even dreamed that a popular front including the Free Democrats was emerging in defense of the right to demonstrate). They are blind to the *routine* brutalization of immigrants by police "controls," their segregation in ghettos like Kreuzberg, while racist psychopaths routinely torch refugee hostels, as in West Berlin, Frankfurt and Hamburg, in the hopes of murdering them en masse.

The workers movement must come to the defense of its foreign-born class brothers, organizing union-based defense guards against fascist attacks, mobilizing against reactionary anti-foreigner laws and demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families. Cops out of the immigrant districts! Cops out of the unions! Abolish paramilitary forces such as the *Bundesgrenzschutz* [border police] and the GSG-9 ["anti-terrorist" hit squads] and special anti-immigrant units like the AGA!

Mobilizing the power of the working class against national and racial oppression is a vital necessity for a class-struggle counteroffensive against capitalist austerity. For too long German workers stood by watching the bosses' salami tactics, as the "voluntary" departure of immigrant workers and their expulsion cushioned the capitalist crisis. With whole communities in the Ruhr threatened with pauperization, they must unite now with their immigrant class brothers.

The proletariat must fight for a sliding scale of hours, for a 30-hour week with no loss in pay. But an intelligent distribution of work and the elimination of unemployment is impossible under capitalism. What's needed is a struggle for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

The crisis in steel demonstrates the need for a planned economy which can harness the productive capacity now being ravaged by capitalism. For a socialist revolution against capitalist exploitation and imperialist militarism in the West—for proletarian political revolution against bureaucratic mismanagement and oppression in the East! This is the internationalist road to the revolutionary reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe.■


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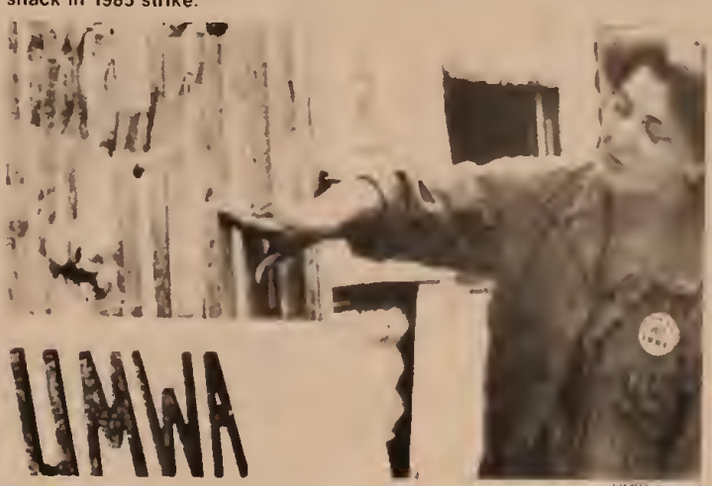
WORKERS VANGUARD

## Sentenced to 35 to 45 Years

# Free the Kentucky Miners!

no credit

**Kentucky miners railroaded on "terrorism" charges (from left): Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland, Darryl Smith. UMW member points to bullet holes left after company thugs opened fire on picket shack in 1985 strike.**




UMW Journal

## Trumka's Contract Means More Layoffs

Four Kentucky miners, railroaded on federal "terrorism" and "conspiracy" charges, have been sentenced to prison terms of *35 to 45 years*. These courageous miners—local union president Donnie Thornsbury, his cousin David Thornsbury, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland—were abandoned by the United Mine Workers (UMWA) bureaucracy, which hasn't lifted a finger in their defense. A fifth miner, Paul Smith, was acquitted of every federal charge but now faces state murder charges!

These UMWA brothers are being victimized for defending their union during the 1984-85 "selective" strikes against A.T. Massey and Samoyed Energy in the Tug River Valley. They were unjustly convicted (solely on the testimony of a government fink) in the 1985 shooting death of a scab coal hauler. To nail them, the feds used "conspiracy" and air piracy (!) laws passed as part of Reagan/Meese's domestic "terrorism" scare and amended specifically to target labor disputes. But the real terrorists were the army of mercenary gun thugs brought in by A.T. Massey to dynamite union picket shacks and shoot down UMWA strikers.

Vanita Thornsbury, the wife of Donnie Thornsbury, told *WV* that the miners' families were devastated by the brutal sentence. She spoke of the company terror the Samoyed strikers faced on the picket line:

> "Donnie was on the second shift down there and I'd sit up and wait on him every night, worried if he wouldn't come home that night without being hurt."

Mrs. Thornsbury said miners in the area backed the five and knew the judge was out to intimidate the union. She appealed to the rest of the labor movement to come to their aid:

> "They feel it's got a lot to do with this contract that's going on right now, trying to get it signed. The whole bunch of them tried to make an example of Donnie and them, to show if you were even thinking about having any kind of strike you're looking at 40 years. Donnie and the others are still strong union men, and I feel that their union brothers and sisters should support them in this."

Like PATCO air controllers hauled to jail in chains, these miners are victims of a government campaign to make labor crawl before the givebacks and union-busting. The UMWA and the entire labor movement must come to the aid of these class-war prisoners. An injury to one is an injury to all! *Free the Kentucky miners!*

### Trumka's Sabotage

UMWA president Richard Trumka is ollering up these unionists to the capitalist state as proof of his "non-adversarial relationship" with the coal barons. Meanwhile, Trumka's unprecedented *five-year* contract, which was recently approved despite heavy opposition in some UMWA districts, is worse than anything even UMWA misleaders Arnold Miller and Sam Church came up with. Trumka was praised for bringing "order to the negotiating process" (*Business Week*, 15 February) by E. Morgan Massey, who broke the union at Massey and put a price of $100,000 on the heads of the jailed Kentucky miners.

Trumka's contract is a knife at the throat of the UMWA. It accepts the massive layoffs of union miners and sanctions the explosive growth of non-union mines, when two-thirds of coal mined in the U.S. is already non-union. Modeled on last year's agreement at Island Creek coal, the contract provides that three out of every five miners hired at non-UMWA mines will come from a list of laid-off union miners at the same company. So the handful of miners fortunate enough to get rehired will find themselves in a non-union mine. Without union safety committees in the most dangerous jobs in America, miners will pay for Trumka's betrayal with their lives.

Trumka never intended to call a strike; his strategy of "selective strikes" (like A.T. Massey!) is a way to isolate and fritter away the miners' historic militancy. The *UMWA Journal* (January 1987) told miners they should "absolutely not" picket other mines and that "unauthorized pickets...only benefit the coal companies." Despite the desperate conditions in the coal fields, where in many districts fully *half* of all miners are unemployed, workers were angry that Trumka abandoned the UMWA's historic position of "no contract, no work" in order to ram the vote through.

In Trumka's home district, where the huge Consolidation Coal has been allowed to operate the Bailey non-union mine, there was a heavy "no" vote. In Dilles Bottom, Ohio miners burned bundles of the rotten sellout outside a union meeting on February 6, and again at a rally of 150 miners the following day. District 6 president Ed Bell told *WV* that miners were angry at working 10, 12, even 16 hours a day while thousands are laid off. But in the absence of an alternative to the Trumka regime, miners nationally approved the pact.

Trumka, touted in the capitalist press as a possible successor to Lane Kirkland should the UMWA rejoin the AFL-CIO, is grooming himself as a "responsible labor statesman." That means miners are thrown out of work, company goons smash local strikes and union militants are jailed.

Trumka, like Miller and Church before him, has chopped away at the miners' militant traditions, chaining the union to the capitalist courts and the bosses' Democratic Party. Fifteen years of these "reformers" in the Labor Department's pocket together with the union-busting of the Carter and Reagan years have decimated the UMWA, the oldest and once the most powerful industrial union in the U.S. Today there are 85,000 union members, slashed from 144,000 in 1980. Only 14 companies remain in the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA).

### Which Side Are You On?

In 1972 the reformist left hailed the election of Arnold Miller, the candidate of Democratic Party politicians and the Labor Department. They stuck with Miller, even as he openly suppressed safety wildcat strikes and became the most hated man in the coal fields during the historic 1977-78 strike. Following that sharp class battle we pointed to what stood in the way of a decisive UMWA victory:

> "First and foremost is the need to forge a leadership committed to fighting the control and dictates of the capitalists and their political parties. For it was the ties between the quislings in union office and the bosses' government and politicians that blocked the miners' victory."
>
> —*The Great Coal Strike of 1978*
> (Spartacist pamphlet)

The case of the Kentucky miners shows more than ever the burning need for working-class independence from the bosses' state, through the fight for a class-struggle workers party. But reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) continue to back the coal bosses' "labor lieutenants." Scandalously, SWP supporters *voted for* this sellout contract and the SWP's *Militant* refuses to condemn Trumka's betrayal of the Kentucky miners.

Coal company terror isn't new to Kentucky miners. They remember "Bloody Harlan," where in 1931 thousands of miners were blacklisted, shot and arrested under criminal syndicalism laws for daring to join the Communist Party-led National Miners Union. Mine-owning Judge Byrd Hogg meted out capitalist "justice." Again in Harlan in 1974, Brookside miners and their families waged a yearlong battle against Duke Power, a battle finally won when 120,000 UMWA members shut down the mines in a five-day "mourning period" after the murder of a striker.

Trumka's cut his deal with the coal bosses, and the Tug River Valley miners are left to rot in jail. It has been decades since the capitalist state has imposed such savage sentences on unionists in this country. But such "justice" is all too common for blacks and other minorities in racist, capitalist America. There must be a powerful mobilization of labor and the oppressed in defense of Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Darryl Smith, Arnold Heightland and Paul Smith. These courageous brothers fought for their union, they must not share the fate of class-war prisoners Mooney and Billings (see page 2) who languished in jail for over two decades before they were finally pardoned. Free the Kentucky miners!

* * *

Contributions for the defense of the Kentucky miners are urgently needed for appeals just filed. Send to: Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 448 | 11 March 1988


# U.S. Troops Out!

Contra in chief Ronald Reagan... UPI

Gentile/Newsweek

...and his drug-running mercenaries in Nicaragua.

# Panama: CIA-Contra Drug Connection

There was a time when imperial Washington could replace its tinpot dictators in Latin America simply by calling a meeting at the U.S. ambassador's residence, or in the worst case waving the "Big Stick" of sending in the Marines. But for the last nine months or so the sleazy strongman of Panama, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, has refused to follow the well-worn script. In the latest episodes of this ongoing drama, Panama's puppet president Eric Delvalle fired Noriega (at the State Department's suggestion) only to be fired himself. Now the U.S. has turned to economic warfare, trying to cut the flow of dollars in its blatant attempt to overthrow the Panamanian regime. They already invaded the country years ago, with 10,000 U.S. troops now stationed at 17 bases in the former Panama Canal Zone. But the Reagan gang hesitates to finish the job militarily, fearing havoc in the canal and violent reaction throughout Latin America.

The American Empire just ain't what it used to be—and that's a good thing. The paralysis in Washington was expressed last week when the U.S. Congress narrowly voted down the Democrats' package of "humanitarian" aid to Reagan's contra terrorists. This follows the defeat of the administration's contra aid package a month earlier. But even the handful of liberals who voted against contra aid made it clear their only objection is that the CIA's mercenaries are losers. As Ohio Democrat James Trafficant put it, "In seven years, the record is clear. The contras have not overthrown an outhouse; they don't control a crossroads; to the best of my knowledge, they haven't even overwhelmed a bordello in Central America." The reason for this failure is simple: despite the contra war, economic strangulation and internal destabilization by the U.S., the Nicaraguan masses are determined to defend their revolution.

Frustrated in Nicaragua and made a laughingstock in the Iran/contra fiasco, the Reaganauts want to "score" in Panama. Furthermore, here they can count on full backing from Congress. As Senator John Kerry targets Noriega in drug-trafficking hearings, his fellow Massachusetts Democrat Ted Kennedy joins with arch-reactionary Jesse Helms to demand a total trade embargo against Panama. Meanwhile, U.S. Attorney for Miami Leon Kellner declares with supreme imperial arrogance that his drug indictments against the Panamanian leader "make it clear that no one is above our laws." But as Vice President Bush petulantly declares "I want to see Noriega out," bandying the threat of the "long outreach" of American law (i.e., kidnapping), the would-be Rough Riders in Washington seem to be talking loudly while carrying a small stick.

U.S. rulers have always claimed it's their Manifest Destiny to impose the American Way of Life on the Western Hemisphere with dollar diplomacy or gunboat diplomacy. Now they've taken the Monroe Doctrine global, as the Reagan Doctrine proclaims a U.S. "right" to attack Soviet "surrogates" and put the Russians up against the wall anywhere. The Reaganauts blow up ships and oil tanks in Nicaraguan harbors, send warships into sensitive Soviet waters, skyjack Egyptian airliners over the Mediterranean, try to assassinate Libyan leader Qaddafi by bombing Tripoli. The masters of U.S. imperialism want to claim a "super-sovereignty" over the entire world, and as the economic base of the American empire erodes, they've entered a particularly desperate and vicious phase.

It's gone beyond sending in the Marines when the Wall Street bankers don't get paid. Now they send DEA agents and the U.S. Army into South American jungles to order peasants to stop growing coca. They cut off UN aid to force family planning clinics around the world to ban abortion. And when a long-time CIA "asset" like General Noriega says no to U.S. invasion plans against Sandinista Nicaragua, they try to bump off their former Panamanian capo amid a barrage of hypocritical anti-drug propaganda. Reagan's "anti-drug" crusade, like Carter's "human rights" crusade, is a cover for U.S. imperialism's crusade against Communism—the anti-Soviet war drive. We oppose every effort by Yankee imperialism to impose the dictator of its choice. *U.S. troops out of Panama!*

### Washington's Anti-Noriega Coup

The U.S. campaign to oust Noriega began last June when Congress voted to cut off all military and economic aid to Panama, and loans from the World Bank were suspended. The middle-class "opposition" led by Panamanian businessmen got the cue and immediately organized demonstrations of bank tellers and shopkeepers against Noriega. But the *rabiblancos* ("white tails"), whose bastion is the business district known as Little Manhattan, soon tired of blowing their horns from the comfort of their air-conditioned cars. While taunting the pockmarked Noriega as "pineapple face," they didn't have the stomach for going up against his rabid riot cops, popularly known as Dobermans. When the confrontations died down, U.S. diplomats sent out the usual invitations to the military for a coup against their former crony, while privately suggesting to him that he should step down. But it didn't work.

Now the U.S. has "discovered" that the Panamanian dictator has been up to his neck in the drug trade at least since 1981. One is reminded of the cynical, corrupt Vichy French police captain in the movie *Casablanca* who, seeking an excuse to close down Rick's cafe, announces he is "shocked" to find gambling going on in the place—just as the waiter hands him his winnings. U.S. Attorney Kellner, who declares Noriega isn't "above our laws," is the same one who blocked the prosecution of Oliver North's Contragate drugs-and-arms traffickers on orders from Ed Meese. But the indictments only made Noriega dig in further.

So the classic coup was prepared. Hours before the drug indictments were made public, U.S. ambassador Arthur Davis met privately with the Panamanian figurehead president, Eric Arturo Delvalle. Suddenly, the former nobody and Noriega flunkey became the hero of the "democratic" opposition for imperialism. His backers had been hoping for a "Duvalier solution," in which the U.S. helps one of its used-up dictators slip out of the country in order to slip another into power, but Noriega wasn't cooperating.

Next U.S. stooge Delvalle announced the ouster of Noriega as military *jefe*. But Noriega must read Graham Greene novels too, and he outfoxed the U.S. at its own dirty game: he summoned a meeting of the National Assembly in the middle of the night, bringing in 37 legislators by helicopter, and after a dubious vote (a quorum was achieved by ignoring a couple dozen "illegible" names) the assembly ousted Delvalle from the presidency. They put in Manuel Solis, whose political career

*continued on page 10*

**"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe**

## Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust

SEE PAGE SIX

**Partisan Defense Committee**

**CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES**

# Rubin "Hurricane" Carter Finally Wins Fight for Freedom

The last round of the racist frame-up that stole 20 years of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter's life is finally over. On January 11 the Supreme Court refused to hear the New Jersey prosecutor's appeal from a lower court decision in November 1985 granting Carter's writ of habeas corpus. The vindictive Passaic County prosecutor's office took six weeks to decide not to seek a third trial, finally giving up its efforts to lock Rubin away for life. On February 29 Carter, now 50 years old, held a press conference at the Plaza Hotel to celebrate his freedom.

A well-known middleweight boxer, Rubin Carter was the target of cop and FBI harassment because he publicly advocated the right of black self-defense against cop terror following the 1964 Harlem police rampage. In 1967 Carter and his friend John Artis were framed up, accused of a triple murder on the lying testimony of two petty crooks, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. As a result of investigations by *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab, Bello and Bradley revealed in 1974 that the D.A.'s office bought their testimony for $10,500 and promises of leniency on a string of pending criminal charges. In their 1976 retrial, Carter and Artis were again convicted on Bello's testimony, bolstered with the prosecution's "racial revenge" argument—bought by the carefully selected jury of ten whites and two elderly blacks—that because Carter and Artis were black they killed three whites in a Paterson bar in 1966.

The Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League have closely followed the Carter/Artis case for the past 12 years. The PDC contributed to the defense and regularly attended the 1976 trial. In contrast to the liberals who fled after Carter and Artis were again railroaded to prison in 1977, *Workers Vanguard* continued to expose the vindictive frame-up.

Rubin entered the February 29 press conference to the strains of Bob Dylan's "Hurricane." Meeting the press for the first time since his release two years ago, Carter told how the Paterson prosecution sought the death penalty, but he was instead sentenced to "a life of living death." Carter told of the horrors of prison, and noted the obscenity that those who viciously stole his adult life are immune from any legal action. "Prison destroys everything that is valuable in a human being. It destroys families—it destroyed mine. It destroys one's dignity and self-respect in ways too many to even begin mentioning now. It got to me. And I *knew* that I was innocent. I was far from the first and I won't be the last innocent man, innocent person, that the state seeks to execute. It has happened before, and it will happen again."

Carter was slated to fight for the middleweight championship when he was arrested on 16 June 1966. "Little did I know that the events of that night would sound the bell ending my career as a professional boxer, and mark the beginning of quite a different kind of fight." Unbroken by the racist vendetta of the cops, courts and prison authorities, the Hurricane is still fighting. "If this society is serious about eliminating crime—and I have to tell you I see little evidence of that being the case—then it should concentrate its energies upon eradicating the causes of crime, the roots of crime, the drugs, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and racism."

Rubin told one questioner, "I would not go back to Paterson under any circumstances, and for any reason, at any time, for any purpose." Paterson has long been notorious for its brutality against those who challenge the racist capitalist status quo. In 1913, 25,000 silk workers, led by the IWW, went on strike for an eight-hour day and $12 a week minimum wage. The courageous strikers, mostly immigrants, were smashed after five months of terror from the bosses' hired thugs and cops. During the strike 4,800 strikers were arrested and about 1,300 sent to jail.

Today, Paterson cops and courts continue their racist vendetta against John Artis. Last year Artis pleaded guilty to possession of a small amount of cocaine, which he had begun to use in attempting to arrest the spread of Buerger's disease, an untreatable circulatory disease which has already led to amputation of seven fingers and toes. But as punishment for finally beating the frame-up which had already kept him jailed for 15 years, the racist court ordered Artis locked up for six more, possibly to die in prison. Artis' appeal from the vicious sentence is scheduled for March 30. This outrage must be protested.

WV Photo

**Rubin Carter at February 29 press conference.**

The PDC received a personal invitation to the February 29 press conference. At its close a PDC representative congratulated Carter, who said warmly, "I would like to thank you people for all your support." Rubin recalled that after his release in 1985, we sent a small holiday gift which he returned because, "from what I've seen since my release from prison, these funds should be better used for the benefit of someone less fortunate than I—like the homeless, the hungry, or those poor people who still remain *in* prison." Following the Supreme Court's decision we sent Rubin our congratulations: "The fact that even Reagan's Supreme Court refused to reinstate the conviction testifies to the magnitude of the frame-up and total absence of any case against you. In this period of rising racist terror fueled from the White House and City Halls across the country your victory is one to be shared by all fighters against racist oppression as their own."

* * *

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has thrown down the gauntlet to the thousands who demand an end to the racist FBI COINTELPRO frame-up of Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner. Confronted with overwhelming proof of Pratt's innocence, including FBI wiretaps showing Pratt was 400 miles away at the time of the killing for which he was framed, the Court of Appeals has announced its

*continued on page 10*

## Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

TROTSKY

LENIN

*March 8, International Women's Day, originated as a celebration of the militant class struggles of working women, a tradition since obscured by bourgeois feminism. The early Communist International stood for a proletarian struggle for women's liberation. Its Third Congress (1921) adopted theses on the woman question which opposed both the social democrats, for their refusal to struggle against the special oppression of women, and the bourgeois feminists, who sought to limit women's struggles within the bounds of capitalist reformism. The revolutionary Comintern called for special work among women under the leadership of the Communist vanguard, uniting proletarian men and women in struggle against capitalism.*

What Communism offers to the women, the bourgeois women's movement will never afford her. So long as the power of capitalism and private property continue to exist, the emancipation of woman from subservience to her husband cannot proceed further than her right to dispose of her property and earnings, as she sees fit, and also to decide on equal terms with her husband, the destiny of their children.

The most definite aim of the feminists—to grant the vote to the women—under the regime of bourgeois parliamentarism, does not solve the question of the actual equalization of women, especially of those of the dispossessed classes.... The dependence of the proletarian woman upon the capitalist and upon her husband as the economic mainstay of the family remains just the same. The absence of adequate laws to safeguard motherhood and infancy and the lack of proper social education render entirely impossible the equalization of woman's position in matrimonial relations. As a matter of fact, nothing that can be done under the capitalist order will furnish the key to the solution of the problem of the relationship of the sexes.

Only under Communism, not merely the formal, but the actual equalization of women will be achieved. Then woman will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the well-being of society.

—Communist International, "Theses on Work Among Women" (July 1921)

# Letter

## Gus at UMass Amherst: You Read It Here First

1-23-88

In a recent issue of the *WV* (1-15-88) you're accusing the *PDW* [*People's Daily World*] of not wishing to print the Gus Hall speech at Amherst and the trouble with some rightwingers, yet there was the story! In the *PDW* of 1-7-88! (page 19-A).

You should—no?—be a bit more *careful* in your accusations.

Detroit *WV* Reader

*WV replies:* Normally it is not our policy to print or respond to anonymous letters, but here we seem to have a simple case of mistaken dates which bears clarification. True enough, an article titled "Score One for Free Speech and the Students at Amherst" ran in the Communist Party's *People's Daily World* on 7 January. However, *Workers Vanguard* scooped the CP a week before with our article "Communist Party Attacked at UMass Amherst—Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting" in *WV* No. 443 dated 1 January—not 15 January as alleged by the Detroit reader. ■


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial); 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5 00/24 issues, Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 448** **11 March 1988**

# Rogues' Gallery of Labor Traitors

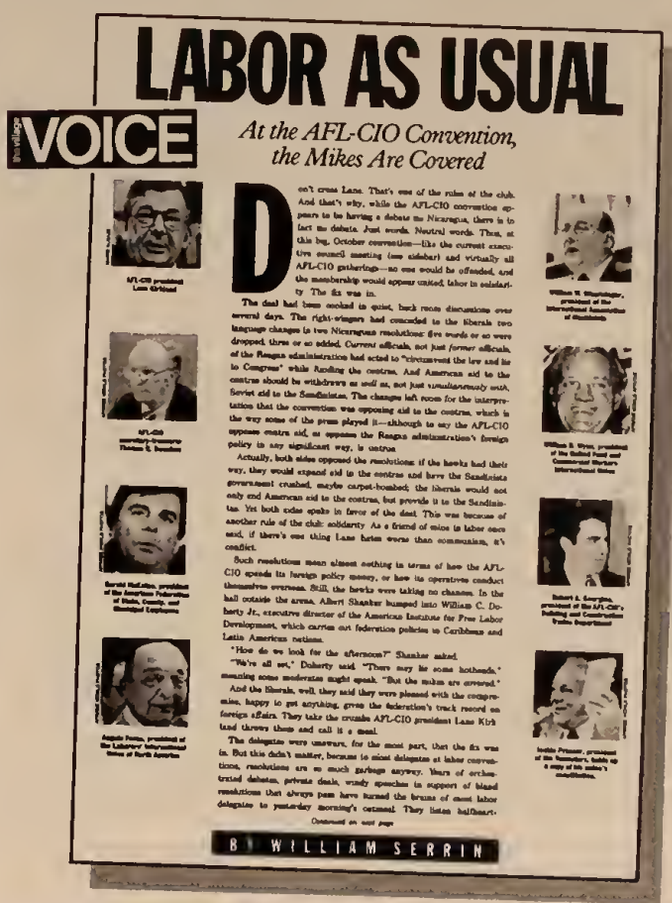
## William Serrin on AFL-CIO Tops

For any worker who has had his strike knifed, been thrown on the scrap heap after his plant closed or had givebacks rammed down his throat by gutless "labor statesmen," a recent piece by William Serrin in the *Village Voice* will strike a chord. "Labor As Usual" (*Voice*, 23 February) captures the fat cat cynicism of the parasites who currently "lead" the American labor movement.

After several years on the "labor beat" for the *New York Times*, William Serrin quit. "You are proworker, an editor once said to me, and this was not a compliment. I knew, finally, that what I did was not valued. So I left." At the labor-hating *Times*, sympathy for working people isn't "fit to print." Serrin also "couldn't stand one more week with the labor guys in Florida..., Years of orchestrated debates, private deals, windy speeches in support of bland resolutions that always pass have turned the brains of most labor delegates to yesterday morning's oatmeal.... That's how it is with most labor people: [AFL-CIO chief] Lane [Kirkland] could pee on their leg and they'd say it was raining."

Serrin covered the October 1987 AFL-CIO convention in Miami Beach, where there was a supposed "fight" waged against the federation's support to Reagan's contra terrorists in Nicaragua. If you read the reformist "left" press accounts, you'd think the AFL-CIO was about to strike in solidarity with the workers and peasants of Central America. But Serrin's article neatly debunks the loyal "opposition" of a handful of "liberal" labor fakers, like Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers and a prominent member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), who bowed and scraped before Kirkland.

The final resolution, passed by both the DSA types and the Cold War Russia-haters of the Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) who braintrust the AFL-CIO, backed the Democrats' Arias plan, called for a halt to Soviet and Cuban aid to the Sandinistas and to U.S. support to the loser contras, backed Star Wars, and praised the Israeli state as a "beacon of civility and democratic rule"! Serrin: "And the liberals, well, they said they were pleased with the compromise, happy to get anything, given the federation's track record on foreign affairs. They take the crumbs AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland throws them and call it a meal." No surprise, coming from the crew that gave apartheid South African front man Chief Buthelezi the George Meany Human Rights Award!


LABOR AS USUAL

VOICE

*At the AFL-CIO Convention, the Mikes Are Covered*

Don't cross Lane. That's one of the rules of the club. And that's why, while the AFL-CIO convention appears to be having a debate on Nicaragua, there is in fact no debate. Just words. Neutral words. Then, at this big, October convention—like the current executive council meeting (see sidebar) and virtually all AFL-CIO gatherings—no one would be offended, and the membership would appear united, labor in solidarity. The fix was in.

The deal had been cooked in quiet, back room discussions over several days. The right-wingers had conceded to the liberals two language changes in two Nicaraguan resolutions: five words or so were dropped, three or so added. Current officials, not just former officials, of the Reagan administration had acted to "circumvent the law and his to Congress" while funding the contras. And American aid to the contras should be withdrawn as well as, not just simultaneously with, Soviet aid to the Sandinistas. The changes left room for the interpretation that the convention was opposing aid to the contras, which is the way some of the press played it—although to say the AFL-CIO opposes contra aid, as opposes the Reagan administration's foreign policy in any significant way, is untrue.

Actually, both sides opposed the resolutions: if the hawks had their way, they would expand aid to the contras and have the Sandinista government crushed, maybe carpet-bombed; the liberals would not only end American aid to the contras, but provide it to the Sandinistas. Yet both sides spoke in favor of the deal. This was because of another rule of the club: solidarity. As a friend of mine in labor once said, if there's one thing Lane hates worse than communism, it's conflict.

Such resolutions mean almost nothing in terms of how the AFL-CIO spends its foreign policy money, or how its operatives conduct themselves overseas. Still, the hawks were taking no chances. In the hall outside the arena, Albert Shanker bumped into William C. Doherty Jr., executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which carries out federation policies in Caribbean and Latin American nations.

"How do we look for the afternoon?" Shanker asked.

"We're all set," Doherty said. "There may be some hotheads," meaning some moderates might speak. "But the stakes are covered."

And the liberals, well, they said they were pleased with the compromise, happy to get anything, given the federation's track record on foreign affairs. They take the crumbs AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland throws them and call it a meal.

The delegates were unaware, for the most part, that the fix was in. But this didn't matter, because to most delegates at labor conventions, resolutions are so much garbage anyway. Years of orchestrated debates, private deals, windy speeches in support of bland resolutions that always pass have turned the brains of most labor delegates to yesterday morning's oatmeal. They listen halfheart-

Continued on next page

BY WILLIAM SERRIN

**Former NY Times labor reporter Serrin skewers labor lieutenants of capital in 23 February Village Voice.**

For decades the AFL-CIO International Affairs department has been the CIA's arm in the labor movement, from Chile to Poland to South Africa. The activities of its American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) have earned the federation the name "AFL-*CIA*" throughout Latin America. They spend $33 million (90 percent coming from the government) a year, almost as much as the rest of the AFL-CIO budget combined. Kirkland and teachers union chief Albert Shanker both sit on the virulently anti-Soviet, first-strike Committee on the Present Danger. (In his movie *Sleeper*, Woody Allen wakes up in the future to a world devastated by nuclear war. He is told that "some nut named Al Shanker got the bomb.") Shanker is the guy who proudly announced to a California teachers' convention, "If I were a Nicaraguan, I would be a contra." Sign up anyway, Al, you'd fit right in with contra scum like Comandante Hitler.

Serrin points out how the Shankerite SDUSA runs the show. But he also nails the "progressive" fakers in the DSA:

"*Wimpy* is here somewhere. William W. Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists. Wimpy was tough once. Spoke out against George Meany, then AFL-CIO president, and the Vietnam war. But Wimpy has lost it and won't speak out against much of anything anymore, certainly not Lane.

"*Bill* is William H. Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Bill has white hair that shines as if it has Brilliantine in it, is often profane, and wears numerous rings, a big shiny bracelet, and a honey of a big watch.... It was Bill who suppressed the P-9 strikers at the Austin, Minnesota, Hormel plant and broke the strike. They had little support, Bill said. But what about the many demonstrations for the strikers, a reporter asked. 'Demonstrations are like masturbation,' Bill said. 'They give you a certain amount of relief, but they don't accomplish very much.' A class guy." Bill obviously leans more to sadism.

Serrin accurately captures the position of the backstabbing labor traitors in the Reagan years—prone: "Perhaps what is most frightening is how often labor lacks what it says it values most: solidarity. Labor did nothing to support the air controllers, whose firing did much to establish the current antiunion atmosphere, and—incredibly—joined to suppress the Hormel strike. Dozens of other strikes have been lost, including Brown and Sharpe, Phelps Dodge, Greyhound, A.T. Massey, NBC, the National Football League. Yet labor continues to function as though nothing has changed, as though the defeats, the losses in membership, and the loss of power mean nothing."

Serrin also sees the connection between the fanatical anti-communism abroad and the knifing of workers' struggles at home. "If one is not judged sufficiently anticommunist on, say, Nicaragua, one may be regarded as untrustworthy on issues like imports, a strike, plant closings." But he sees this as an aberration. On the contrary, the misleaders of American labor are worse than sellouts, they're *company cops*, policing the working class internationally for imperialism. They are truly, in the words of Daniel De Leon, the labor lieutenants of capital.

*continued on page 4*

# On the Sellout of the S.F. Tug Strike

*We print below a letter from a would-be labor traitor in the San Francisco Bay Area, attempting to cover his tracks in the defeat of last year's West Coast tug strike. A reply by* Workers Vanguard *draws the lessons for workers fighting against the bosses and their labor cops.*

16 December 1987
Oakland, CA

Jan Norden
Editor
*Workers Vanguard*
New York, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

Your coverage of the Inlandboatmen's Union (IBU) strike (*WV* #440, 13 November) was a shameless web of lies, distortions, omissions and ludicrous assertions woven to cover the Spartacist League's sectarian abstention from class struggle. One of your most asinine points asserted that on October 15, the day the strike was quashed, "IBU Regional Director Rick (sic) Estrada succeeded in pushing through the surrender at an IBU meeting and it was all over. Heyman... dashed to the Local 10 meeting—*not* to fight for a port shutdown, but to thank the local leadership for their efforts...."

First you disappear the fact that I was one of those at the IBU meeting who led the fight against surrender. Then you turn fact into fiction. Some seven hours after the defeat at the IBU meeting I addressed the longshore membership, lashing out at the cowardly International leadership. If, as *WV* states, "it was all over" at the IBU meeting, why then should I later at the Local 10 meeting call for a port shutdown?

I did thank the rank and file for their support, especially in joining us in the strike's most dynamic action, the Redwood City march, organized by IBU and ILWU militants. *Against the orders* of local union officials (Joe Lucas, Tommy Clark and Rich Estrada), we militants led several hundred strikers down the dock and ran off the scabs. It so electrified the Bay Area labor movement that in its wake the shipyard workers downed their tools and struck. Of course, you failed to mention that the SL was absent during the Redwood City action—not even a *WV* salesman.

One of your most egregious misstatements was: "Between the Executive Board meeting and the Local 10 meeting on October 15, the motion for a port shutdown was *suppressed* by all those who had advanced it and voted for it." Not true. In fact, unreported by *WV* was the October 12 IBU meeting at ILWU Local 34 at which IBU militants raised the motion for a port shutdown by longshoremen and a march down the Embarcadero with the IBU and the rest of maritime labor to Pier 9, Crowley's waterfront headquarters. The motion was stridently opposed from the podium by ILWU President Jim Herman, IBU President Don Liddle and Regional Director Rich Estrada.

Firstly, the contract with 50% concessions was decisively rejected (only Herman favored ratifying it). Then, a fight ensued over what to do in response to Crowley's threat to permanently replace strikers with scabs. The union tops offered no solution except to return to work, defeated and without a signed contract. (Ironically, earlier in a conversation with Pete Woolston, ILWU Local 6 warehouseman and one of the few remaining SL supporters in the union, he argued that sometimes strikers, when confronted with a strike-breaking ultimatum like Crowley's, have to go back to work to defend the union's jurisdiction.) Determined to fight to the bitter end, class struggle unionists had to first defeat the labor fakers. The motion for a port shutdown and march carried overwhelmingly.

Then, we had to organize for it in short order. The target date was moved to October 14, giving us another day. Despite mustering support within ILWU Locals 10 and 34 and the shipyard workers unions, IBU militants were stabbed in the back by a treacherous cabal of Herman, Liddle and San Francisco Labor Council President

*continued on page 4*

# Labor Traitors...

*(continued from page 3)*

It wasn't the old AFL craft union tops, but the "progressive" social democrats like Walter Reuther of the UAW who were in the forefront of purging the reds and militants from the industrial unions of the CIO. Leonard Woodcock didn't miss a beat as he went from selling out auto workers to become ambassador to China. He was replaced by another DSA favorite, Doug Fraser, who made his name by organizing a *1,000 man goon squad* to crush the wildcat over safety by Detroit Chrysler workers in 1973. Fraser presided over the decimation of labor/black Detroit, wiping out tens of thousands of UAW jobs and conceding billions in givebacks. This open cop for the bosses formalized his class collaboration in joining the Chrysler board. These traitors paved the way for the PATCOs and Hormels.

Serrin locates the labor movement's decline in the "rugged individualism" of American workers, supposedly uninterested in joining collectively to defend themselves from capitalist exploitation. But this is belied by the whole history of working-class struggle in the U.S.: from the struggle for the eight-hour day and the Haymarket martyrs commemorated on May 1 by the international proletariat, to the audacious Wobbly militants, to 1934 general strikes in San Francisco and Minneapolis, and the CIO's pioneering of sit-down strikes that challenged capitalist property.

The present state of labor (and the slimy character of those who rise to the top) didn't start with the Reagan years. It is the product of subordination of the unions to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state. It goes back to FDR and the "'corporate unionism' that developed during and after World War II, which saw labor, business, and government working together." They worked together, all right, *against the workers*. This class-collaborationist alliance was expressed in the World War II no-strike pledge, supported by the Stalinists, and was sealed in the post-WWII purge of reds and militants, who built the mass industrial unions. This decades-long decline of the labor movement is shown in detail in a recent book by Michael Goldfield, *The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States*, University of Chicago Press (1987). Union membership in the U.S. was down to 17 percent of the full-time workforce last year (*New York Times*, 23 January), compared to more than double that in Canada and over 50 percent in Britain.

The current condition of the official labor movement is bleak indeed. But the will to struggle is there at the base: the key is class-struggle leadership with a program to *win*. Writing on the eve of World War II, Leon Trotsky set forth the task of the revolutionary party in the fight against the "labor lieutenants of capital":

> "Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class....
>
> "Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism." ■

# Tug Strike...

*(continued from page 3)*

Walter Johnson, which worked desperately and, unfortunately, successfully along with local longshore union officials to abort the action. At an International Executive Board meeting in Seattle on October 13, Liddle told Local 10 President Lucas not to pull the port.

That the port shutdown and march never happened was not due to any lack of resolve on the part of strike militants. Sneering at our attempt, *WV* castigated us and called it a "cynical charade." If the SL were not so sectarian, it would have rolled up its sleeves and pitched in to help organize for the port shutdown. Where was the SL during this critical time frame? You did nothing. You said nothing.

*WV*'s baseless attack on me and other strike militants, vilifying us as "phony" and a "left cover" for the union tops is the flip side of the Communist Party's sycophantic reporting in the *People's Daily World* on the role of these same labor lieutenants of capital. (The Stalinists excoriated me for being overly critical of Herman & Co.)

Both the CP and the SL have placed blame on the IBU militants for the strike's failure. Yet, neither credit us for leading the bold Redwood City action and spreading the strike to Los Angeles. But such behavior is not surprising from these two groups, for opportunism and sectarianism go hand-in-hand. During the 1984 San Francisco longshore anti-apartheid strike, the SL and the CP acted in a similar fashion when, on the eleventh day of the solidarity action, police arrived to enforce a strikebreaking injunction. SL supporters stood by passively on the sidelines refusing to participate in the picket, while CP supporters aided police in clearing the Pier 80 gate of some two hundred anti-apartheid pickets. Plus ça change.

This hack journalism is of a piece with your shrill slanders against former SL members, racist-baiting, cop-baiting, Nazi-baiting and, of late, body searches at public forums. As far as my credibility and integrity is concerned, I refer you to a *WV* interview with me (*WV* #250, 22 February 1980) in which you lauded me for my part in saving the life of a fellow worker in a shipyard explosion and fire. At the time, SL National Chairman Jim Robertson called me a working class hero and suggested that *WV* do the interview.

Unless the SL breaks out of its self-imposed isolation and participates in supportable and necessary class struggle actions like the boatmen's strike and the longshore anti-apartheid action, it will doom itself to irrelevance, notwithstanding the faultless leadership of "big fish" like Jim Robertson.

> Forward to the
> Coming American Revolution,
> Jack Heyman

*WV replies:* Opportunists don't like being called by their right name.

The eight-month IBU strike, which began in February last year, was isolated and beaten by an alliance of Crowley *and the maritime union tops*, who ensured that the tug strikers fought alone. As head of the IBU's SF Strike Committee, Jack Heyman with his hot air posturing served to cover for the hatchet job that IBU chief Don Liddle, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union president Jimmy Herman and his local henchmen did on the tugboat strikers. As a would-be labor faker on the make, Heyman is wailing, I could have been a contender. (His letter was written one day after he lost his bid for IBU president.) But *WV* told the truth about his role in this strike where he posed as a "militant" while carefully staying within the bounds established by the treacherous labor tops.

Fink/Times Tribune

**20 March 1987: ILWU shuts down Bay Area ports, runs scabs off Redwood City docks in defense of IBU tug strike.**

Small-time union hustlers like Heyman are a bit like magicians: you always have to watch that other hand. For starters, his dishonest letter falsifies the events of March 20 last year by completely omitting the fact that the *ILWU longshoremen and clerks shut down every port in the San Francisco Bay that day*. Instead he turns this solidarity strike into a "Redwood City march" led by "we militants." So what about the over 1,000 dockers that ILWU Locals 10 and 34 called out, who rushed down to Redwood City where they broke through the gates of Crowley's strikebreaking operation and drove the scabs off the pier? It was that exercise of union power that "electrified the Bay Area labor movement," not some mythical "march" led by the likes of Jack Heyman.

In fact, in his election brochure and a leaflet at the end of the strike (titled "Shut Down Port") Heyman keeps pushing his lying version of March 20 which disappears the Bay Area-wide port shutdown (although he mentions the 1978 Seattle ferry strike and port shutdown and the 1983 Levin Terminal shutdown in the Bay Area). Why such a blatant rewriting of a key event which every Bay Area ILWU and IBU member is well aware of? This goes beyond egocentrism. You see, the March 20 longshore action had been declared "illegal" by an arbitrator, and as an aspiring "labor leader" Heyman abides by the legal cretinism of the labor bureaucracy and their sleazy lawyers. For the labor fakers, if a union action isn't okay by the contract, you can't say it happened. For example, in 1984 when San Francisco longshoremen boycotted a ship containing South African cargo, Heyman and his friends in the Bolshevik Tendency called the SL "finks" for supposedly giving "evidence" to the company of an "illegal" work stoppage when we discussed the longshore boycott as an important example of union action. Since the contract doesn't permit political strikes, Heyman wants us to lie by denying what happened. This is called playing by the bosses' rules, which leads to defeated strikes, and worse.

If Heyman can so shamelessly disappear a major class confrontation like the port shutdown, even long after the fact, merely to abide by bureaucratic rules of contractual legality, then he clearly is not interested in class struggle in the first place. In fact he used the IBU strike and his role on the strike committee as a vehicle for his election campaign for union president.

Take a second pivotal event in the tug strike, the unloading of three scab barges which were left stranded in Redwood City. The maritime bosses and their labor flunkeys wanted this symbol of the power of labor solidarity removed before the pending expiration of the longshore contract. So using a phony story of removing a container of military cargo, Herman and Liddle agreed to allow one of the barges to be moved to Oakland and ordered longshoremen to work it. Instead of forcing the issue by throwing up pickets, which the unhappy longshoremen would gladly have honored, Heyman dropped by for ten minutes to *watch them work the cargo*. We nailed him for this at the time:

> "And the 'militant' head of the IBU strike committee, Jack Heyman, was there to 'observe,' bowing to the rotten deal to unload the 'military cargo' from struck barges! The very next day Heyman cynically lectured the shipyard workers to 'defy injunctions'."
>
> —"For a Bay Area Waterfront Strike," *WV* No. 426, 17 April 1987

Interesting that he doesn't include this in his purported "web of lies."

Soon all three barges had been moved out of the Bay. When we heard Crowley was going to move the containers still left on the pier in Redwood City, on June 3 our reporter called Jack Heyman. When we asked if he knew what was going on, Heyman sarcastically replied: "What am I supposed to do, shut down the port for 33 containers?"

On June 4, we sent a *WV* reporting team down to Redwood City, where they saw no pickets and the containers being driven away by non-union (scab) drivers. Later, in his election brochure,

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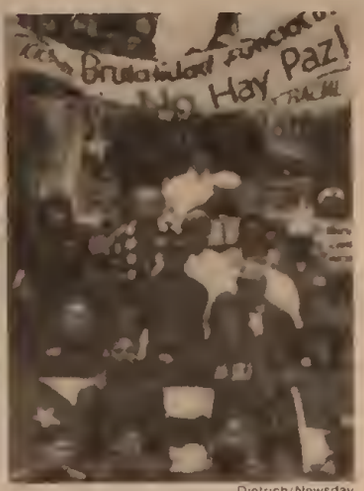
# NYPD: Dial 911 for Murder

More than 1,200 angry demonstrators marched through Brooklyn on February 20 to protest the racist murder of Juan Rodriguez, who was savagely beaten to death *in his own bed* on January 30 by four New York City cops. The police say that the 40-year-old Dominican "stopped breathing" in the ambulance on the way to the hospital and died of cardiac arrest. On the advice of their "union," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, the cops gave no further details. But the report of the NYC medical examiner's office, held up for three weeks pending release of the NYPD report, found that Rodriguez' death was due to "severe injuries in the head, the body and the extremities, received during a confrontation with the police while his hands were handcuffed behind his back," said Ellen Borakove, spokesman for the coroner's office (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 21 February).

The march, which took place the day after the report confirmed that Rodriguez died of the brutal beating, began with about 600 people, doubling in size as it wound for two and a half hours through the predominantly Hispanic areas of Bushwick and Williamsburg (Los Sures). Cheering onlookers lined the streets and applauded from windows and rooftops. The marchers were silent as they passed the building where Rodriguez had lived with his wife and three children. When the demonstration reached the approaches to the Williamsburg Bridge leading to Manhattan, the way was blocked by riot cops and 25 police cars with sirens wailing as an NYPD helicopter circled overhead. Pointing to the cops, many in the crowd began shouting "*Asesinos!*"

It all began when a neighbor dialed "911" to say that Rodriguez was banging on doors of his apartment building. He was distraught over the recent death of his mother. By the time the cops came, he was back in his own apartment, where the neighbors last saw him praying. The next time they saw him, he was being carried out, covered with blood, and looked like he was already dead. Blood spattered the walls of his room, but most of the blood was on his bed. It would have been another racist execution duly declared "within police guidelines," but the Rodriguez family arranged for a private autopsy, including a videotape which even the *New York Post* (17 February)—hardly a foe of the police—said showed Rodriguez' body "riddled with bruises and wounds from head to toe." The NYPD gives no quarter, especially if you're black or Hispanic.

El Diario/La Prensa




Dietrich/Newsday

**Juan Rodriguez (above, in Santo Domingo). Brooklyn, February 20, over 1,200 protest NY cop killing of Rodriguez.**

Koch took out a full page ad in the *New York Times* (29 February) demanding cutoff of foreign aid to all "drug source" countries. But Koch's killer cops are among the biggest drug pushers in the city. The handful of cops from Brooklyn's 77th Precinct charged with taking payoffs, robbing pushers and reselling their drugs, are just the tip of the iceberg. Last month four cops from the 106th Precinct (Ozone Park), including the "integrity officer," were found guilty of beating black 34-year-old Everton Evelyn and torturing him with a 40,000-volt "stun gun." This wasn't just another case of police brutality. The cops thought Evelyn was a dealer, and they demanded his take.

Meanwhile, the police stomp through the ghettos and barrios like an occupying army. No wonder many black and Hispanic New Yorkers cheered on March 3 when a Bronx jury (of seven blacks, three Hispanics, one Asian and one white) acquitted Larry Davis of all charges in the killing of four alleged drug dealers in 1986. Attorney William Kunstler argued that Davis, who was about to blow the whistle on the cops' drug trade, was set up to justify the massive police raid three weeks later, from which Davis emerged unharmed after plugging six cops in self-defense. After he evaded a police manhunt for 17 days, Davis became known as the "dude that elude."

Taking their cue from Koch and the cops, white racist mobs are increasingly emboldened. On March 3 in the Bronx, three white men carrying a baseball bat and tree limb approached a black woman on the street, demanding sex. When she refused, they beat her with the bat. Then these racists attacked a group of people waiting at a nearby bus stop, clubbing them, robbing one black man, breaking both arms of a black woman and splitting the head of a Hispanic man. Racist killers, in and out of uniform, are on the loose in NYC. Who can stop them? The situation cries out for a massive mobilization of labor and minorities in this city to stop this racist terror now! The working class must neither forgive nor forget the killers of Juan Rodriguez. ■

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Heyman would complain that IBU president Liddle & Co. made "back door deals" like "releasing scab containers." But at the time, when the back door deals were being implemented, Heyman was part of those deals and acted as a cover for the bureaucrats' treachery.

Heyman says he was "determined to fight to the bitter end." In fact, the closer it got to the end of the isolated and demoralized IBU strike, the more he was driven to deceive the people who had put their trust in him. His flimflam over what happened during the strike's last gasp proves it. Heyman was there when the ILWU Local 10 executive board met on October 6. He *knew* from the start that the motion for a "port shutdown" was simply a piece of paper—to be referred to an October 15 local meeting, *after Crowley's return-to-work-or-be-fired ultimatum expired.* How can you say the motion was "suppressed," he squeals, since I raised it at the October 12 IBU meeting? Yet it wasn't the tug strikers who could shut down the port, but the ILWU. And Heyman's quote from *WV* drops the key next sentence: "Neither longshoremen nor clerks knew anything about it." His own "Shut Down Port" leaflet was *nowhere to be seen—at the longshore pay lines, at the dispatch hall or on the SF docks.*

It's interesting that Heyman's letter to *WV* claims his efforts to organize a port shutdown were definitively smashed on October 13 when IBU head Liddle told the ILWU Local 10 president "not to pull the port" in defense of the IBU. His election brochure makes the same claim. Yet Heyman's own "Shut Down Port" leaflet had datelined October 8 the story of a telegram from Liddle to Lucas conveying this instruction. Why the five-day sleight of hand, except to hide the fact that Heyman knew, at the time he got his motion for a port shutdown passed at the IBU meeting, that the bureaucrats were agreed and nothing was supposed to happen?

Heyman's talk of "mustering support" meant a few conversations "at the top" with the bureaucrats about joining a march and rally. Word of the motion was suppressed because all the "insiders" like Heyman knew it was only a face-saving device that was never meant to be implemented. His call for a "port shutdown" at the IBU meeting was just a ploy, cynically raising the hopes of the desperate strikers. Heyman admits he didn't fight at the ILWU Local 10 meeting on October 15. But it was more than that: at the meeting he alibied the Local 10 tops for their refusal to do what was needed to win the tug strike from the beginning—bring out the power of the ILWU, shutting down the Bay Area waterfront until Crowley and the rest of the maritime bosses cried uncle.

The key to Heyman's deceitful behavior is political. Choosing to operate within the framework established by the union bureaucrats and to play by the bosses' rules means he has come to share key elements of their political program. Sure, he complains about them and calls them "cowards" and "dictatorial" and "liars," but he never opposes the American labor bureaucracy *politically* as legalistic, racist, anti-Soviet Cold War fanatics whose flag-waving defense of the system of capitalist exploitation is codified in their allegiance to the Democratic Party, through which they shackle the workers to the class enemy. Thus he conceals the urgent necessity of a *political* struggle against the union tops, and poses merely the replacement of the "cowardly" with the "bold."

Despite some left-sounding rhetoric, Heyman's carefully crafted election brochure is closer in spirit to the Democratic Socialists of America of Jimmy Herman. As in his denunciation, which could have been lifted from a Jesse Jackson speech, of "places like South Korea, Chile and South Africa which are low-wage havens for the international conglomerates." "Low-wage havens"? Where Marxists call for working-class struggle against capitalist superexploitation and racist apartheid in South Africa, Heyman takes up the code word of the Japan-bashing Democrats and AFL-CIO tops for their poisonous protectionism to "save American jobs." As we have repeatedly emphasized, protectionism is a prelude to imperialist war and means lining up with one's "own" bourgeoisie and their right to exploit.

Curiously Heyman seems to want the Spartacist League to attest to his "credibility and integrity" for saving the life of a fellow worker eight years ago. But when he cites this same act in his election brochure it isn't *Workers Vanguard* he quotes, but the U.S. Coast Guard, for "exemplify[ing] the highest traditions of the United States maritime profession." Is that the National Anthem we hear playing in the background?

For someone who clearly doesn't want the Spartacist League around, he complains a lot about our supposed "sectarian abstention." What he really means is the SL won't act like some social-democratic "support group" to give credibility to his fraudulent schemes. His idea of the role of a revolutionary party is not as a programmatic force inside the labor movement fighting for leadership of the proletarian vanguard, but rather as some kind of external substitute for the labor movement, for example, organizing fake demonstrations of "community groups" and students to "stop" longshoremen from handling South African cargo, to avoid going up against the union bureaucrats in a fight for *union action.*

But mainly Heyman wants to keep up his anti-Spartacist credentials to stay in the good graces of the anti-Soviet social-democratic popular-front swamp that is his normal habitat. ■

## San Francisco: "Scabs Out!"

WV Photo

**SAN FRANCISCO, March 7—Five thousand angry Bay Area union construction workers demonstrated at SF's Moscone Center where the scabherding Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC) were holding their national convention. Union bureaucrats did their best to quash militancy, shouting, "Let the buses through!" But the ABC buses—and some of the participating union-busters themselves—received a richly deserved pelting with eggs and tomatoes. As some of the demonstrators' signs read, "San Francisco is a union town!" We say: Labor's gotta play hardball to win!**

# Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust

*This is the second in a three-part series on "market socialism" in East Europe. The first part (WV No. 444, 15 January) dealt with the bankruptcy of the Yugoslav model of "self-management."*

*PART TWO OF THREE*

Burdened by massive debts to Western banks, much of East Europe is now racked by economic crises. In Romania buildings are kept so cold, due to shortages of electricity, that musicians perform concerts with gloves on. Last November thousands of workers from the Red Star truck factory in Brasov marched through the industrial city protesting a 50 percent wage cut and shortages of just about everything. They stormed the mayor's office, tore down portraits of Romanian Stalinist despot Nicolae Ceausescu and burned official papers in the town square. In Poland new economic "reforms" introduced by the Jaruzelski regime will increase the cost of living by 200 percent over the next few years. Even Hungary, not long ago held up as the economic showcase of East Europe, is facing ever more austere austerity.

Visiting Budapest last spring, the number two man in the Kremlin, Yegor Ligachev, stated that the Soviet leadership "highly respected" Hungary's economic policies and declared: "We are facing similar economic problems and are progressing down a similar path...." Five years ago Alec Nove, a leading Western expert on the Soviet-bloc economies, wrote: "Hungary's experience shows clearly both the advantages and the difficulties which follow from an attempt to introduce what can be called 'market socialism.' On balance the positive features seem to predominate...."

The alleged advantages of "market socialism" certainly do not predominate today. Hungary has been economically stagnant for a decade and is now saddled with the *highest* per capita foreign debt in East Europe. Under pressure from Western bankers, the Budapest Stalinists have been imposing increasingly severe hardships on the working people. Last summer the prices of bread, fuel oil, electricity and other necessities were raised 20 percent, and on New Year's Day Hungarian citizens were greeted with a consumption (value-added) tax and an income tax, the first ever in the Soviet bloc. Most Hungarians already work at two or more jobs just to make ends meet. Now, a top official of the finance ministry projects that 200,000 workers will be laid off under a new bankruptcy law designed to shut down unprofitable enterprises.

The austerity programs have hit hardest at the working class, while a new class of petty entrepreneurs has been enriching itself through the increasing privatization of the economy. Reportedly handbills spread in Budapest and the industrial center of Szombathely last year warn, "If you raise the prices, we'll burn down the factories!" Hungary's new prime minister, Karoly Grosz, admits:

> "The public mood is deteriorating as the living standards of a considerable strata of society have stagnated over the last years and even decreased for a not negligible section of society.
> "Confidence in the leadership has dwindled and sometimes the viability of socialism is put in doubt."
> —*New York Times*, 17 September 1987

Eastfoto Photos

**Petty capitalism undermines Hungary's socialized economy: speculators trade bonds of state-owned enterprises (above). Liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar (below) tells Hungarian workers austerity lies ahead.**

The era of "goulash communism" associated with the long reign of Janos Kadar, installed after the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, has been played out. Conditions are rapidly building toward a major social crisis, pitting the working class and its allies against the growing milieu of petty entrepreneurs, pro-Western intellectuals and elements of the ruling bureaucracy.

### From Horthy to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution

The contemporary Hungarian state was born out of the disintegration of the ramshackle Habsburg Empire with its defeat in World War I. Following the bloody suppression of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic in early 1919, the country came under the fascistic dictatorship of Admiral Horthy for the next quarter century. In the 1930s the Horthy regime aligned itself with Nazi Germany, and the Hungarian Arrow Cross fought alongside the Waffen SS when Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa against Russia in 1941.

The Third Reich was destroyed four years later as the Soviet red flag and hammer and sickle was raised over the Reichstag in Berlin while Hitler committed suicide in his bunker. In 1945 the Soviet Red Army also liberated Hungary from the nightmare of fascism. A few years later, reacting to the Cold War pressure of U.S. imperialism, the Stalinists carried out in East Europe a *deformed social revolution from above*.

The deformations were especially marked in Hungary. The regime of arch-Stalinist Matyas Rakosi was exceptionally bloody, including toward fellow Communists, even by the standards of what was later euphemistically called "the era of the cult of personality." Economically, the Rakosiites pursued an extreme version of Stalinist autarky, vowing to make Hungary "a country of iron and steel." Massive, unbalanced investment in heavy industry—*90 percent* of all investment—drove down the living conditions of both workers and peasants.

The post-Stalin "thaw" in the Soviet Union cracked the totalitarian police-state apparatus which protected Rakosi and his cohorts. In October 1956 a popular uprising broke out against this universally hated regime. This was a bona fide proletarian political revolution. The main force in the revolution was workers councils, usually led by anti-Rakosi Communists. To be sure, the insurgent workers and radical intellectuals were by no means free of liberal and especially nationalist prejudices and illusions. But the clericalist-Horthyite counterrevolutionary forces around Cardinal Mindszenty were relatively small and widely despised.

The workers were fighting for a democratic, socialist Hungary. Likewise, the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals declared: "Factories and land are to remain the people's property and nothing is to be given back either to capitalists or big landowners." The Kremlin leaders sent the Russian army in to crush the Hungarian workers' uprising not only to restore bureaucratic rule in that country but also to prevent political revolution from spreading to the rest of East Europe and into the Soviet Union itself, where the political order had just been shaken by Khrushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin's crimes. (For a Trotskyist analysis of Hungary 1956, see "Political Revolution in Hungary—Ten Years After," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966.)

### Introduction of the New Economic Mechanism

Following the suppression of the revolution, the Kremlin installed in power the liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar, who had been imprisoned and tortured under Rakosi. After an initial period of repression, Kadar set out to gain popular acceptance or at least tolerance for his regime. In the early 1960s he cautiously liberalized political and intellectual life. But the main thrust of Kadar's program was to redirect investment so as to rapidly raise consumption levels. Khrushchev himself welcomed Kadar's "goulash communism" for restoring social stability in Hungary.

By the mid-'60s it was becoming harder for the Hungarian bureaucracy to come up with ever more goulash. The economy was running into a labor shortage (as the Soviet Union would a decade later), thus blocking the traditional Stalinist path of extensive growth. To keep living standards rising, it was necessary to significantly increase labor productivity. The only way to do this in short order was to import from the West capital equipment embodying advanced technology. But to import more from the West, Hungary had to export more to the West.

Unlike the Soviet Union and Poland,

Hungary's exports to the West were not raw materials dug out of the ground like oil and coal. Nor did it produce an agricultural surplus capable of financing its imports. In the 1960s (as well as today) about 80 percent of Hungary's exports consisted of machinery, manufactured consumer goods and semi-processed goods. That is, Hungary had to *compete* with Western and Japanese manufacturers in Western markets. It was shackled in this competition by poor quality goods, limited assortment, and inflexibility in changing output and prices to meet shifting demands.

The New Economic Mechanism (NEM), introduced in 1968, was designed primarily to better mesh Hungarian industry with the demands of the West European Common Market. Centralized planning and management was effectively scrapped. Enterprise managers were free to determine output and set prices. Profitability became the main criteria for managerial success, advancement and income. Workers' incomes were also tied to their enterprise's profits.

This profit sharing was, of course, rather unequal. The workers' attitude toward the New Economic Mechanism was captured in a joke making the rounds of Hungarian factories in the early '70s. Kadar visits a factory and asks the manager: "Have you had a bonus under the economic reform, and what have you done with it?" Reply: "I bought a country cottage, and the rest of the money I put in the savings bank." He asks the chief engineer the same question. Reply: "I bought a car, and the rest of the money I put into the savings bank." Finally Kadar asks a worker. Reply: "I bought a pair of shoes." Kadar: "And the rest of the money?" Worker: "The rest of the money I had to borrow from my mother-in-law."

Working-class discontent was not limited to retailing jokes in the factory cafeteria. Opposition to the New Economic Mechanism made itself felt even through the rigidly bureaucratized trade unions, and this limited the scope of the "reforms." Higher taxes were imposed on more profitable enterprises, thus narrowing the income differences between workers in different enterprises. All workers were guaranteed a minimum wage, to be paid for if necessary out of the central government budget. Enterprises making losses were not allowed to go bankrupt but either merged with profitable ones or were subsidized by the state treasury. Thus, working-class pressure forced the Kadar regime to retain critical *elements of economic centralization*, much to the dissatisfaction of the advocates of "market socialism."

While working-class pressure limited income differentiation in socialized industry, the New Economic Mechanism spawned a new class of petty entrepreneurs out of which have emerged Hungary's *nouveaux riches*. Practically the entire service sector is now privatized along with much of the construction industry. According to official figures, in the mid-'80s there were almost *200,000* petty capitalists in Hungary (*not* including cooperative farmers). Close to half had annual incomes between twice and six times that of the average worker. These official figures grossly understate the actual extent of private wealth, since there is a huge volume of illegal (untaxed) transactions.

### The Boom-Bust Cycle, Hungarian Style

In its first years the New Economic Mechanism seemed to be wildly successful. A top official of the National Bank of Hungary, Janos Fekete, later wrote: "The performance of the Hungarian economy improved spectacularly after 1968. We had six golden years..." (*Back to the Realities* [1982]). As events would soon show, the first golden years had little to do with the virtues of "market socialism."

Easlfoto

**Icarus bus factory in Budapest. Western bankers are now demanding massive contraction of Hungary's state-owned industry.**

The Kadar regime stepped up its industrial exports to the Common Market at a time when the West European economy was experiencing an inflationary boom. At the same time, the Hungarian economy was being *subsidized by the Soviet Union* through cheap oil and other raw materials which East Europe got at well below world market prices. Two American experts on the subject, Michael Marrese and Jan Vanous, calculated that Soviet trade subsidies to Hungary between 1968 and 1974 amounted to almost $2 billion. This happy state of affairs would not last long.

As in the case of Yugoslavia, Hungary's current economic crisis has its origin in the 1974-75 world capitalist depression precipitated by the quadrupling of oil prices engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel. World trade in machinery and consumer goods declined, industrial and agricultural protectionism increased in the West, and the world market price of manufactures fell sharply relative to raw materials.

At the same time, the Kremlin tops, faced with a slowdown in the Soviet economy, decided they could no longer afford to sell oil to their East European allies at little more than a third of what they could get on the world market. In 1975-76 the Soviets raised oil prices to East Europe about 70 percent, and also cut back their oil and natural gas shipments to East Europe, thus forcing Hungary to buy some of its fuel from the Seven Sisters/OPEC bandits. Overall during the 1970s, lower export prices and higher import prices cost Hungary the equivalent of *one year's total output*.

Had Hungary been a capitalist market economy, it would have experienced an acute economic crisis in the late '70s. Wages would have been cut to make exports more competitive; unprofitable enterprises would have been shut, producing large-scale unemployment; prices would have risen to reduce imports and free up more goods for export. But none of these things happened. Investment continued to expand, living standards continued to rise.

How was Hungary able to achieve this? Increasingly, both enterprise investment and wage increases were financed by the state treasury. The higher cost of fuel and raw material imports was offset by price subsidies. By the mid-1980s enterprise and price subsidies took up *one-quarter* of the total government budget. But where did the Kadar regime get these funds? It borrowed them from the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt *Börse*. Hungary's foreign hard-currency debt increased *ninefold*, from $1 billion in 1970 to $9 billion in 1980. Doubtless, the Budapest regime was hoping for a return to the favorable international economic conditions of the late '60s-early '70s.

But the second oil-price shock in 1979 finally convinced Kadar & Co. they were living on a costly illusion. Their answer was austerity. Under siege by Western financiers, Hungary negotiated a settlement in 1982 through the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF's terms: scrap enterprise and price subsidies; shut down unprofitable firms and operations; impose heavy taxes on consumption; increase the role of private capital in the economy.

The most ominous development in recent years is the degree to which petty capitalism has undermined the socialized economy. Factory managers routinely contract out maintenance, repair and small-scale construction to private outfits. Even socialized medicine is becoming *un*socialized as doctors demand under-the-table cash payments for decent treatment. "We have set up a 'free' health service, but to have a baby in comfort it can cost a month's wages," a Budapest lawyer complained (London *Guardian*, 30 December 1986). Last November Hungary experienced a mini financial crash when speculators dumped the bonds of state-owned enterprises in order to hoard consumer goods, anticipating a sharp price rise. And now they're talking about selling shares in state-owned enterprises to the public.

More than any other East European country, Kadar's Hungary has geared its economy to the Western market and so has imported the boom-bust cycle inherent in capitalism. The present austerity is the direct outcome of 20 years' increasing commercial and financial dependence on the West. And the imperialist economic penetration of Hungary has now acquired a political dimension.

### Before the Storm

Hungary's *nouveaux riches* entrepreneurs and their Western imperialist godfathers have found political and ideological support among the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Leszek Balcerowicz, a leading "theorist" at the official State School of Planning (!), openly calls for the restoration of capitalism:

> "The dream of an economic system better than capitalism is dead. There is no third way, no model between Stalinism and capitalism that works well. The only reasons to stop short of returning to capitalism are pragmatic—and political."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 6 April 1987

By "pragmatic and political" reasons for not returning to capitalism Balcerowicz means fear of the Soviet army.

The Western imperialists are beginning to see in Hungary the preconditions for counterrevolution—a Stalinist regime bankrupt politically as well as financially, popular disillusionment and discontent with "official socialism," a large class of petty capitalists, aggressively and openly pro-Western intellectuals. Looking at Hungary's economic crisis, the *New York Times* (4 January) writes: "Mr. Gorbachev's nightmare is the kind of crisis that rocked Poland in 1981, when the political troubles surrounding the independent Solidarity trade union were aggravated by a severe shortage of foreign exchange that rendered the country, for all practical purposes, bankrupt."

There is, indeed, a certain parallelism between developments in Hungary and Poland. In 1956 Poland stood on the brink of a proletarian political revolution, and in 1970 a workers' revolt in the Baltic ports toppled the Gomulka regime. To assuage working-class unrest the liberal Stalinist regime of Eduard Gierek, like Kadar in Hungary, promised and initially delivered a rapid rise in consumption levels. When international economic conditions turned sour in the mid-1970s, Gierek and Kadar mortgaged their respective countries to Wall Street and the Frankfurt *Börse*. Then came the day of reckoning when the imperialist loan sharks demanded

*continued on page 8*

Der Spiegel

AP

**1956 Hungarian uprising topples hated Stalinist regime. Workers councils vowed to defend collectivized property.**

# "Goulash Communism"...

*(continued from page 7)*

their pound of flesh.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Hungary and Poland in the consciousness of the working class and the lines of social polarization. In Poland the powerful Catholic church (which in Hungary is fairly weak) was socially based on the smallholding peasantry. In the mid-'70s pro-Western, social-democratic intellectuals like Jacek Kuron subordinated themselves to the church hierarchy and became agents of Cardinal Wyszynski and Pope John Paul Wojtyla within the working class. Thus, Solidarność was born in 1980 with a clerical-nationalist ideology and a year later demanded "Western-style democracy," i.e., capitalist counterrevolution. Fortunately, Solidarność' bid for power was stopped by General Jaruzelski's countercoup in December 1981. Since then the Solidarność leadership has openly called for restoring capitalism (see "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986).

Kadar's Hungary, however, has polarized along very different lines. The workers have been hostile to the New

**Hungarian bureaucrats appeal to the Western capitalists for joint ventures.**

Economic Mechanism from its inception. They despise the pro-Western intellectuals, like Tibor Liska, who are the most ardent advocates of "market socialism." And they hate the wheeler-dealers who are growing rich off the NEM. Hungarian workers are not only hostile to the petty capitalists in their own country but also to the imperialist financiers whom they rightly see as the main architects of the economic crisis. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 November 1986) observed:

> "Their workers, who have gained the least from liberal reforms, stand to lose most from an industrial shakeout....
> "If the government charges ahead, it could face trouble from its workers. If it doesn't, the trouble may come from another quarter: the capitalist banks to whom Hungary owes billions of dollars."

This mouthpiece for Wall Street here accurately conveys the *bonapartist* role of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a social stratum balancing between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In Hungary today the Stalinists' balancing act is tottering and could well crash. The situation is becoming ripe for a proletarian political revolution. What is lacking is a Trotskyist vanguard party which can channel the workers' instinctive opposition to "market socialism" into a struggle for soviet power and socialist planning.

In one sense the absence of proletarian leadership is more striking today than in 1956. Then the workers councils were typically led by dissident Communists, many of whom were groping toward an authentic Marxist program. Today a working-class revolt in Hungary would be anarchic and spontaneous. But the workers cannot take power through a spontaneous uprising. They must be led by a party which knows where it is going—toward an international socialist order. For Hungary cannot exist as an island of workers power and socialism amid a Europe divided between imperialist capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy. For communist unity against imperialism, through political revolution from Budapest to Moscow and Peking, and socialist revolution in the capitalist West!

Der Spiegel

**East German Stalinist chief Erich Honecker (left) with West German chancellor Helmut Kohl. Bonn's Ostpolitik aims to subvert East German deformed workers state.**

## The East German Key

The natural bridge between political revolution in Stalinist East Europe and socialist revolution in imperialist West Europe is East Germany, a deformed expression of proletarian power in the divided industrial heartland of Europe. There is another reason that East Germany (officially the German Democratic Republic [DDR]) stands out in present-day East Europe. It has far and away the most successful economy in the Soviet bloc, especially in the 1980s, and is the only major country that hasn't tried to reform away centralized planning and management.

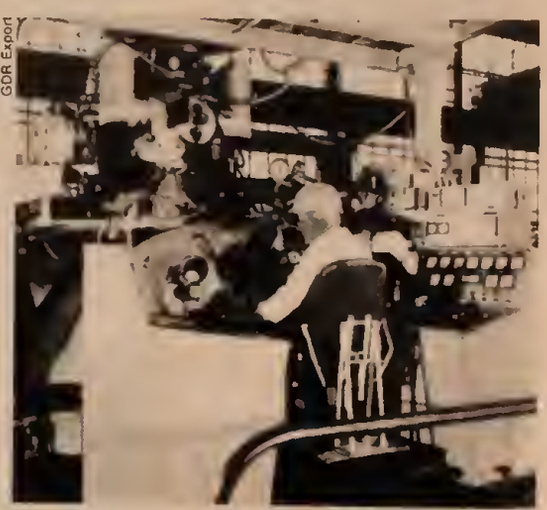
East Germany has become the tenth leading industrial country in the world with a per capita national income higher than Britain or Italy. Nor has its economic growth been the one-sided expansion of heavy industry characteristic of the Stalin era. In 1960 only 3 percent of East German families had automobiles and less than 10 percent had refrigerators or washing machines. Today about half of all East German households have cars and practically everyone has refrigerators, washing machines and televisions. The DDR's impressive industrialization and growth in living standards was achieved *without* recourse to the much-vaunted market-oriented "reforms" touted by bourgeois ideologues, social democrats and liberal Stalinists.

In the mid-1960s the East Berlin Stalinists did introduce a program of marketed-oriented "reforms" called the New Economic System. The results were not to their liking. The partial decentralization of investment, geared to enterprise profitability, produced imbalances and bottlenecks throughout the economy. Manufacturing output increased twice as fast as the generation of electrical power, leading to numerous power cuts and brownouts. So in 1970 the New Economic System was scrapped and the economy was *re*centralized. The role of enterprise profitability was *de*-emphasized, especially in determining the distribution of investment funds.

Seeking to overcome the bureaucratic rigidity of traditional Stalinist planning, during the 1970s the East German economy was divided into *Kombinate*, huge, vertically integrated groups of enterprises. These amount to relatively self-sufficient industrial empires. In the late '70s the DDR faced the same adverse international economic conditions as did Hungary and Poland. Demand contracted in the West for its manufactured exports and their relative price fell. At the same time, the price of fuel and other raw-material imports soared. Like its counterparts in Budapest and Warsaw, the Honecker regime in East Berlin borrowed heavily from the Western bankers to maintain income levels. In fact, in 1980 the DDR's foreign debt per capita was *higher* than Poland's.

During the 1980s, however, East Germany has *reduced* its Western debt *without* an austerity program driving down living standards. The economy has continued to grow soundly, real wages have continued to improve and social programs, such as old-age pensions and maternity benefits, have continued to expand. In the face of a world capitalist depression, in the early 1980s the DDR increased its exports, predominantly manufactures, to Western markets by *60 percent!* At the same time, it *reduced* its fuel and other raw-material imports. In Western parlance this would certainly be termed an "economic miracle." How did they do it? By *concentrating investment* in new technology designed to save energy and raw material costs. Between 1980 and '83 national income increased by 12 percent as consumption of fuels and other raw materials decreased by 9 percent.

Here we encounter the striking superiority of centralized planning and management, even when bureaucratically deformed, over "market socialism." In the Hungarian and Yugoslav systems the investment funds available to a given enterprise or branch of the economy are determined primarily by its profits. Enterprises with high profits are, as a rule, those with new, up-to-date equipment. It is enterprises with old, obsolete equipment which urgently need to be retooled, and it is here that one gets the greatest improvement in productivity per forint or dinar invested. But in Hungary and Yugoslavia such unprofitable enterprises are starved for investment funds! Under "market socialism," investment is directed into areas that are *least productive* to the economy as a whole.


GDR Export

**Electron-beam multi-chamber furnace produced by LEW Kombinat. East German industry is the most technologically advanced in the Soviet bloc.**

While the East German economy has certainly been more successful than Hungary, Poland or Yugoslavia, the *Kombinat* system has produced its own distortions, imbalances and a tendency toward building bureaucratic fiefdoms. Ultimately, the East Berlin Stalinists cannot build socialism in half a country. Despite the DDR's impressive economic growth, its productivity and living standards remain well below those of West Germany, which therefore exercises a powerful counterrevolutionary pressure upon the deformed workers state east of the Elbe. The road to socialism lies neither in the bureaucratic commandism of old-line Stalinism or the market-oriented "reforms" of liberal Stalinism. That road lies through a democratically administered, centrally planned, egalitarian and *internationally* organized economy.

## For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

With few exceptions Western bourgeois economists deny any connection between East Germany's superior economic performance and its centralized

Der Spiegel

**17 June 1953—East German workers rise up against the Stalinist regime, call upon West German workers to "sweep out your crap in Bonn."**

## For Mass Labor/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists!

# Anti-Nazi Protests in West Germany

BERLIN/HAMBURG—On February 13, an 800-strong anti-Nazi protest marched to the site of a planned fascist rally in West Berlin. The demonstration was called by the Free University student government, the Alternative List, the Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime (VVN—founded by Communist survivors of Hitler's concentration camps), and the anarchist *Autonomen*. Among the participants were the SEW (West Berlin affiliate of the East German Communist party), the Kommunistischer Bund (KB) and a contingent of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.

The protest was directed against a rally called by the sinister brownshirt Republikaner, an ultraright split from Franz Josef Strauss' Bavarian Christian Social Union, together with remnants of the Nazi NPD (German National-Democratic Party). The emergence of this not-so-neo Nazi group comes in the context of armed fascist attacks on camps set up by the Kohl government for refugees seeking asylum, and racist firebomb attacks on immigrant neighborhoods.

Protest leaflets called to "stop the Nazi rally," and SEW placards proclaimed, "Nazis Out of West Berlin." However, the rally was carefully planned to end two hours before the fascist rally. Moreover, a VVN banner called for placing the Republikaner on the banned organizations list. In West Berlin this appeal to a bourgeois government is directed at the Allied imperialist occupation forces, who have in the past outlawed the Communists.

The Trotskyist contingent marched under its own banners in a united front with the VVN and the SEW, with an organized defense squad. TLD placards called for "Mass Mobilizations by Labor/Immigrants—Smash the Nazis!" "Afghanistan: Red Army Must Win!" "Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime!" "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!" and "Stop the Racist Terror Against Refugees!" The TLD chanted, "Bury Schönhuber at Bitburg!"—directed at the Republikaner's führer who gloats about his history as an SS officer in the Third Reich.

Spartakist

**TLD marches in West Berlin anti-fascist protest, February 13.**

A week later, on February 20, 400 people turned out in the Hamburg neighborhood of Wandsbek to protect a dormitory housing Third World political refugees and immigrants from an announced fascist attack. The rightist Springer press in Hamburg has tried to link this run-down building, a virtual concentration camp for those awaiting deportation, to drug trafficking. In response, skinheads and a neo-Nazi group had called for fascists from all over North Germany to attack this dormitory.

The anti-fascist countermobilization was called by a coalition similar to that in West Berlin, including the Green Alternative List, VVN and the DKP (West German Communist Party). The TLD's sign saying "Red Army Must Win in Afghanistan!" caused consternation among mullah-loving Greens, and from the platform a KB speaker incited an attack on that placard by *Autonomen* in the crowd. However, these anti-communist hooligans only managed to rip TLD signs calling for defense of immigrants! These thugs were clearly at the wrong demonstration. After this attack, a number of interested Turkish workers came over to the TLD contingent and bought copies of *Spartakist*.

planning. Instead they point to the DDR's special economic relationship with West Germany (officially the Federal Republic of Germany). East German exports to the Federal Republic are exempt from the Common Market tariffs which are levied on other East European countries, the Bonn regime has guaranteed bank loans to the DDR, etc.

But these factors *cannot* account for East Germany's economic achievements. Its remarkably successful export drive in the early 1980s was mainly directed at Western markets *other* than the Federal Republic, where the DDR enjoys no special tariff advantage. Access to Western loans cannot explain East Germany's ability to radically reduce its energy and raw-material costs per unit of production. Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia had no problems borrowing billions of deutschmarks from Frankfurt bankers, and the only result was to deepen and ultimately intensify their economic crises.

To be sure, the Federal Republic does subsidize the DDR. Through the "swing" credit, West German manufacturers and middlemen have gotten the equivalent of half a billion dollars a year subsidy from the Bundesbank in Bonn to help cover their exports to East Germany. This is in part an export subsidy for West German capitalists (i.e., a disguised form of trade protectionism). However, Bonn's special economic relationship with the DDR is not primarily a means for Ruhr industrialists to sell more machine tools or construction equipment. Its main purpose is far more sinister.

The masters of the Fourth Reich aim to subvert and undermine the socialized economy of East Germany and beyond the Oder-Neisse line (the post-WW II border with Poland), reconquering what Hitler lost when he launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union. (To this day West German publications frequently refer to the DDR as "Middle Germany"!) The ultimate aim of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* and deutschmark diplomacy is clearly perceived by the French bourgeoisie, for whom the prospect of a reunified Germany—whether capitalist or socialist—is a historic nightmare. After Honecker's triumphant visit to West Germany last fall, former French foreign minister and rabid Gaullist Michel Jobert exclaimed:

> "Germany intends to go its own way in Mitteleuropa. It is a people that thinks it can make a deal with the Soviets, relying on the economic strength of the Federal Republic to buy back its unity—in whatever form."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 14 September 1987

Meanwhile, West Germany is using that economic strength as a lever to promote and protect pro-imperialist forces within the DDR. Thus, Alfred Dregger, right-wing Christian Democratic leader in the Bundestag, stated that Bonn's economic and diplomatic concessions to Honecker were "the price for getting him to give a little more freedom to his own people" (London *Independent*, 9 September 1987). What the likes of Dregger are concerned with is freedom for the pro-Western "human rights" dissidents and "peace" movement grouped around the Lutheran church.

The Lutheran church is the only institution in the DDR that is allowed to exist to some degree independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But East Germany is not Poland. (Indeed, East Germans despised the clerical-nationalist Solidarność.) The DDR is a secularized society at its base with a socialist-minded proletariat and intelligentsia. This is not to say that East Germany is immune from the powerful pressures emanating from Western imperialism. The East German "peace" movement, several of whose members were recently arrested by the Stasi secret police and then expelled from the DDR, is in fact a channel for the introduction of social-democratic German nationalist ideology of the Green/pacifist variety.

Yevgeni Khaldei

**Red Army liberated Europe from nightmare of Nazi occupation. Soviet soldiers hoist red flag from Reichstag, Berlin, for May Day 1945.**

The West German Social Democracy (SPD) is a potent force, both ideologically and organizationally, for counterrevolution in East Germany. Social Democratic sympathies persist in the DDR, where many see the SPD as a "democratic" alternative to their own Stalinist regime. This was shown by the ecstatic welcome Willy Brandt received when he visited Erfurt in 1970. In recent years the Brandt wing of the SPD, along with its Green fellow travelers, has been the main expression of resurgent German nationalism in pseudo-leftist and pacifistic colors. The slogan of a neutral, demilitarized and reunified Germany—independent of both Washington and Moscow—is a thinly disguised call for "democratic" counterrevolution in East Germany.

In the Frankfurt banking houses, Bonn chancelleries and SPD headquarters they are planning how to regain Prussia and Saxony for "free world" capitalism. However, as the Scottish poet Robert Burns observed, "the best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley." Polls show huge majorities in both German states favor reunification. Reunification is a two-edged sword. It also has a *proletarian edge* which can sweep away the masters of the Fourth Reich and their Social Democratic lackeys. When youth in East Berlin protested last June, their cry "The Wall must go!" was accompanied by "We want Gorbachev!" and singing the *Internationale* (see "Divided Germany and Gorbachev's Glasnost," *WV* No. 438, 16 October 1987).

The sense of identity between workers on both sides of the Elbe, the widespread fear that the madmen in Washington will trigger a nuclear war beginning on German soil, can be the basis for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—socialist revolution in the West, political revolution against the Stalinists in the East. The potential for revolutionary reunification was historically demonstrated in the June 1953 East German workers' uprising. A mass meeting of metal workers in East Berlin raised the slogan of a metal workers government based on strike committees. And in the Halle train station strikers greeted travelers from the West with a banner reading, "Now sweep out your crap in Bonn—in Pankow [East Berlin] we're cleaning house."

The future of divided Germany cannot and will not be determined solely within Germany. Germany is the leader of Europe—for socialism or for barbarism. Under the Nazis, German imperialism brought to Europe the unspeakable barbarism of Auschwitz and Dachau. But if the social power of the industrial proletariat of the two Germanys is united as an axis for socialist revolution in Europe, it will find allies in the working classes from Portugal to Russia. A Soviet Germany will take its rightful place as the industrial core of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

# Dallas Protest...

*(continued from page 12)*

Thousands of uniformed cops, including contingents from all over the country, did attend.

Dallas is a seething cauldron of racial tension and the cops are stoking the flames, a law unto themselves. Police wives organized a parade in support of the local cops and 3,000 bumper stickers bearing the slogan, "Back the Blue—Stop Crime," were passed out. For several days after the cop was killed, motorists tied black ribbons to their radio antennas and turned on their headlights. An organization called "Back the Blue" was founded. The mayor, who was for a time critical of the police chief, posed for a cozy photo op with top cop Prince and affixed a "Back the Blue" bumper sticker to her car.

Headquarters of the John Birch Society and chosen site for the Republican Party's 1988 convention, Dallas lies on the edge of East Texas, historically part of the Deep South. The defining feature of the region's history is not the oil discovered there at the turn of the century, but its Confederate past of vast cotton plantations worked by black slaves. Dallas was born as a cotton trade center. Popularized by the TV soap of the same name as a city for filthy rich, white oil tycoons, Dallas is a hungry, ugly place for black people, the unemployed and those lucky enough to find work since the oil boom went bust years ago.

AP

**Loyal Garner Jr.—cops beat him to death in Texas jail for asking to make a phone call.**

The faction of the KKK that tried to strut through Dallas two weeks ago (reportedly invited by the local cops) is David White's "Invisible Empire," headquartered up North in Shelton, Connecticut. But the Klan is much at home in Texas, East Texas in particular. In the early 1980s, a faction of the Klan centered in Pasadena, a suburb of Houston, routinely attacked Vietnamese shrimpers and fishermen who had moved to the Texas coast. And more recently, Klansmen have attacked Mexican workers, joining forces with the racist *la migra* to patrol the Rio Grande border.

Last Christmas Day, 250 miles across East Texas from Dallas, a young black county worker named Loyal Garner was beaten to death by the Hemphill, Texas chief of police and two sheriff's deputies. Loyal Garner thought he had rights. He refused to take a breathalyzer test when stopped on the road by white redneck cops. When they threw him in the slammer, he asked for his right to a phone call, to call his wife. But in capitalist America, no "right" is higher than that of the police, the armed fist of the ruling class, to keep working people and minorities down. Loyal Garner is dead—and the most a local grand jury was willing to indict the cops for was violations of a civil rights statute! Finally, on March 5, in the wake of national publicity and protest, murder charges were brought against the police.

As we wrote in "Cop Terror Stalks Black America" (*WV* No. 444, 15 January):

> "But behind the hooded racist terrorists, and frequently wearing blue uniforms under their white sheets, stand the badge-toting racists who are *licensed to kill*. The Kluxers and Hitler-lovers are only the auxiliaries—the *capitalist state* is the overwhelming source of violence against black people."

The quick and decisive response by hundreds of decent people in Dallas put the lynchers on the run. The strategy of mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations has kept the fascists off the streets from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. What's needed is a revolutionary workers party fighting for proletarian power, to sweep away the racists in white sheets and blue uniforms and their capitalist masters once and for all. ■

# PDC Notes...

*(continued from page 2)*

plan to lock Pratt up for the rest of his life, using the legal technicality that his notice of appeal was filed a few days too late. The three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees now invokes this technicality more than two years after a district court judge waived the late filing.

The federal court is giving its stamp of approval to the deadly COINTELPRO conspiracy which has left 48 Panthers dead and stolen years from the lives of many like Pratt, put behind bars because they dared to stand up for the rights of black people. Meese's cronies in black robes want to bury his grotesque crimes against black militants by relegating the frame-up and now 18-year-long imprisonment of Pratt to the court archives. COINTELPRO is alive and well. Hundreds of groups, including Maryknoll nuns and the UAW, have been the subject of FBI investigations and disruptions for opposing the U.S.' dirty war in Central America. The message must be brought home that Pratt's fight for freedom and to defeat COINTELPRO is labor's fight. Freedom now for Pratt would be a blow against Reagan reaction and must be the cause of all opponents of racist capitalist injustice.

• • •

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Send a donation of $5 or more to receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1.00 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

# S.F. Racist Cops...

*(continued from page 12)*

accidentally made over police radio blew the lid off a high-level cover-up, but *the killers are still on the force and on the streets.*

The police painted a lurid picture of "5 foot 8, 190 pound" Grohse, who after "numerous" warnings "suddenly" turned, "brought the gun up in both hands" and aimed it at them "with a wild, terrifying shriek." Furious neighbors of the grieving family exposed the cops' lies. Nurse's aide Jacqueline Black saw the whole thing from her balcony. "He didn't point his gun at them. He didn't point nothing. He just turned toward them. The police shot him when he turned," she told the *Chronicle* (19 February). "They just shouted at him once.... The whole thing was over within seconds." Another lying cover-up is well under way. Down with the whitewash—*Jail the killers of Grohse and Lumpkin!*

The mayor and Board of Supervisors are now busy framing laws to ban the sale of "realistic toy guns." What disgusting crap! In this country, it's always been part of growing up for kids to play with toy guns. Since when has that been considered "probable cause" to blow kids' brains out? Aside from blaming the victim, the ominous implication is that cops have the right to shoot anyone who has a gun. Two days before Tony Grohse was murdered, actor Michael Benbrook was "fooling around" on a balcony with a water pistol shaped like a Beretta submachine gun; the SWAT team was called out and almost blew him away. The liberal establishment in San Francisco has always been pro-gun control; they want to assert the capitalist state's monopoly of armed force. But *gun control kills blacks.* It's the racist, murdering cops who should be disarmed!

A generation of black youth has been written off by this country's racist, capitalist rulers. With no jobs, no schools worth a damn, no money and no future, kids without hope deal in crack, fight gang wars and make life in the ghetto even more miserable. Capitalism can't begin to attack the root of the problem—the vicious circle of joblessness, drug addiction and crime condemning a generation to a life of despair. Instead they send in their armed thugs to terrorize the inhabitants.

Rising cop terror and impending austerity intersect a growing racial polarization in the city. The fire department has become notorious for harboring a nest of KKK-style racists, condoned and coddled by the city administration. Organized labor—powerful, integrated unions like longshore and transit—is the counterforce that could spike racist cop/fascist terror. Yet that militant class struggle has been the missing factor in San Francisco—thanks to union bureaucrats who have successfully squashed every attempt of the workers to fight the bosses in the past year, from the shipyard strike to Jimmy Herman's sellout longshore contract. In exchange, they help get Democratic "friends of labor" elected, like Herman's good buddy Art Agnos, who immediately embraces racist murderers and launches a crushing austerity drive.

Unionized black workers are the key link between the ghetto and the working class. The working class has the social power not only to stop the racist killers in blue, but to take this country and run it in the interests of working people—beginning with a massive investment of jobs, education and money to break the material chains of black oppression. To mobilize that power requires ousting the labor traitors and forging a revolutionary party. The road to black liberation from this capitalist hellhole lies through socialist revolution. ■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# Panama...

*(continued from page 1)*

began in a fascist party and who is "now known in political circles as *Lengua Negra*, or black tongue, on account of the zeal with which he is said to lick military officers' boots" (London *Independent*, 1 March).

Delvalle then called for a "general strike," certainly unusual for a Latin American president. But when the bosses' work stoppage fizzled, this champion of the "democratic" opposition called on the Yankees to put the economic stranglehold on Panama. And here they are succeeding. After Washington moved to block the Noriega regime's access to $50 million held in U.S. banks, there was a run on banks in Panama City, forcing them to shut down. Normally such a cash squeeze would be solved by cranking up the government printing presses to churn out more paper money. But the Panamanian currency, called the balboa, turns out to be the almighty greenback, adorned not with the face of the Spanish conquistador but that of Jorge Washington. That in itself is symbolic of the artificial origins of the state of Panama, created by the U.S. at the turn of the century.

### The Narco-Contras

Predictably, the kept U.S. media has been pumping out "the sordid story of how Panama's outlaw dictator sold his country to the highest bidders" (*Newsweek*, 15 February). This is just sour grapes—the U.S. never minded buying presidents and governments as long as it wasn't outbid. "We can't compete with the kind of money the Colombian dealers are offering," moaned one senior administration official to the *New York Times* (12 February). The U.S. didn't give a damn about Noriega's illegal activities so long as he was "our S.O.B.," as FDR affectionately referred to Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.

Even the *New York Times* (6 February) delicately noted the hypocrisy: "Officials in both the Reagan and Carter Administrations largely overlooked General Noriega's illegal activities because of his cooperation with American intelligence and his willingness to let the American military conduct extensive operations on his soil." But as Noriega now reveals, the White House was piqued by his refusal to go along with a December 1985 proposal made to him by then-National Security Advisor Admiral Poindexter to cooperate in an invasion of Nicaragua. Rebuffed, the admiral warned, says Noriega, of "consequences, which began in 1987."

The real story here is of the White House/gusano/contra connection, systematically covered up at every level. In 1986 two journalists, Tony Avirgan and his wife Martha Honey, filed a suit detailing the myriad activities of drug profiteers, hitmen and gunrunners, of

Guardian (London)

**Panama kingpin, General Noriega.**

# Salvador Workers Strike Against Death Squad Regime

On March 1, a death squad gunned down phone workers union member José Herbert Guardado as he was riding a bus in San Salvador. Guardado was the third member of ASTTEL (Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers Association) to be assassinated in the last three months. On March 4, Guardado's coworkers protested the murder in front of the central offices of the government telephone company. That same day 50,000 government workers held a work stoppage demanding an emergency pay increase and rehiring of fired union leaders.

The phone workers accuse phone company president Colonel Mauricio Vides Casanova, brother of the army chief of staff, of being responsible for the killing as part of a campaign of threats and terror against the union. On March 7 ASTTEL rallied and stopped work at a San Salvador phone exchange to protest the latest killing.

Since the signing of the phony Arias "peace" plan in August nearly 100 unionists, peasants and students have been assassinated or "disappeared" by government hit squads. Special targets have been members of unions which have fought militant class battles. A partial list of those recently killed includes:

• Two STISSS nurses, Lidia Esther Herrera and Victoria Canenguez, who were machine-gunned to death in an ambulance in Zacatecoluca in mid-December.

• Argelio Pérez, an ANDES teachers union member found shot to death December 12 in a middle-class suburb.

• Medardo Serafín Ayala, an ASTTEL member gunned down near his home on December 19.

• Victor Manuel Vásquez, an ASTTEL member murdered January 13 in front of his home in the working-class suburb of Mejicanos.

Comité El Salvador

**May Day 1987: Thousands of Salvadoran workers demand Duarte's ouster, oppose U.S.-imposed austerity and war.**

Threatened by the guerrilla successes and the increasing organization and strength of the union movement, the U.S. puppet government of José Napoleón Duarte has unleashed its hired guns for "free-lance" killings. In scenes reminiscent of Duarte's first term as president in the early '80s, the mutilated bodies of death squad victims have begun to turn up at the infamous Devil's Gate, a deep ravine south of the capital. On February 1 the bodies of two men and a boy were found here with their thumbs tied behind their backs.

In seven years of civil war the Salvadoran security forces, in and out of uniform, have murdered more than 62,000 civilians in an effort to drown in blood every struggle for social liberation and justice. As ASTTEL general secretary Humberto Centeno said in his greetings to a Partisan Defense Committee benefit last December, "the death squads are there in the military barracks." He cited the case of university workers union leader Salvador Ubau, kidnapped and held in the dungeons of the Treasury Police since last September despite the fraudulent "amnesty" which has freed pathological death squad assassins.

To root out the bloody Salvadoran regime and bring justice to this war-ravaged land, we fight for military victory for the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and for workers revolution throughout Central America. In the United States, the ruling class debates the wisdom of supporting the loser contras in Nicaragua, but are united in their support for the death squad "democracy" in El Salvador. Still the "solidarity movement" focuses its campaign on pressuring liberal Democrats, who have voted over $3 billion to keep their Salvadoran puppet regime above water. The American workers must be mobilized to smash the U.S. war on the embattled working masses of Central America.

*The victorious worker and peasant masses will avenge the victims of Duarte's death squad terror!* ■

Panama Canal Review

**U.S. battleship New Jersey in Panama Canal. American military still controls former Canal Zone (home of Pentagon's Southern Command), linchpin of U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America.**

top CIA operatives and generals, a cabal whose intertwined histories go back to Vietnam and the "secret war" in Laos in the '60s. These turned out to be the Secret Team operated by Oliver North out of the White House basement, arming the contras despite a supposed Congressional ban. (See "The Contra Connection," *WV* No. 411, 12 September 1986, and "Contragate Murder Plots," *WV* No. 420, 23 January 1987.)

Around the Contragate affair, a mountain of new evidence has accumulated, spelled out in a new book by CBS investigative reporter Leslie Cockburn, *Out of Control* (1987). Cockburn reports how in December 1985 one Michael Tolliver, a freelance pilot who had long worked with CIAers Shackley and Cline and was referred to by Contragate General Secord as "my man," flew a DC-6 loaded with 28,000 pounds of guns and ammunition for the contras from Miami airport to the CIA-controlled Aguacate air base in Honduras, then returned with 25,360 pounds of marijuana, offloaded it at Homestead Air Force Base in Florida, and was paid 75 grand!

Cockburn tells how Ramón Millán-Rodriguez, a Cuban gusano who was invited to the 1981 Reagan inauguration because of his large campaign contribution, "laundered a $10 million contribution from the Colombian cocaine cartel to the 'freedom fighters,' at the behest of a CIA veteran and key figure in the White House contra supply network." All this was known to the Congressional Contragate investigators. But when Millán-Rodriguez appeared before Democratic Senator Kerry's hearings last month, "the subcommittee did not pursue Mr. Rodriguez's statements about financing the contras with drug money with the help of American intelligence" (*New York Times*, 12 February). The Democrats have covered up for Reagan.

### Reagan's Panama Canal Obsession

How could Noriega *not* be involved in all these shady dealings? Illicit drug trade, in fact illicit anything, has been practically synonymous with Panama for years. It's an open secret that the country's main business, after the canal (or perhaps rivaling it), is setting up dummy corporations, providing flags of convenience for shady shipping companies, laundering money in fly-by-night banks, and so on. Just ask Colonel North, whose Contragate "enterprise" with General Secord et al. had three dummy corporations set up in Panama to funnel their dollars.

Noriega has repeatedly claimed that "The attacks on Panama are owed to the fact that there is a Southern Command, a canal, and a strategic position that the United States must abandon in the year 2000" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 February). This was simply dismissed by the imperialist press as demagogic rantings. But then the *New York Times* (7 March) printed an obviously "inspired" article alleging "Negligence Is Seen in Parts of Canal Ceded to Panama," and claiming this "raises grave doubts about its ability and willingness to run the strategic waterway impartially and efficiently and to abide by the terms of the Panamá Canal Treaties." The article is blatantly preparing the grounds for a *U.S. military intervention to "defend the canal."* As we go to press, Panama has protested new American military exercises just announced by Southcom.

During his failed 1976 presidential primary campaign, Reagan opposed any accord with Panama. "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it, and we intend to keep it," he proclaimed. Or as the Reaganite then-Senator from California, S.I. Hayakawa, put it, a bit more honestly, "We stole it, fair and square." However, the next year Democratic president Jimmy Carter signed a treaty with Panama's nationalist strongman, General Omar Torrijos, providing for a gradual transfer of the canal to Panama. The U.S. Canal Zone formally ceased to exist in 1979, but the scores of American military and intelligence installations remained. This includes the headquarters of the Southern Command, the linchpin for U.S. military operations in the Latin American "theater."

Noriega is nothing but an imperialist puppet who has slipped the reins of his puppet-masters. The Panamanian workers must sweep out the corrupt military upstarts and the traditional oligarchy, both of which are instruments of imperialist domination. As for the vital international waterway which bisects the country, the Panama Canal must be wrested from the imperialists through international working-class struggle—For a Socialist United States of Latin America! ■


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Cops Attack Anti-Klan Demonstrators

# Dallas: Integrated Protest Routs KKK

DALLAS, Texas—The racist killers in white sheets thought they could get away with marching through the streets in support of their brothers in blue uniforms who've been getting away with murder of black people in this Southern city. But on February 27, up to 600 black, white and Hispanic anti-racist protesters, some with placards reading "Police and Klan Go Hand in Hand," routed the Kluxers who intended to hold a rally in support of the local police chief who has publicly denounced an affirmative action plan imposed on his gang of racist thugs. Fred Bell, a member of the Citizens Committee for Justice, told *Workers Vanguard*, "What happened was, the Klan came down here and got their behinds kicked. The skinheads got their behinds kicked, too. They're probably not used to it."

As the *Dallas Times Herald* (28 February) reported, "The crowd was tense but peaceful until about a dozen Klan members appeared, ringed by police officers wearing helmets and holding riot batons." Young white-supremacist skinheads wearing black pants and combat boots "marched in lockstep and shouted 'Sieg Heil' and 'White Power'." But when they went beyond the police lines into the anti-fascist protesters, the crowd reacted, pummeling the skinhead creeps. The KKK bullhorn was overpowered and demonstrators charged the hooded Kluxers. AP reported that "Klansmen seeking to escape members of the hostile crowd of 200 squeezed into cars and tried to leave the scene."

The Dallas TAC squad waded in with mounted police and police dogs, clubbing demonstrators so that the Klan and the Hitler-loving skinheads could escape. The police arrested eight, including two anti-Klan protesters. As Fred Bell put it, "They barely got the Klan out of there in one piece." The anti-Klan demonstration was organized by word of mouth on just 48 hours notice. The determination of the protesters was clear even before the fascists poked their snouts out of the sewers. At a press conference preceding the demonstration, the anti-racists tore up and burned the emblems of race-terror, the Confederate flag of slavery and the Nazi swastika flag. We demand: *Drop all charges against the anti-racist protesters!*

AP

**"Skinhead" punks who attacked Dallas anti-Klan protest run out by militant demonstrators, February 27.**

### Blue Uniforms and White Sheets

Even more sharply segregated than most American cities, Dallas has become increasingly polarized along race lines. In 1986, the Dallas cops ranked *number one* among the police of the eleven largest U.S. cities in the use of deadly force—and the bodies they pump full of lead are black. Etta Mae Collins, a 70-year-old black woman, was gunned down standing in the door of her own home after reporting a burglary; 81-year-old David Horton, also black, was shot by cops at the apartment building where he served as a "crime-watch" volunteer. These hideous murders prompted the city council to pass a package of police "reforms" including what activist Fred Bell described as a "Mickey Mouse civilian review board" and the affirmative action guidelines balked at by police chief Billy Prince. But since the beginning of this year, four more Dallas residents have been killed by the cops.

On January 23, Dallas was brought to the flash point with the shooting death of a city cop by a mentally ill and homeless black man who took the cop's gun and fired, encouraged by a crowd shouting, "Shoot him, shoot him!" Black Dallas County Commissioner John Price and two other black city councilmen became the targets of death threats after the police chief obscenely accused them of being "partly to blame" for this incident because they've had the audacity to speak out against the department's systematic racism. Then the Dallas Police Association brazenly "disinvited" the mayor (a liberal Jewish woman), as well as the Hispanic and black council members, from a memorial service for the slain cop.

*continued on page 10*

## Retarded Boy Gunned Down in Cold Blood

# S.F. Racist Cops Target Minorities

SAN FRANCISCO—Two white cops shot and killed a 13-year-old kid here February 17. The "crime" of Silivelio "Tony" Grohse, a retarded Samoan teenager, was to be playing with a toy gun around the Potrero Hill projects where he lived, in a largely black area of San Francisco.

For many months, cops operating out of the Potrero police district have been sweeping the streets, reminiscent of "Operation Zebra" a decade ago, when police unleashed a "stop and search" roundup of young black males. Last year the Potrero station launched a "crackdown on crack." Along with undercover nares, 150 or more cops prowl the streets, making as many as 1,000 arrests *a week* (*Chronicle*, 20 February)! In January police recorded *three times* as many arrests as a year before. Patrol cars roll by some corners every 90 seconds. Fed up with this treatment, black youth erupted, confronting cops and stoning Muni buses. So the cops went looking for blood and shot Grohse right between the eyes, in broad daylight, in front of horrified neighbors.

After cops Janet Campbell and Michael Huddleston blew away Tony Grohse, the entire political establishment of SF rushed *to defend the killers*. "By all indications, they acted properly," said police spokesman Sgt. Jerry Senkir the day after. "The officers will be dispatched to the homicide division, with full pay, to assist in the investigation into the shooting. It is standard procedure for officers to be transferred temporarily, and it is not a punitive action." The killers have been assigned to investigate themselves! The city's newly elected "liberal" Democratic mayor Art Agnos agreed, saying, "I feel sorry for the family and I feel sorry for the police. I know what they must all be going through" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 February).

The cops say they had to blow Tony's brains out because he was a big kid playing with a "realistic" plastic toy gun. This has become the obscene standard alibi for police murder. Back in 1983, a cop in Orange County blew away black five-year-old Patrick Mason after breaking into the child's home while his mother was at work; little Patrick was playing with a toy pistol. To shut up Patrick's mother Patricia Ridge, the local D.A. then charged her with "child neglect" because she couldn't afford a baby sitter! That killer cop, one Anthony Sperl, was *rewarded* with retirement at half pay at age 24 and a *$35,000 bounty* from workmen's compensation for "psychological stress"!

Here in San Francisco, the cops who murdered Larry Lumpkin in Ingleside last year at first tried to claim the unarmed black youth had a gun as he tried to surrender. A tape of the murder

*continued on page 10*

Courtesy Steve Diamond

**Tony Grohse, 13 years old, was playing with a water pistol when racist S.F. cops gunned him down.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 449 (USPS 521) 25 March 1988


## "Rambo" Reagan Sends In the 82nd Airborne

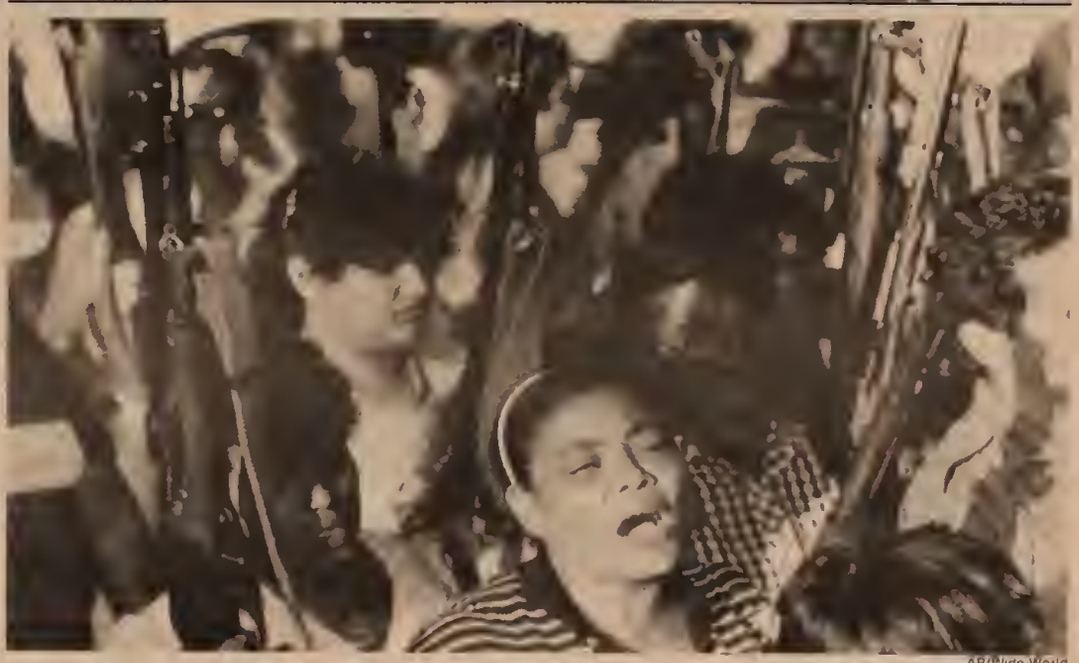
# Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

The 3,200 U.S. troops Ronald Reagan dispatched to Honduras March 16 were a big step up the escalation ladder in Central America. Inventing the pretext of a supposed "invasion" by Sandinista Nicaragua, this war move was a convenient means to distract attention from the indictments of four of the Iran/Contragate conspirators announced that same day and to stampede Congress into voting for aid to Reagan's contra terrorists. The administration's all-purpose ploy also helps undercut the Democrats' Arias "peace" plan, and perhaps a whiff of gunpowder would rally voters to the Republicans. But meanwhile, there are four battalions of the United States Army's Rapid Reaction Force (two each from the 7th Light Infantry Division and the 82nd Airborne) poised along the Nicaraguan border. They won't intimidate the Sandinistas, but they're available for whatever provocation the lame ducks in the White House dream up: a border skirmish, "restoring order" in Panama, you name it.

In the streets of America, Reagan's dispatch of U.S. troops to Honduras was met with an outburst of demonstrations (see article below). The protests were only a taste of what would happen in this country if large-scale U.S. military intervention were attempted. And they intersect divisions in the ruling class over Nicaragua. For the Democrats, it was another shootout at Credibility Gap with an administration that runs on lies. At the Pentagon, reaction was unanimously negative: one top official said, "I don't know of any military person who thinks [sending troops] is a good idea" (*Washington Post*, 17 March). The generals are still gun-shy over the U.S.' humiliating defeat in Vietnam, the liberals think Reagan's cowboy act has flopped and want to clean it up, and the reformist left tags along with their calls for a "democratic" foreign policy. In contrast, we Trotskyists seek to *smash Yankee imperialism*, calling on American workers

*continued on page 12*

### Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution!



AP/Wide World

**Nicaraguan women, arms in hand, march on International Women's Day to honor Sandinista hero Nora Astorga and defend the revolution.**

## Reagan's War Moves Provoke Coast-to-Coast Protests

WV Photo

**San Francisco, March 18—Spartacist League at the SF Federal Building protesting U.S. troops to Honduras.**

A wave of protests has swept the country against Reagan's sending U.S. troops to Honduras. Within hours, thousands of demonstrators have hit the streets, demanding "U.S. Troops Out" and "No Contra Aid" everywhere from Washington, New York and Boston through Cleveland, Minneapolis, Chicago and scores of other cities, to the San Francisco Bay Area, where angry protests have escalated daily in some of the most volatile street demonstrations since the Vietnam War. The growing Bay Area actions have been greeted by many who recall those '60s protests and today have sons or even grandsons they fear will be swept up in another bloody, losing "Vietnam." At Fort Ord, some anxious wives of the soldiers being shipped out joined pacifist demonstrators; one soldier's pregnant wife carried a sign reading "Stop the Lies."

The breadth and depth of the American population's opposition to Reagan's bloody mass murderers in Central America is clear in this instant response. And U.S. troops aren't even involved in direct combat yet—these protests are only a hint of the explosion that a direct U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would ignite. Many of the protests were organized by pacifist groups like Pledge of Resistance, and the familiar tactics of "civil disobedience" have been played out in many cities, with hundreds arrested for blocking traffic, sitting in at military recruiting stations, and so on.

*continued on page 13*

# Thatcher's Death Squads Hit IRA

## Grenade Attack on Belfast Funeral March

*The following article was adapted from* Workers Hammer *No. 96 (March 1988), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

Margaret Thatcher's Britain is carrying out a systematic policy of cold-blooded execution of Irish Catholic militants. On 6 March, three unarmed IRA members—Sean Savage, Mairead Farrell and Daniel McCann—were assassinated by British commandos in Gibraltar. Mairead Farrell, aged 31, was imprisoned for ten years from 1976 to 1986, during which time she led protests against the brutal strip searches of Republican prisoners; McCann, 30, was a leading IRA member; Savage was only 24.

Then, on 16 March, as the coffins of the murdered IRA members were being lowered into the grave, a crazed Orange fanatic rained grenades and gunfire into the crowd of thousands of mourners. Three people were killed instantly and more than 50 wounded, some critically. People scrambled to flatten themselves on the wet ground; hysterical mothers threw themselves upon their children to shield them; blood-drenched victims were thrown into cars from the funeral procession and rushed to a hospital. Hundreds of youth chased after the killer and began beating him, until Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) police arrived 15 minutes after the bombing to take him away.

By nightfall, cars, trucks and buses in Catholic Belfast were burning, as outraged youth hurled Molotov cocktails. And three days later, the funeral procession for one of those killed at the earlier funeral was itself attacked, as a car driven by two gun-wielding plain clothes British soldiers rammed into the crowd. The outraged crowd dragged the two men away and they were shortly despatched. Now the arrogant British rulers who only a week earlier assassinated the three IRAers in Gibraltar are hypocritically screaming bloody murder. Northern Ireland is on the boiling point, with the flames of anti-Catholic terror and sectarian violence being stoked by Thatcher's death squads. *British troops out of Ireland now!*

AP

**March 16—Mourners at Catholic Milltown cemetery duck for cover as crazed Orange terrorist pours gunfire and grenades into crowd, killing three.**

British intelligence in collaboration with Spanish police had McCann and Savage under surveillance for months. When, on 6 March, the IRA members parked a car and began to walk toward the border, British agents tracked them on foot and shot them to death. By Monday morning, the government's story—reported as fact in the press—was that the car contained a 500-pound bomb which had been defused by a controlled explosion and that the IRA members were "believed to be heavily armed." However, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe later announced that same day that the car did not contain a bomb at all and that "Those killed were subsequently found not to be carrying arms." In other words, it was cold-blooded murder!

The British bourgeoisie did not bother to conceal its glee over this bloody crime. Snapping to attention, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman George Robertson "congratulated the security forces" and went on to howl for more of the same. Indeed this lackey of imperialism was so eager to endorse the Gibraltar massacre that he asked Howe if he could be sure that all those in the conspiracy had been shot! The accolades to the SAS commandos are fully in keeping with Labour's pro-imperialist policies on Ireland. As *Workers Hammer* (No. 88, May 1987) wrote: "What can you expect from the party which in government sent in the troops in 1969, which enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act and unleashed the SAS killers in the mid-1970s, which obscenely told [IRA hunger striker] Bobby Sands to go ahead and die in 1981?"

But, in no small part due to their prevarication and endlessly shifting stories, Thatcher & Co. have not quite pulled this off. The press began running queasy articles like that in the [London] *Guardian* (9 March) which read: "What happened in Gibraltar on Sunday... begins to look rather less simple than it did in the headlines next morning." Through the heavy tissue of government lies it emerges that the SAS hit was a planned assassination. As the *Independent* (8 March) reported: "According to a source formerly in a key position at the Army's HQ Northern Ireland, when the SAS is committed there is normally an understanding that no prisoners will be taken."

While nothing can be believed from the lying accounts of the bourgeois press, if there is any truth to the story that the three IRA members were considering an attack on the Royal Anglian Regiment, such an attack—unlike the indefencible, indiscriminate bombing at Enniskillen several months ago—would clearly have targetted the armed forces of British imperialism which have been oppressing the Irish people. The British military installation on Gibraltar is part of a chain of listening posts operated by GCHQ at Cheltenham; the Rock itself has been tunnelled to house NATO centres and even a mock-up of Belfast side streets to provide training for British troops awaiting transfer to Ulster.

### Smash the RUC! British Troops Out of Ireland!

Two weeks to the day before the 6 March assassinations, Aidan McAnespie, a 24-year-old election worker for Sinn Fein, was shot to death by a British soldier at an army checkpoint in Aughnacloy, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland. McAnespie was on his way to buy sweets before the start of a local football match. On 5 March, the funeral for IRA veteran Brendan Burns—who was killed with fellow IRA member Brendan Moley by the explosion of their own bomb—turned into another show of British/RUC terror. The RUC charged the funeral procession with batons swinging, injuring an elderly man and three women; the Army mounted a large backup operation including two Chinook helicopters to ferry soldiers and police to the graveside. Mourners for the slain IRA member conducted the burial service surrounded by military personnel and cops in riot gear.

The recent appearance of John Stalker's book detailing his investigation into RUC shootings in 1982, his removal from that investigation and Attorney General Mayhew's announcement that there would be no prosecutions filled the press just before Gibraltar. Stalker, at the time the deputy chief constable of Greater Manchester, went to Northern Ireland in 1984 to investigate the shootings of seven Irish Catholic youth. All had been killed (except one, who was seriously wounded) within a month and in each

*continued on page 14*

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Class War Against Colonial War

*The U.S. military intervention in Central America poses the urgent need for labor action against Reagan's war moves. In 1924-26, the French government (which for a time included the reformist Socialist Party) waged a savage colonial war against the Rif guerrilla forces fighting for the independence of Morocco. The French Communist Party sought to aid this national liberation struggle by waging class war on the home front. Below is a statement summarizing the revolutionary campaign of the Communists, who raised the slogan "immediate peace with the Rif."*

Along with this slogan, the Party raised that of *withdrawal from Morocco, recognition of the Rif*, and proposed the following measures: boycott of war manufacture and transport, preparation of a 24-hour general strike, and *fraternization at the front*. The maneuvers of the Painlevé government in preparation for its offensive (the peace offer to Abd el-Krim), the passing of the Socialist Party into opposition in order to disorient public opinion, have made necessary much greater precision in explaining our slogans.

We can no longer raise the slogan of immediate peace without criticizing the imperialist peace proposed by Painlevé or the peace under a [League of Nations] mandate proposed by the Socialists. We must denounce this before the workers as two specimens of imperialist peace....

The Party has raised the slogan of *a 24-hour general strike*. It never thought that out of this strike, of greater or lesser magnitude, could miraculously come a definitive peace or revolution. There must be no illusions in this respect.... The 24-hour general strike was a demonstration of the proletariat's desire for peace. It was an initial blow, nothing more, but also nothing less, struck against French imperialism.

After the general strike, the protests by the proletariat must continue through the boycott of war manufacture and transport....

—*Cahiers du Bolchévisme* No. 30, 1 November 1925,
reprinted in Jacob Moneta, *Le PCF et la question coloniale, 1920-1965* (1971)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**
**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 449** **25 March 1988**

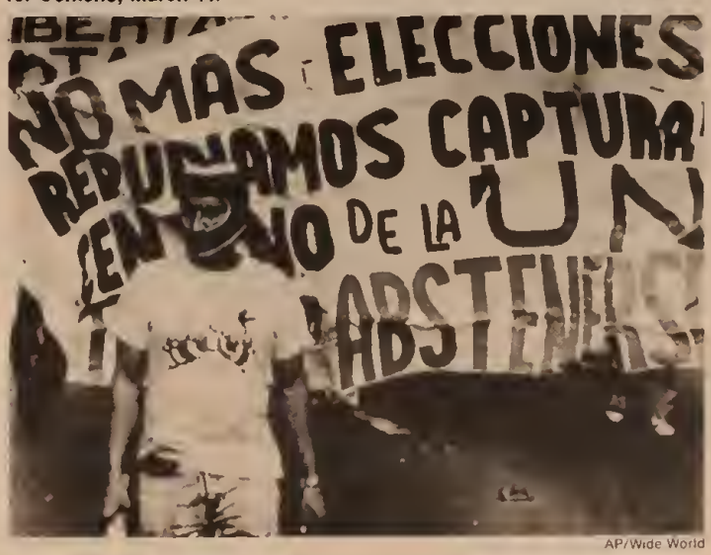
## Salvadoran Union Leader Kidnapped by Death Squad Regime

# Labor Solidarity Frees Humberto Centeno

*When Salvadoran trade-union leader Humberto Centeno was seized and savagely beaten by government troops on March 10, it touched off a wave of international labor protests. The Partisan Defense Committee had already aided in publicizing the plight of Centeno's two sons, who had been kidnapped and held in Duarte's dungeons. Upon learning of his arrest, the PDC mobilized immediately, and within a few hours contacted several dozen unionists around the country. We print below the PDC statement issued upon Centeno's release.*

Charles Kernaghan

**Humberto Centeno (center) visits his two sons Jaime and José in prison, 1987. Below: Militant workers march in San Salvador demanding freedom for Centeno, March 11.**




AP/Wide World

We have learned from San Salvador that at 11:30 a.m. today trade-union leader Humberto Centeno was released by the notorious Treasury Police to the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). His union brothers are now protecting Centeno in the Diagnostic Center hospital where he remains in stable but serious condition as a result of the brutal beating he received during his arrest on Thursday evening, March 10.

In response to the vicious assault on Centeno, Salvadoran workers mobilized in militant protest. There was also an immediate outcry of protest internationally, expressing the revulsion of working people and others who are fed up with the terror regime which has piled up mountains of corpses of their class brothers and sisters in El Salvador.

The Partisan Defense Committee holds the Salvadoran government of President José Napoleón Duarte and his U.S. government godfathers responsible for this atrocity. We hail the freeing of Centeno as a signal victory for international labor defense, while calling for continued vigilance against the death squads in and out of uniform.

Humberto Centeno is a leader of the UNTS, the principal labor federation of the country, and general secretary of the Association of Telecommunications Workers of El Salvador (ASTTEL). He and his family have suffered beyond measure from the bloody Duarte torture regime: in November 1985, his two sons José and Jaime were kidnapped, tortured and jailed for two years.

In the Thursday attack Centeno was traveling with an American delegation to the Ministry of Labor where union representatives were surrounded by several hundred government soldiers. The bus was stopped by Air Force troops, Centeno was singled out and repeatedly kicked and punched, receiving numerous blows to the head and neck, thrown onto the floor of a truck and driven off. Troops forced the other unionists back into the bus, and then fired their weapons, wounding four.

Upon learning of Centeno's arrest the Partisan Defense Committee mounted an emergency international protest campaign. The PDC issued a statement demanding his immediate release, declaring:

> "The utterly legitimate social struggles by phone workers and other unions are the source of social betterment for El Salvador. The attack against the workers leader Humberto Centeno raises the lunar vista of gullies full of victims of the death squad.... In this land where murder has begotten murder, instead of killing these leaders, as has been done to hundreds of Salvadoran workers leaders before them, as well as the Archbishop Romero, listen to the voices of the exploited and oppressed."

A PDC delegation went to the Salvadoran consulate in New York with the protest, which was also delivered to the San Francisco consulate and Salvadoran embassy in Washington, and telegraphed to President Duarte and the American Embassy in San Salvador.

The New York delegation included present and former telephone unionists and a spokesman for the Spartacist League. The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the SL. The PDC also alerted trade unionists, parliamentarians, human rights organizations and others in Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Australia.

Across the U.S. there were protests. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) called demonstrations in New York, Washington and San Francisco. SF mayor Art Agnos called the Salvadoran consulate on behalf of Centeno. The ASTTEL Support Project of the New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador mobilized union officials to send telegrams. Together with the Salvadoran Labor Defense Network in the Bay Area they are putting together a full-page ad to be published in a San Salvador newspaper, signed by several hundred American trade unionists, protesting anti-labor repression.

The PDC called unions in Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. Telephone workers were among the first to respond. In San Francisco, officials of Communications Workers of America participated in the protest outside the Salvadoran consulate and signed a telegram along with 17 members of CWA locals in SF and Oakland. CWA union officials in New York and Cleveland also sent protests.

Dozens of local union leaders of the postal workers, auto workers, oil workers, municipal workers, machinists and teachers told the PDC they would send off protests immediately. Mike Olszanski, president of Steelworkers Local 1010, fired off a telegram to Duarte "on behalf of our 11,000 members."

The outpouring of condemnation was instrumental in obtaining the release of Salvadoran union leader Humberto Centeno in a single day. This is a tremendous victory for a land where thousands of trade unionists have been gunned down and "disappeared" by the "forces of order." But the bestial anti-labor repression continues. In the past three months, three ASTTEL phone workers have been assassinated, as well as teachers, nurses and other union members.

The UNTS, which brought out 3,000 workers Friday to demand freedom for Humberto Centeno, is campaigning against the "gunpoint elections" called at the behest of the U.S. as part of its counterinsurgency war on the Salvadoran working people. Under the guns of this U.S.-sponsored terror regime, tens of thousands of workers are courageously striking against the bloody Duarte regime of IMF starvation and death squad "democracy." We pledge them our militant solidarity and support. ■

WV Photos

**SL and PDC join March 11 demonstrations demanding Centeno's freedom at El Salvador consulates in New York City (left) and San Francisco (right).**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# Gorbachev's Afghan Sellout: Some Russians Say Nyet

Faced with a massive imperialist military buildup and domestic economic stagnation, the response of the Gorbachev regime has been to introduce market-oriented reforms at home while seeking to accommodate the rapacious imperialist warmongers abroad. The Kremlin's desire to get out of Afghanistan is in fact the international extension of *perestroika*, Gorbachev's policy of economic "restructuring" labeled "new thinking." Now the 1979 Red Army intervention is called a "mistake" of the "old way of thinking under Brezhnev." To be sure, it was the first time since World War II that the USSR has committed troops outside the borders of the Soviet bloc. But this was in response to the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, seeking to recover from its humiliating Vietnam debacle. In addition to Washington's arming of the Afghan counterrevolutionary *mujahedin*, 1979 was the year that NATO voted to deploy first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, only six minutes flying time from Moscow.

The stodgy Brezhnev was hardly the global class warrior he is now made out to be. The conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin simply wanted to make secure an unstable, strategically placed client state. Though this objectively opened up the possibility of a social revolution through the Sovietization of Afghanistan, almost from the outset the Kremlin tried to limit the scale of social reforms in order to conciliate the feudal opposition. Committed to its nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," the bureaucracy maintained a shamefaced silence about the Afghan war. Far from being a measure of the war's unpopularity at home, as the bourgeois press claimed, this refusal to acknowledge what many Soviet citizens rightly saw as their internationalist role in Afghanistan was deeply resented by the population at large. Popular demands were not for withdrawal, but for official recognition of the sacrifice of the sons of the Soviet Union who fell fighting in the internationalist cause.

Now that the Gorbachev regime has decided to pull out, it is actually encouraging war-weariness at home, which certainly exists. A lead article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (17 February) waxes lyrical about how "the soldiers will go back to their mothers." But pulling out of Afghanistan will *not* bring peace to the Soviet Union's southern border. Emboldened, the U.S.-backed *mujahedin* will do everything in their power to extend Islamic counterrevolution to Soviet Central Asia, with all kinds of provocations and cross-border raids.

So there is significant opposition in Russia to surrendering Afghanistan. The above-quoted *Literaturnaya Gazeta* article also hints at high-level divisions over the question: "A few of our citizens, basing themselves on statism, patriotism, an understanding of the agonies, of all the problems seizing us, 'catch out' their own state." Speculation abounds that key sections of the top Soviet leadership including former foreign minister Andrei Gromyko (known as "Mister Nyet"), KGB head Viktor Chebrikov and "hardline officers" in the military are opposed to a Soviet withdrawal. Anatoly Dobrynin, a prominent spokesman on international relations, while expressing support for withdrawal, warns that "We are not prepared to withdraw at any cost" (*Washington Post*, 21 February).

Indeed, there is clearly significant opposition at all levels of Soviet society to pulling out. The regime has been pushing withdrawal as a popular demand, yet a recent poll in Moscow found only 53 percent in favor. A survey of Soviet youth—the age group who would end up going to Afghanistan—found that almost half opposed pulling out until a stable, neutral government could be left behind, and fully two out of three people were concerned that "the Western powers want to establish control over Afghanistan in order to use it as a base against the Soviet Union." One veteran of the Afghan war, Aleksandr Simonov, warns:

> "The CIA would be a great threat. And if they deployed missiles there, I think that would be the end of everything.... "I don't think they [Soviet troops] should be pulled out, because then the throat-cutting will really begin. There will be a sea of blood and fights all over the country between different Afghan groups."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 14 February

Likewise, Victor Hirschfeld, a retired Soviet military commander, predicts, "if a bloodbath occurs after Soviet troops are brought home, people will blame him [Gorbachev]."

Contrary to the Western media and propagandists, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was generally *welcomed* by the population at large. This was especially so in Soviet Central Asia, which well within living memory had been a wretchedly backward, mullah-ridden society like Afghanistan. In the early days of the war one young student and reservist in Soviet Tadzhikistan explained, "most of them were glad to go to help—it's a very backward country and we are neighbors, after all" (*New York Times*, 11 April 1980). And today, eight years later, the *New York Times* (12 February) reports: "Several Central Asian men who had served in Afghanistan, when asked their strongest personal impressions of the war, said without hesitation that they were shocked by how poorly the Afghans lived compared with their Soviet neighbors." One of the few Soviet cities to erect a monument to a martyred veteran of the Afghan war is Dushanbe, in Tadzhikistan.

Der Spiegel

**Moscow club of Afghan war veterans with decorated veteran of World War II. Soviet soldiers are demanding official recognition for their internationalist duty in Afghanistan.**

In order to bring the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia into the 20th century—liberating women from the veil, teaching girls as well as boys to read and write, introducing modern medicine—during the 1920s the Red Army had to fight a savage war against Islamic fundamentalists, the Basmachi, similar to the Afghan *mujahedin*. Today, the Gorbachev regime not only repudiates social revolution in Afghanistan but actually *blames the civil war* there on the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) for seeking to modernize their country! Thus, Aleksandr Prokhanov, an apologist for selling out Afghanistan to the CIA-backed Islamic fanatics, argues:

> "Mistakes in the political line, incorrect formulas for directives, the spreading of socialism in such an 'un-Afghan,' 'un-Islamic' form that offended tradition, flowing over into violence and repression.
> ".. the political course of the Kabul government has repeatedly changed. State events were preceded by mullahs' prayers. The flag ceased to be red and included a green Islamic fragment. The country's star and sickle disappeared. The party stopped speaking of constructing a socialist society. And most important—the declaration of a policy of national reconciliation.
> "All this taken together permits one to say: the original aims proclaimed by the PDPA have not been achieved. If this is the case, the presence of Soviet forces in the country loses its meaning. A departure is inevitable and logical."
>
> —*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 17 February

In fact, it was the abandonment of a revolutionary *social* program which has weakened the PDPA regime. And at every step—cutting back on land reform, toning down the campaign for women's rights, restoring Islam as the state religion—*the PDPA's policies were dictated by the Kremlin*, which has held the reins of power in Kabul. More importantly, a social revolution in this profoundly backward country could *only* be introduced from without, through the agency of the Red Army. That is why a Soviet withdrawal, whatever policies the PDPA pursues, is necessarily a betrayal of the cause of social progress for the Afghan peoples. The prospect of a "future traditional Islamic, nonaligned Afghanistan" which Prokhanov holds out means a return to the dark night of medievalism.

In his attempt to prepare the Soviet population for pulling out of Afghanistan, Gorbachev has called the Afghan war a "bleeding wound," echoing imperialist propaganda that this was "Russia's Vietnam." For years the Americans have been hoping that the Soviet Union would get bogged down in a losing war in Afghanistan like the U.S. war in Indochina. The comparison is spurious: America was defeated on the battlefield by the Vietnamese workers and peasants in a *social revolution*, whereas the Soviet bureaucracy never really tried to win in Afghanistan because it refused to implement a social revolution. One bourgeois commentator recently recognized that "The Soviet army has never committed itself fully in Afghanistan" (London *Independent*, 2 March).

Furthermore, the Soviet Union shares a 1,000-mile border with Afghanistan. A U.S.-backed and fanatically anti-Communist regime in Kabul poses a direct threat to Soviet security. By contrast, the Vietnam War was an ideologically motivated anti-Communist adventure on the other side of the globe.

*continued on page 11*

Shone/Gamma-Liaison

**Soviet forces in Afghanistan display war matériel, including land mines, captured from CIA-backed Islamic fanatics.**

# Afghanistan: Soviet Pullout Would Mean Bloodbath

## Fake-Lefts Caught in Cold War Vise

Planeta Publishers

Der Spiegel

**Afghan women march through Kabul (left); Reagan's Afghan cutthroats pose over downed Soviet pilot. Victory of Islamic reactionaries would mean re-enslavement of women, mass slaughter in Kabul.**

The nuclear nuts in Washington are gloating over the prospect of achieving at the bargaining table in Geneva what they couldn't win in more than eight years on the battlefields of Afghanistan: the withdrawal of Soviet troops sent in to combat a bloodthirsty CIA-sponsored feudalist insurgency. In a dramatic February 8 announcement on Soviet TV, Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed his intention to pull the Red Army out, if an agreement was reached with the U.S. and Pakistan at the Geneva talks by March 15. Gorbachev's deadline has since been buried under an avalanche of ever more humiliating "conditions" and ultimatums by the Americans and their Pakistani clients, finally forcing the Soviets to postpone the beginning of the withdrawal. But the Kremlin remains adamant about pulling out, agreement or no.

From the outset, all wings of the imperialist rulers loved the Afghan war. Here the Democrats were the hardliners, seeing an opportunity to get Russian soldiers killed on the cheap without danger of getting sucked into "another Vietnam" as in Central America. From "Socialist" Mitterrand's France to Tory Thatcher's Britain, the U.S.' imperialist allies enthusiastically echoed Washington's declaration of Cold War II over Afghanistan, parroted by their lackeys on the left and in the labor bureaucracy. We Trotskyists, however, loudly proclaimed, "*Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!*", pointing out that the Soviet intervention provided a lifeline for the Afghan masses out of medieval misery and into the 20th century. Today we warn emphatically of the terrible consequences which withdrawal will have on the Afghan peoples and the Soviet workers state. *Red Army—Mop up the mullah-led insurgency! Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!*

Now even the most stalwart imperialist backers of the *mujahedin* are predicting a bloodbath. U.S. officials describe Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, one of the main fundamentalist chiefs and recipient of $200 million in CIA aid since 1979, as "scary...vicious... a fascist." Meanwhile the mullahs' Pakistani godfathers have been aggressively acquiring nuclear weapons capability, effectively bankrolled by the U.S. as a quid pro quo for providing a staging ground for the Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

In the face of the Cold War frenzy over Afghanistan, the international Spartacist tendency took a clear stand:

> "There can be no question that for revolutionaries our side in this conflict is with the Red Army. In fact, although uncalled for militarily, a natural response on the part of the world's young leftists would be an enthusiastic desire to join an international brigade to fight the reactionary CIA-connected rebels."
>
> —"Hail Red Army!"
> *Spartacist* No. 27-28,
> Winter 1979-80

This was an elementary position for any leftist, let alone a Trotskyist. But the Spartacist tendency was unique. Why?

Because over Afghanistan there was no middle ground. When the imperialists declared Cold War II, you had to choose which side you were on. Many of the fake-Trotskyists had already enlisted as foot soldiers in Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. And as the Soviets fought CIA-backed mullahs, these "anti-imperialists" joined the imperialist hue and cry over Afghanistan. In different ways—some squirming, some cheering—they took their side: *with Islamic reaction and their "own" bourgeoisie*. The bottom line was anti-Sovietism.

### Left Apologists for CIA's Afghan Warriors

Within Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," one wing (led by Tariq Ali) openly endorsed the Cold War "containment" line of "Soviet troops out." Jack Barnes' American Socialist Workers Party supported the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime but denied that the Soviet intervention was an issue. And the Mandelite USec majority condemned the Soviet intervention, while drawing back at calling for withdrawal.

As the imperialists turned on the heat in the coming months, the Barnesites (fearing they sounded too much like the "Sparts"?) decided Soviet intervention was an issue and condemned it. And the Mandelites began squealing for Soviet troops out. A recent recap of the USec's positions on Afghanistan laments that "many people still confuse calling clearly for withdrawal of the Soviet troops with an attitude of support for the Mujahideen" (*International Viewpoint*, 6 April 1987). Why this "confusion"? Because in bloody Afghanistan there is no mythical "third camp": calling for Soviet withdrawal *is* supporting the CIA's mullah-led warriors.

For anyone claiming to follow the program of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is ABC. But where the Mandelites squirmed, the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno flaunted the absurdity of trying to combine opposition to the Soviet intervention with any pretense of Trotskyism. First Moreno's followers denounced the Soviets' "criminal action against the Afghan people" and rhapsodized about the "possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders of the USSR" (see "Morenoites Call for Counterrevolution in USSR," *WV* No. 249, 8 February 1980). The CIA was putting its money on precisely this "option." But in a 1985 resolution, after luridly denouncing Soviet "barbarism," "massacres," "economic pillage" and "genocidal war" against the Afghan people and calling for Soviet withdrawal, they then call on the Red Army to carry out a social revolution by "expropriating the landlords and laying the political basis for the emergence of a workers state in Afghanistan" (*El Socialista* [Nicaragua], May 1985).

For years the Morenoites denounced Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a "counterrevolutionary operation in the service of democratic stability and imperialism." But now that the Kremlin has agreed to withdrawal, they have the chutzpah to denounce Moscow for the "great global agreement between imperialism and the counterrevolutionary soviet bureaucracy...to prevent revolutionary processes in those hot spots" such as Afghanistan and Nicaragua (*Working Class Opposition*, November 1987). David North's Workers League pushes a similar "damned if you do, damned if you don't" line—in the same sentence!—claiming that the "deal between Moscow and Washington" to pull out of Afghanistan confirms the "counterrevolutionary character" of the Soviets going into Afghanistan! As Stalin is reported to have remarked, paper will take anything that is written on it.

Most of the pseudo-Trotskyist left, however, has taken refuge in empty "factual" reporting about the prospect of the Soviet withdrawal they longed for, with a deafening silence about the mass slaughter which will accompany it. This is the case for both the American SWP and the Mandelite USec majority. But some in this anti-Soviet swamp have no compunctions whatever. Sean Matgamna's group, buried deep in the NATO-loyal British Labour Party,

*continued on page 11*

AP

**1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed Russian question pointblank. We stood firm while fake-Trotskyists sang Washington's tune.**

# Bay Area Labor Tops Wave Flag for Democrats

## Rally Pushes Racist Protectionism

PITTSBURG, California, March 19—Nearly 10,000 longshoremen and construction workers and their families assembled and marched in Pittsburg, California today. The target of their march was supposed to be non-union construction and longshore work being performed at the old U.S. Steel Pittsburg plant currently being modernized by a joint venture of USX Corporation and South Korean Pohang Iron and Steel Company (POSCO). But instead of a powerful and united labor mobilization to defend union work conditions in Contra Costa County, the labor fakers pushed Jesse Jackson, local Democratic Party politicians and anti-Asian "yellow peril" protectionist poison.

The "main attraction" of the rally, held at a nearby community college, was Democratic Party front man Jackson. It was billed as a "Rally for America," and center stage at the plant site rally was the labor bureaucracy's protectionist program. After a hot and tiring march to the USX-POSCO administration building the drained unionists had to listen to Contra Costa state senator Dan Boatwright rave, "When I went in at Inchon on September 15th, 1950 I never dreamed that I would be freeing South Korea so that they could come here and put my constituents out of work." Next on the podium was Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors member Sunne McPeak, who declared that the county had been "invaded" and called for the march to "go to the polls."

The final speaker at the plant gate rally was International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Jimmy Herman, whose union shut down all West Coast ports and mobilized heavily for this rally, ostensibly because the USX-POSCO dock facilities are non-union. Herman pontificated: "...the issue is that when it comes to loading the cargo on ships that come in here, that cranes will hoist to those vessels, and from those vessels, it's longshoremen, it's ILWU!"

In fact Herman and the other labor tops who organized the rally deliberately fostered the deception that USX-POSCO is a totally non-union operation. The 1,100 steel workers in the plant are organized into the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and, in fact, for the past 15 years or more steel workers have performed the dock work at the Pittsburg plant facility. The

The steel workers at the USX-POSCO plant, like their brothers in the rest of the steel industry (and the ILWU!), have had a concessionary contract rammed down their throats. Invoking the "no strike" clause in their contract, USWA bureaucrats have

WV Photo

**Ten thousand longshoremen and construction workers came to fight scab construction project at steel plant in Pittsburg, California, but union tops push "hate Korea, vote Democrat" poison.**

ILWU bureaucrats' perspective was captured by their main slogan, "We Shall Return!"—a paraphrase of General Douglas MacArthur's well-known quote, the anti-Japanese battle cry of U.S. imperialism in World War II. Herman uses disgusting jingoism to whip up longshoremen for his intended raiding operation against the USWA, but he has no stomach to fight union-busting outfits like Crowley Maritime, where he knifed the tugboat strikers in the back.

herded them across building trades picket lines through the usual "two-gate" arrangement. The construction workers are fighting to shut down a scab outfit, BE&K Construction from Birmingham, Alabama. Accidents have already claimed the lives of two of the non-union workers. BE&K, which is also providing 1,000 scabs at the struck International Paper plant in Jay, Maine, pays less than half of union scale. Using the "no strike" clause again as an excuse, the scabherding

local USWA leadership wouldn't endorse the rally and had its members working in the plant on the day of the demonstration.

Many of the workers who came to the rally expecting some class struggle were sorely disappointed. But they didn't go home empty-handed. *Workers Vanguard* sales teams worked hard to bring our program of workers revolution to the rank and file of these unions who know the bosses are trying to destroy their organizations. A total of 1,472 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold, including 1,265 copies of *WV*. Comrades distributed 2,000 "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" supplements as well.

This dull and dreary affair was in sad contrast to the 5,000-strong building trades demonstration in San Francisco on March 7. Then the bureaucrats were barely able to prevent angry workers from breaking into Moscone Center and running a scabherding contractors' convention out of town. While the union hacks crowed that the POSCO rally was the largest labor mobilization in California in 40 years, this rally and march was a *diversion* from the necessary *class-struggle fights* that must be waged to defend union conditions in the Bay Area. Instead of this orgy of Democratic Party vote hustling, poisonous protectionism and jurisdictional raiding, there could and should have been a powerful mobilization of longshore, steel and construction workers to drive out the scab contractor and raise pay and working conditions to the highest union levels.

The ILWU tops claimed they were shutting down the West Coast on Saturday. But they obscenely exempted military cargo just when Reagan had sent over 3,000 U.S. troops to Honduras to bolster his contra butchers. We've often said that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. The red-white-and-blue labor traitors Herman & Co. have another program: class collaboration at home and support for imperialism abroad. Dump the bureaucrats, break with the Democrats to build a fighting workers party! ■

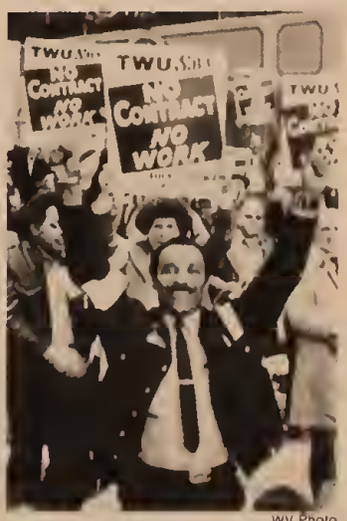
# NYC Transit Workers: Tear Up the Taylor Law!

## No Contract, No Work!

The New York Democratic Party politicians, and the transit bosses who crack the whip for them, are demanding huge givebacks from Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 when the contract covering 37,000 subway and bus workers expires March 31. Governor Cuomo and racist pig Mayor Koch think Reaganism is still riding high—their Metropolitan Transit Authority is demanding wage cuts for new-hires with a permanent two-tier pay scale, massive use of part-timers and a 4 percent wage increase over *three years*, with "bonuses" tied to ridership. Transit workers already face deadly working conditions, as the bosses rip up seniority and job titles in order to harass workers and eliminate jobs.

Behind the MTA's outrageous demands is the threat to use the no-strike Taylor Law to jail and fine TWU members. Local 100 president Sonny Hall, crawling before his buddies in Albany and City Hall (and paid off with a "labor" seat on the MTA board), pushed a state law which will send the contract to binding arbitration (where transit workers will get the shaft) if no agreement is reached. TWU members must demand "No contract, no work!" Shut down Wall Street and the banks! Koch revels in humbling the unions—it will take a solid strike, backed up by the rest of city labor, to tear up the Taylor Law and win!

The TWU is the powerhouse of integrated labor in this town, but transit workers have a "leadership" that won't get off its knees even when union




WV Photo

**Transit workers at 1978 contract rally. TWU tops have abandoned the union's historic position of "No contract, no work."**

members are blown away by the racist cops. In January, black bus mechanic Alfred Sanders was gunned down by the NYPD. But Hall stands by Koch, and demands *more* cops. The fake "oppositionists" in the TWU, like the social democrats of "Hell on Wheels" and supporters of the Communist Party and the Marxist-Leninist Party, *refuse to call for a strike*. They just add "militant" window-dressing to the bureaucracy's groveling no-strike program.

Like junior versions of Sonny Hall, who is one of Jackson's Democratic Party delegates in New York, they seek to chain labor and blacks to the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party. The reformist left brings in Jackson, as in the bitter Hormel meatpackers strike, to *derail* workers' struggles into voting for the Democrats. To win, transit workers must break with the partner parties of exploitation. The situation in New York cries out for a fighting workers party to lead all the oppressed.

Last year, when another black transit worker, Wajid Abdul-Salaam, was killed by the cops, the militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU demanded union action to defend labor and minorities:

> "Six years of increasing race-terror, union-busting and anti-Soviet war drive under Reagan is enough. Now is the time for labor and the minority populations to stand as one and strike back against the entire rotting, racist capitalist system."

There must be a mobilization of union *power*, by shutting this city down, to stop the rampage by Koch's cossacks and *bust the union-busters!* ■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*—MARXIST LITERATURE—*

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Young Spartacus

## Black History Forum at Howard University

# Russian Revolution Shows the Road to Black Liberation

During Black History Month the Spartacus Youth Clubs sponsored several forums around the country which centered on the tremendous impact of the 1917 Russian Revolution on the struggle for black freedom in this country. The political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1924 in the Soviet Union resulted in the progressive degeneration of the parties of the Communist International—from "Third Period" sectarianism to the outright class collaborationism of the Popular Front period. Despite the political zigzags and departures from Marxism, in the area of black work the American Communist Party's work in the 1930s is rich in lessons for how to wage a revolutionary struggle against racial oppression.

*Young Spartacus* prints below a speech made by comrade Brian Manning at Howard University on February 11 which has been edited and condensed for publication.

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In 1917 there was a revolution in Russia. It was led by the Bolshevik Party and this revolution was a beacon for the world's workers and oppressed. It emerged out of the carnage of World War I which devastated Europe. Millions and millions of young proletarians, young workers, died in that war. But the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, for the first time in history, led a revolution that destroyed capitalism, destroyed the system of production for profit. It eliminated the private ownership of the means of production. They carried out their revolution under the slogans, "For Peace, Bread and Land!" And for the first time, there was a workers and peasants government in power, a government of the majority, a *soviet* government (the Russian word "soviet" means council). It was these workers', peasants' and soldiers' *soviets* that ran the government there. It was not a government for the wealthy, which is what we've got here and in the rest of the capitalist world.

Planeta Publishers

**May Day 1917: Revolutionary workers march through Petrograd. Center banner reads: "Arm the People! Long Live the International!" Bolshevik Revolution inspired workers and the oppressed around the globe.**

Aside from distributing the land to the peasants, pulling Russia out of the war, one of the most important aspects of the Russian Revolution was their program for self-determination for national minorities. Tsarist Russia was considered a prison house of nations. Russia is 6,000 miles long, 3,000 miles deep, and it's not just the ethnic Russians that inhabit that area. One of the first things Lenin and the Bolsheviks did was they enunciated the policy of the right of self-determination for nations. That is, people of different nationalities are free to determine their own way of life, free to separate and form their own state. Lenin recognized national oppression and sought to eliminate it. In line with that, the native Russian fascists, the Black Hundreds, were *smashed*, completely smashed, after the Russian Revolution. The Black Hundreds were roughly equivalent to the KKK here in this country.

Lenin and Leon Trotsky and the Bolsheviks appealed to the workers and oppressed around the world to rise up against their masters and expropriate the exploiters. Their call and the example of the Russian Revolution sparked revolutions around the world. There were three revolutions in Germany, in 1919, 1921 and 1923. They all went down to defeat. There were mutinies in the French navy, there was a revolution in Bulgaria, there was a revolution in China. There was a revolution in Hungary which actually established a soviet government for about four months before it was smashed. There were revolutions in Finland. You saw the beginnings, the awakenings of the colonial peoples around the world. So the bourgeoisie tried with might and main to isolate and destroy the Soviet Union. Right after the revolution there were the Russian contras who were funded and armed by the imperialists. Eleven capitalist nations, including the United States which sent its expeditionary force over to Siberia, invaded revolutionary Russia. But they were unable to smash that revolution and it continued to provide inspiration to the workers and the oppressed.

Library of Congress

**The International Labor Defense (ILD) tought against racist capitalist injustice through mass, integrated class struggle.**

### Colorblind Socialists

OK, so how was all this reflected in America? Well, the Marxist movement in the United States was heterogeneous. It was faction-ridden, a lot of programmatic differences. It was almost exclusively white. The Communist movement was dominated by foreign-language federations, and these foreign-language federations were insensitive on the black question, if not out-and-out hostile. They didn't speak English and hadn't been in the country for very long, so needless to say, they didn't understand much about the situation of blacks. Also, the early Communists in this country inherited the native white American backwardness of American social democracy and AFL (American Federation of Labor) craft unionism, the backwardness on the race question. Most of the AFL unions had black exclusionary clauses in them.

One leader of the socialist movement in Milwaukee, this guy named Victor Berger, out and out said, "There can be no doubt that the Negroes and mulattoes constitute a lower race." So that was about the worst that these American socialists were. The best that they got was Eugene Debs, who was a leader of the socialist movement in the first several decades of the 20th century. He was a leader of the rail workers union and spent a couple of years in prison during and after World War I because of his agitation against the war and the draft. He was the Socialist Party presidential candidate several times. His position was that racial oppression in this country was simply an expression of class oppression. The Socialist Party doesn't have anything "special to offer the Negro" in this country; simply black workers are oppressed as workers and that's it. It took the intervention of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky led by the Bolsheviks to pound home that black oppression in the United States was special and needed special modes of struggle in order to fight it.

The Communist International was the international body where representatives from the Communist parties from around the world came to discuss particular problems, to decide different questions of policy, to resolve differences. The anti-Communists today (and back then as well) slander the Communist Party as being "controlled" by Moscow. But the Communist International was organized on a democratic-centralist basis. The Communist parties here in this country elected their

*continued on page 8*

# Black History Forum...

*(continued from page 7)*

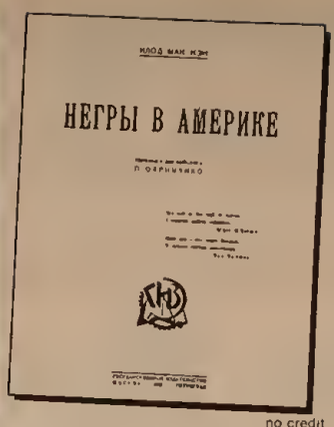
representatives to go to the meetings in Moscow where there was discussion and voting and everything else. And then the representatives came back and said what was decided and charted a course of action for the parties here in the United States or wherever. So there's nothing inherently wrong with the Communist International telling the American Communists what to do. In fact they played an exceedingly good role.

They helped break down the factions and divisions in the early Communist movement and helped forge a united Communist party, and that was a good thing. Starting with the Second Congress of the Communist International, they hammered home the necessity to recruit blacks and develop the program orienting to the special needs of blacks. It was at this congress in 1920 that John Reed, one of the founders of the Communist movement, gave a speech on the black question [see *Workers Vanguard* No. 348, 17 February 1984]. Reed gave a good analysis of the situation but he was kind of short on program, on modes of struggle against black oppression. But it represented a start for the American Communist movement.

Harry Haywood—he's actually still alive, but he was one of the early black members of the Communist Party. He was a World War I vet and had come around the Communist Party in Chicago. His brother Otto Hall actually joined before he did, so he goes up to his brother and says, "Why don't you speak up for me and tell me how to go about joining." And his brother says, "Well look, we've been having problems with these damn racists here in Chicago and they're actually members of the party, so I don't want you to join the party right now. But what we're going to do is take up the question of these racists and how to deal with them. We're going to take that up with the District Committee here in Illinois. And if we don't get satisfaction there, we're going to take it to the Central Committee. And if we don't get satisfaction in the Central Committee, we're going to take it to the Communist International in Moscow and that's where we'll get our satisfaction." It gives you a good sense of who the black comrades felt were their friends in the American Communist Party in the early 1920s.

The Bolsheviks also intervened in a similar fashion in South Africa. The people who were forming the South African party were steeped in the traditions of racist British Labourism. They were all white. In a majority black country you'd think there would be a few black members of the Communist movement as well. There was a time in the early 1920s that the Communist youth organization in Cape Town wanted to bring in a couple of "coloured" members. And the national organization was just up in arms. They said, "We can't do *that*." The Communist youth organization sent their representative over to Moscow. It took him about a year to get back but he came back with the word that the Communist Youth International was just furious at what was going on in South Africa and they wanted blacks recruited in massive numbers into the youth organization and into the party. There was a series of fights in the South African Communist Party and the net result was that a party was formed that *did* orient toward blacks and by the late 1920s, in some sections of the country, the majority of the party was black. And the Communists were leading whole sectors of the struggle against racist injustice in that country.

Wide World




no credit

**Claude McKay's Negroes in America published in Soviet Russia in 1922.**

### Black Proletarians

The process was a little slower in the United States. Let me talk a little bit about the state of black America going into the 1920s, going into this period of the Communists' reorientation toward blacks. World War I represented an important turning point for the black population in this country and for this country in general. The black question was transformed at this time from primarily an agrarian question left unresolved by the defeat of Reconstruction, to the most important strategic question of the American socialist revolution. After the Civil War, after Reconstruction, what you had in the South (and the majority of the black population lived in the South) was a landless, rural peasantry. The black population was deprived of land, never got the "40 acres and a mule" which was promised by General Sherman on his march to the sea. You were left with a population which was deprived of land and therefore the basis to struggle for any kind of political or social rights.

The period after Reconstruction until World War I was a period where you had tremendous repression, lynchings, and no rights for blacks. It was Booker T. Washington who was the main black leader presiding over this nadir in the black struggle. What he preached was accommodation to the racist status quo: "study hard, don't make any waves." But the whole situation changed. There was increasing urbanization and proletarianization as blacks were brought into industry in the North. Blacks were excluded from the AFL craft unions, so on many occasions they were brought in as scabs. During World War I there was a boom, a big economic boom. The soldiers who were called up and drafted and pulled out of the factories had to be replaced. When the war ended and the soldiers returned (and a lot of these guys were white soldiers who were replaced in the industries by black workers) the economy went into a depression and things didn't look so pretty in this country.

The capitalists went on an all-out attack to bust the unions and there was massive unemployment. And in a combination that goes hand in hand, you had a series of anti-Communist witchhunts, "red scares" and anti-black terror. Racial animosities increased and the culmination of that was the "red summer" of 1919. What happened during the red summer of 1919 was that there was a series of what would have been called "race riots," but were in fact attacks by whites on blacks erupting in terrible atrocities committed against blacks. The worst of these were in Chicago and East St. Louis and here in Washington, D.C. A period of defeat and despair for blacks set in.

Labor Defender

**Protest on eve of planned execution of the "Scottsboro Boys," June 1931. The CP launched international protest campaign, saving the lives of these nine youth from Southern lynch law.**

### Blacks and Bolsheviks

One important development that did come out of the red summer of 1919 was the formation of a group called the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB). They were a secret group consisting of black World War I veterans and trade unionists and they were committed to armed self-defense of blacks against racist attacks. It was headed up by a guy named Cyril Briggs up in New York. He had been fired from his position as editor of the *Amsterdam News* because he came out *for* the Bolshevik Revolution and *against* World War I. He started this group and it became a nationwide network—pretty secret—in fact we still don't know much about it. But we do know that what they were for was the "immediate protection and ultimate liberation of Negroes everywhere." And it was the leadership cadre of this group of militants that the Communist Party recruited and trained several years later.

The African Blood Brotherhood was a rallying center for the left opposition to the Garvey movement. The movement of Marcus Garvey at this time was massive and growing. The Garvey movement was a product of despair and defeat. We're not talking about a movement or an organization that's fighting to change conditions, that's fighting for justice or equality. What we're talking about is a black Zionist organization. They accommodate to the racist status quo and talk about getting back to some kind of so-called homeland in Africa. It's pretty reactionary in its implications when you think about it. The first schemes to send American blacks to Africa were the schemes by the racists in the South both before and after the Civil War to send the "troublesome" Negroes away—"get rid of 'em because we don't want 'em." Prior to the Civil War we're talking about the free blacks, because they were the ones who had a little bit of education, they were the ones who had a little bit of wherewithal and were the most dangerous.

You look at who else has this program and it's the KKK. In fact Garvey met with the KKK. Just like Farrakhan, who's another black Zionist, accepted money from the KKK in L.A. several years ago. All Garvey wanted to do was to exploit his own black people for his own profit. That's what all the regalia and the pomp and circumstance meant, calling himself an emperor and all his toadies "princes" and "dukes" and all this kind of thing. He had his little "black capitalist" schemes and in fact he said, "What America needs is a black Rockefeller, a black Rothschild and a black Henry Ford." We've got enough Rockefellers and Rothschilds and Fords. We've got to get rid of all these capitalists.

It was largely through the efforts of Claude McKay, the black poet who went to Moscow, that the African Blood Brotherhood was recruited to the Communist Party. Claude McKay, who had some experience with the Communist movement in Britain, was actually shuttling from the Communist Party headquarters downtown to Harlem to visit Cyril Briggs, providing the go-between for the African Blood Brotherhood and the Communist Party. The African Blood Brotherhood provided the initial and most important black cadre for the Communist Party. The ABB remained in existence for several more years and remained a recruiting ground for the Communist Party.

Meanwhile in 1922 the Communist International was still twisting the arms of the American comrades who still had trouble with the black question, still didn't want to deal with it, still didn't want to take the initiative, still fighting with their own racist backwardness. Claude McKay, who was in Moscow in 1922, writes, "Think not that it was just a revolutionary picnic and love feast in Moscow in the fifth year of Lenin! One of the American delegates was a southerner or of southern extraction. An important Bolshevik facetiously suggested to him that to untangle the Negro problem, black and white should intermarry. 'Good God!' said the American, 'if Jesus Christ came down from heaven and said that in the South he would be lynched.' The Bolshevik said: 'Jesus Christ wouldn't dare, but Lenin would'." McKay addressed the Communist International, and although he wasn't an official delegate, he was more insightful on the situation of black people and the methods needed for struggle than the official American delegates were.

### Early CP Work in the Black Struggle

The 1920s were the period that the American Communist Party consolidated its black cadre, turned the party around. The Communists weren't always right during this period, but they certainly had the right impulses. In fact they were dead wrong in some instances, like in 1928 they formulated the theory that blacks were a nation in this country and therefore had the right to self-determination. Blacks do not constitute a separate nation in this country, never have. They constitute a specially oppressed race-color caste, segregated at the bottom of society. There's no separate area of the country for black people; blacks don't speak a separate

language; there's no separate political economy of this supposed black nation. Luckily for the Communist Party, they never made any attempts to implement this theory. The revolutionary integrationist thrust of their work was what was important.

The Depression hit in 1929-1930 and then as now, blacks were targeted: last hired, first fired—that kind of thing. And as depressions increase misery on the part of all, there's a rise in racist terror. This time around, blacks were responsive to a call to struggle. One of the reasons was that for the first time in over 50 years, since the Radical Republicans were in the South, there was an organization that consciously and aboveboard was fighting for black rights. The Communists who led these struggles linked the struggles of blacks and workers. It shattered the racist status quo and shifted the political terrain such that it has never gone back to what it was prior to then.

The Communist Party did things like organize unemployed councils. You talk about the homeless problem today, well what these unemployed councils would do is get their members together and when one of the brothers or sisters couldn't make their rent because they didn't have a job, they weren't getting welfare, etc., and the sheriff would come and throw their belongings out on the street—the Communists weren't talking about homeless shelters then—what they did was they'd get the unemployed councils together, they'd gather up the person's belongings and bring them right back up into the apartment again. And then sit there and then if the sheriff came back again they'd throw him out! So that's the audacious kind of activity that they were doing.

You can contrast what the Communist Party looks like today, tailing after Jesse Jackson in this presidential election, to what they were doing in 1932 when they were the first party ever to nominate a black, James W. Ford, as vice president. Here in D.C. the Young Communist League was organizing and, for the first time since President Grant's inaugural ball in 1873, the Young Communist League organized an interracial dance. Now talk about *audacity*, there hadn't been an interracial dance here in D.C. for over 50 years.

But the most important work they did was defense of victims of racist frameups. One of them was Angelo Herndon, who was a young black agitator in the South, a Communist agitator. He was an organizer of the unemployed, he was arrested in Atlanta for "attempt to incite insurrection." You know if you're arrested in Atlanta in 1930 for attempting to incite insurrection and you're a young black Communist, your days are numbered in that jail. What the Communists did was they organized a defense for Angelo Herndon that spread the length and breadth of this country and around the world. Let me read you some of the evidence brought up in his trial to give you some idea of what the Communists were doing in the South at this time. This is from Angelo Herndon's autobiography *Let Me Live*. The document was a leaflet called "An Appeal to Southern Young Workers":

> "The Young Communist League is the champion not only of the young white workers but especially of the doubly oppressed Negro young workers. The Young Communist League fights against the whole system of race discrimination and stands for full racial, political, economic and social equality for all workers. The Young Communist League is a section of the Young Communist International, the revolutionary leadership of the young workers the world over and accepts the guidance of the Communist Party of America. The Young Communist League fights for: Full political, social and racial equality for the Negro workers. Smash the National Guard... and R.O.T.C."

Angelo Herndon actually spent a couple of years in prison and was released. You know they tortured him in prison. And if it hadn't been for the constant publicity of the Communist Party he surely would have died.

Perhaps the most famous case that the Communists took up at this time was the Scottsboro Boys—nine youths who were framed up for rape. They were found in a boxcar and on the same train were two young white women. Even though it became clear that no rape had ever taken place, within two weeks of these guys being found in a boxcar they were sentenced to death, and they were *going*. We're talking kids. We're talking about nine years old was the youngest one of these kids who was sentenced to death. But when the CP got wind of this case they quickly brought it to the attention of the world and garnered massive support for the young blacks. This was absolutely unheard of. The NAACP didn't want to take the case because they weren't sure whether or not these guys were guilty! And here we have the Communist Party in the heart of the South publicizing this case and fighting for these guys' lives. Eventually most of them were, I believe, convicted and spent time in jail. I believe the last of the Scottsboro Boys was finally released in 1950 after being arrested initially in 1932.

National Archives

**Black and white jobless WWI veterans marched on Washington in 1932 to demand promised bonuses. Bonus marchers resist eviction from tarpaper shanties by capital police.**

The black struggle was consciously shifted to the forefront by the Communist Party. This was unheard of and so the black liberals had to follow their lead. To give you an example of this—we all know about the presidents of Howard University—they're not militants, they're not radicals, *they're toadies*, right? In 1933 Mordechai Johnson, the president of Howard University, called the Russian experiment "the beginning of the emancipation of the human race" and declared that America should move toward the same political ends without bloodshed. Meanwhile, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. stated, "the day will come when being called a Communist will be the highest honor that can be paid an individual and that day is coming soon."

Most importantly, what the CP was doing was recruiting thousands and thousands of black militants to what they regarded as being communism. The Communists also played an important role in organizing the industrial unions, the CIO, the auto unions, the steel unions. Blacks in their hundreds and thousands were brought into these unions. These were no hidebound, wimpy unions. We're talking about blacks and whites fighting and dying on the picket lines *together* for these unions. It was the CP that was fostering this integrated class struggle, the key to a socialist revolution.

### Stalinism Betrays Black Struggle

The integrated class struggle of the 1930s did not result in a successful socialist revolution and in fact the CP pissed away all their good work and their good members, both black and white. They *betrayed* the black struggle. What happened was they stopped pursuing objectively revolutionary integrationist goals and pursued their own bourgeoisie instead. Why did they abandon revolutionary politics? Well, to get the answer, we have to go back to the USSR once again, because the American CP degenerated as did the Bolsheviks and the Communist International and the Russian Revolution.

Marx and Engels and the Bolsheviks never envisioned building communism, which is based on plenty, which is based on abundance, in a country that hadn't even reached the advanced stage of capitalism yet. So Russia was poor to begin with and it was devastated by the Civil War. The Bolshevik Party itself was decimated during the Civil War. But most of all, the revolutions abroad were unsuccessful. The capitalists were able to smash every single one. Russia was isolated. Leon Trotsky characterized it in his book [*The Revolution Betrayed*] this way: "Two years before the Communist Manifesto, young Marx wrote: 'A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of Communism], because without it want is generalized. And with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive'." So all the old crap was reviving in the Soviet Union once again and that was the basis for the rise to power of the conservative, bureaucratic faction of Stalin.

This bureaucracy is currently still in place and it still sits atop the gains of the Russian Revolution. Leon Trotsky fought against the rise of the Stalin faction. Trotsky fought for *international socialist revolution*. The Stalin faction said, "we've got to build socialism in one country and to hell with revolutions elsewhere." He told the Communist parties around the world to pursue their own bourgeoisie instead of pursuing revolutionary goals in the vain hope of softening imperialism's hostility to the USSR. This meant that the American Communist Party sought a popular-front alliance with their own ruling class, the "New Deal" Democrats. They abandoned blacks for Democrats and Dixiecrats. They put the brakes on the black struggle. They supported Roosevelt and his New Deal policies. They supported the second imperialist war, WWII, they refused to support the "March on Washington" movement which formed under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph and was against segregation in the war industries. And during World War II they actually disbanded the Communist Party!

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

When WWII ended, the bourgeoisie tried to build its "American century" on the basis of anti-Sovietism, McCarthyite witchhunting and the racist status quo. And much of the American population bought it. Not the blacks. Blacks reacted differently because the American dream has always been a nightmare for blacks. This time was no exception. But this time around, at the end of WWII, the tame reformist CP had no thought of leading audacious fights against racist injustice. There were massive strikes of the unionized workers in this country after WWII but there was no mass party to link the struggles of blacks with the struggles of the workers. The abandonment of the field by militant agitators left the field open to the "inch at a time" gradualists like Martin Luther King.

Now I'll give credit where credit is due: the civil rights movement broke the back of the McCarthy era, opened the doors to the much wider social struggle of the 1960s, and the civil rights movement did accomplish a few things, many of which have been reversed in these past few years of reaction. But what the civil rights movement also did was that it led blacks into the arms of the Democrats, the ruling class. You know, you scratch a Democrat, you get a Dixiecrat. That's what Malcolm X said 25 years ago and the saying is true today.

The only way black liberation can be accomplished is through a fighting alliance of militant blacks and the working class. That's what we in the Spartacist League are trying to do—build the kind of party that the Communist International and the Bolsheviks were trying to build in Lenin and Trotsky's time. And it's the defense organization, the Partisan Defense Committee, that is supported by the Spartacist League, that is defending the black leaders incarcerated in the capitalist prisons around this country, people like Geronimo Pratt and Mumia Abu-Jamal. We in the SL have got a black-centered communist program that reflects the lessons taught by Lenin and Trotsky, and our tasks are to take that program, to challenge racism and anti-communism wherever it raises its ugly head and fight for the international socialist revolution that's so necessary for the liberation of black people, for the liberation of all the world's workers and oppressed ■

UPI

**Black workers take the lead in fighting bosses' union-busting drive. Teamsters join striking Greyhound drivers on the picket line, Philadelphia, 1983.**

Young Spartacus

# Librarians to Feds: We Won't Fink!

Warning: Your term paper research may be deemed a "hostile intelligence threat" to the U.S. government. Federal Bureau of Investigation gumshoes are asking librarians, particularly in university libraries and those with large, *unclassified* technical holdings, to keep their eyes out for potential "espionage threats" loosely described as book borrowers from countries "hostile to the United States, such as the Soviet Union." Gee, Mr. G-Man, does anyone with an accent come under suspicion? Kudos to the librarians who told the feds just where they can stuff their snooping. As Quinn Shea of the National Security Archive stated, "They've got no business screwing with libraries." The American Library Association issued an alert, warning librarians to keep an eye out for FBI agents violating the supposedly constitutionally protected right to privacy. The chancellor of the City University of New York is demanding a Congressional investigation into the FBI's cloak-and-dagger machinations.

The shabby pretext for the FBI's "Library Awareness Program" is the case of Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet United Nations diplomat who was accused in 1986 of "spying" (and later traded for *New York Times* agent Nicholas Daniloff). He supposedly found a student "gofer" in a Queens College library. But the FBI has been peeping and poking at librarians for years. In 1972 an informer was planted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's Bucknell Library to spy on Philip Berrigan and the "Harrisburg Seven" Vietnam anti-war activists. Librarian Zoia Horn went to jail in this case for refusing to testify against the defendants—all of whom were acquitted. An Oneonta, New York librarian noticed a threat to President Reagan scrawled inside a returned book, notified authorities and found herself in the middle of a federal case. She refused to testify unless subpoenaed (she was), and the suspected "assassin" (the last hapless book borrower) was seized and held for days for mental observation.

The most likely victims of this McCarthy-like effort are foreign students who have no rights to speak of in this country and who could face death at the hands of their "free world" governments if deported. As Patrice McDermott of the American Library Association noted, the FBI's program "smacks of the intimidation of the left during the '60s. Foreigners are an easy target, especially with the anti-Libyan and anti-Middle Eastern sentiment prevalent today. It's easy to erode rights by going after groups to whom society is especially unsympathetic first" (SUNY Binghamton *Pipe Dream*, 22 January). Will checking out a book by Lenin or even researching a basic engineering paper now be added to the seemingly endless list of things a "foreigner" dare not risk doing in this country? Down with the FBI's library witchhunt campaign! ■

# BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan

...or anywhere else. Looking down the barrel of Cold War II, the crew of sour ex-members who now make up the "Bolshevik Tendency," formerly External Tendency, fled the Spartacist League. They found our forthright Soviet defensism too hot to handle. As we pointed out in "The 'External Tendency': From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning" (*WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984): "If the ET were more honest, they would admit that they hated it when we hailed the Soviet Red Army's military intervention in Afghanistan." "Not true" carped the ET/BT, who at the time were ever so modestly posturing as the sole repository of authentic Spartacism against the supposed "degeneration" of the organization they quit. "We do hail the Red Army's intervention against the barbaric Afghan reactionaries," they said in the May 1984 "Bulletin of the External Tendency of the iSt."

But claiming to stand on the red side in Afghanistan doesn't go down well in the anti-Soviet swamp in which the BT mingles. Not that anyone ever took their purported politics seriously (to wit, the BT was never excluded from any of the pop-front meetings or mobilizations for its proclaimed Soviet defensism, in contrast to the treatment we've been handed). Nonetheless even the pretense of defending the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan has become an obvious encumbrance to the BT's appetites to share the sheets with the rad-libs and social democrats. Now the cards are on the table.

At a March 5 public forum of the Trotskyist League of Canada entitled "Finish Off CIA's Afghan Warriors!" Tom Riley, leading light of the Canadian BT, gave full vent to what has always been their deeply felt position. On the occasion of a meeting to celebrate International Women's Day, in particular in defense of Afghan women against the inevitable bloodbath that will come if the Soviets pull out, Riley declared: "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state.... The slogan 'Hail Red Army' is not a Trotskyist slogan, because what it tells workers is to trust the Stalinists, put your faith in the Stalinists, hail the Stalinists It disappears the political treachery of Gorbachev and the other parasites he represents...." So what about the Red Army's heroic struggle to crush Hitlerite Nazism—just "Stalinist treachery"?

What the BT "disappears" is the contradictory character of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The line of "Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through and to the core," a more concise and eloquent expression of the BT position, first appeared as a one-sided formulation during the Socialist Workers Party's 1952-53 internal struggle against the pro-Stalinist Cochran-Clarke liquidators (Joseph Hansen repeatedly defended this formulation in internal documents). But who in the USSR could really fit this description? Only a native Russian *Pamyat* fascist, or a CIA "mole" in the KGB. In fact, in the *Transitional Program* Trotsky described the *contradictory* nature of the bureaucracy: "all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko)." But Riley & Co. do not want to know these things; they prefer the image of soul-destroying, monolithic Stalinist totalitarianism.

According to Riley: "It's not possible to make a meaningful distinction in the Marxist sense between an army and the state which controls it, in this case a degenerated workers state. The state is an armed body of men defending a particular set of property forms." But the property forms in the Soviet Union are, despite its Stalinist degeneration, proletarian. Riley's syllogism is hardly original. In arguing against defense of the Soviet Union at the start of World War II, Max Shachtman, leader of the petty-bourgeois opposition within the SWP, wrote: "We have never supported the Kremlin's international policy...but what is war? War is the continuation of politics by other means. Then why should we support the war which is the continuation of the international policy which we did not and do not support?" Trotsky replied: "we are presented here with a rounded-out theory of *defeatism*.... Then why not say it?" Shachtman the doubtist soon became Shachtman the confirmed Third Camp Soviet-defeatist, claiming that the Soviet Union was ruled by a new "bureaucratic collectivist" class. Four years ago, the ET denied being Shachtmanite because they still endorsed "Hail Red Army!" What next for the BT?

The Red Army intervention in Afghanistan was a defense of these property forms against a counterrevolutionary, imperialist-sponsored Islamic insurgency on the Soviet Union's crucial southern flank. Moreover, the Soviet intervention offered the possibility of extending the gains of the October Revolution to the hideously oppressed Afghan peoples. But that was never the intention of the Kremlin, for it goes against the grain of the reactionary dogma of "socialism in one country." *The Stalinists never hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, only the Trotskyist Spartacist tendency did.*

As comrade Trotsky put it in the 1939-40 fight against Shachtman/Burnham's opposition to the defense of the Soviet Union in the Socialist Workers Party, "in the final analysis, through the interests of the bureaucracy, in a very distorted form the interests of the workers' state are reflected. These interests we defend—with our own methods" ("From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene," *In Defense of Marxism*).

In our 1984 article on the External Tendency, we noted that "These characters logically would fit right in with the Weinsteinites, late of the Socialist Workers Party, behind whom stands the lure of America's 'mainstream' social democrats, the Democratic Socialists." Now the BT has qualitatively accelerated their march on this course. The most chemically pure rendition was translated on "Canadian soil," long dear to Tom Riley. On February 2, the BT hooked up with the Alliance for Social-

Yevgeni Khaldei

**Red Army liberated East Europe from nightmare of Nazi Holocaust.**

ist Action (the latest incarnation of Canadian Mandelism) to initiate a popular-front demo over Central America around the sole demand "Oppose U.S. Contra Aid!"

A BT letter, complaining that the TLC refused to join in peddling this as a "single issue" slogan for a "united front," read like an SWP textbook defense of its "Out Now" slogan during the Vietnam War. The SWP argued that its "antiwar coalitions" were not popfrontist because they were built on this "single issue" (although it soon became the rallying cry of bourgeois defeatism once the more farsighted elements of the ruling class realized that the U.S. wasn't going to win). The BT wrote: "there were no bourgeois participants in the 2 February demonstration—but your position seems to be that it was 'unprincipled' because there hypothetically *could* have been."

Hypothetically?! Opposition to U.S. contra aid is the on-again, off-again position of a hefty chunk of the warmongering Democratic Party in the U.S. itself. But in Canada this line sells at really bargain basement prices. Indeed, Tory prime minister Brian Mulroney could have marched under this banner. He opposes "U.S. contra aid" as well (as has the bourgeoisie of virtually every other imperialist country from the get-go). Where Reagan boosts the loser contras, the Canadian imperialists propose instead to send "peacekeeping" troops to Central America to hold the line against "Communism." The key to fighting the imperialist war moves is to *defend Nicaragua* by united *working-class* action.

But that would be beyond the pale, because it would mean facing the question of revolution. Ingratiating themselves with the Mandelite surrogates of Canadian social democracy, the BT wasn't about to oppose their "own" ruling class. Indeed, even the BT's *own* placards, chants and speech at the demo contained not so much as a hint of Soviet defensism in Nicaragua. Nor, for that matter, will one find any call for defense of the Soviet Union today in their articles in *1917* on Central America, Poland and Gorbachev—and that takes conscious effort!

So the BT is preparing to set up its tent in the Third Camp. In light of their whole trajectory, this was quite predictable. But some questions remain. Why does the BT continue to claim in its press that it upholds long-standing principles of the Spartacist League in flat contradiction to its political appetites and sought-for political allies? And why does it have a nasty tendency to create provocative incidents in our presence and then howl about it? Or as we headlined in *WV*, "Garbage Doesn't Walk By Itself, What Makes BT Run?" ■

# Afghanistan and the Left...

*(continued from page 5)*

denounces the Soviet intervention as a "war of colonial conquest," and even while admitting that "Muslim fundamentalism is very strong" and dismissing illusions in a "neutralist" coalition government, Matgamna rants: "Despite all this, the USSR can be driven out. It deserves to be driven out!" (*Socialist Organiser*, 14 January). This Stalinophobe positively *welcomes* the impending bloodbath by the Islamic reactionaries.

### Afganos, Kabulisti and Tankies: What Now?

The left-Stalinist milieu has seen a symmetrically opposite development. A decade ago, most of the West European CPs sharply divided between Moscow-loyal Stalinists and so-called Euro-communists who sought to integrate themselves into mainstream social democracy. When the Red Army crossed the Afghan border, the "Euros" joined with their own bourgeoisies in anti-Soviet vituperation. What had been a seething cauldron erupted in open factional warfare, as those Stalinists—variously labcled "afganos" (in Spain), "kabulisti" (in Italy) and "tankies" (in Britain)—who wanted to maintain at least some semblance of opposition to NATO imperialism came out in support of the Soviet tanks moving into Afghanistan. It was a knee-jerk reaction: educated in the Stalinist school of class collaboration, they could go no further than pressure groups for the Moscow bureaucracy aimed at pulling their recalcitrant, pro-NATO leaderships into line.

But now the Kremlin has effectively disowned their struggle and denounced all they stood for as "Trotskyite heresy." With Gorbachev's renewed "détente" offensive aimed at conciliating U.S. imperialism, many of these left-Stalinists are at a loss. Do they simply repudiate the last ten years of struggle against the pro-NATO compromisers who opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan from the outset, or do they look in the mirror and see there the ogre of "Trotskyite heresy"? Some in this "anti-opportunist" milieu were already driven to develop broader criticisms of the Stalinist bureaucracy, particularly when the flowering of a mass-based counterrevolutionary movement in Poland exposed the criminal incapacity of the Stalinist regime there. In France the Tribune Communiste group made a clean break from Stalinism and last month fused with the French section of the international Spartacist tendency.

In Britain, a group in and around the Communist Party affiliated to the so-called "Leninist" wing of the Turkish Communist Party in exile ran a headline demanding, "Afghanistan: no sell-out!" (*Leninist*, 10 February). In recent months the *Leninist* not only has expressed its opposition to Gorbachev's INF missile deal with Reagan, but has come out with a call for a political revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy, even identifying the decisive degeneration of the Soviet Union and the consolidation of bureaucratic power with Stalin's pronouncement of "socialism in one country" in 1924. However, despite these rather exceptional declarations, the *Leninist* still carries with it much of the political baggage of Stalinism. Against Gorbachev's Afghanistan policy, they argue:

> "The Soviet Union has no right to horse trade the Afghan revolution. It is a living revolution, not a piece of real estate. The Afghan Revolution was not facilitated by the presence of the Soviet Army. The revolution was the work of Afghan revolutionaries organised in the *Khalqi* wing of the PDPA. A proletarian dictatorship was established through local daring and initiative."

Viewing the Afghan war through the nationalist prism of Stalinism, albeit of a Third Worldist variety, the *Leninist* is forced to conjure up a dictatorship of the proletariat in a country where there is no proletariat to speak of. And they ordain as a proletarian revolution a putsch by a group of reform-minded petty-bourgeois nationalists, primarily junior officers in the Afghan army, of the Khalq wing of the PDPA. In fact, Afghanistan is not even a nation but a feudal-derived state comprising a mosaic of nationalities, ethnic and tribal groupings. Much of the rural population has never lived under the effective rule of any central state power. Now even the U.S. imperialists are worried that the various factions of the *mujahedin* will slaughter one another (and reportedly they have already begun to do so). If Soviet Central Asia is taken as a model, the various peoples of Afghanistan would enjoy more national rights in a Soviet-bloc satellite than under an "Islamic republic."

In its previous issue, the *Leninist* (21 January) denounces as an example of "big power chauvinism" a statement by *Izvestia* that the Red Army went into Afghanistan to wipe out a hostile regime on its border. From the standpoint of proletarian internationalism, the Red Army has not only the right but the duty to defend its borders against CIA-backed reactionary insurgencies. When Pilsudski's Poland, acting as cat's paw for the French imperialists, invaded Soviet Russia in 1920, Lenin argued for transforming the Red Army's defensive campaign into a military offensive aimed at revolutionary war—and Poland was a modern, industrialized nation-state. While Trotsky opposed waging a revolutionary war on Poland at this time, he did so on tactical grounds, not as a matter of principle.

### Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

From the standpoint of the Soviet bureaucracy, which seeks to defend its privileged position atop the collectivized economy through futile attempts at placating hostile world imperialism, Gorbachev & Co. now see sending troops into Afghanistan as an inadvertent adventure. But from the standpoint of Bolshevik internationalism, defense of the Soviet Union required intervention against the imperialist-bankrolled anti-Communist uprising on its border and raised the real possibility of bringing social revolution to this hideously backward country on the bayonets of the Red Army. To be sure, a Leninist government in the Kremlin would have announced its revolutionary mission from the outset rather than seeking to conciliate the feudalist opposition. As we pointed out some years ago:

> "...instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller *and* cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*, a tremendous leap from feudalist backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and 'two-stage' revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union."
>
> —"Reagan, Begin & Hitler," *WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982

The counterpart of the Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" on the international plane is the "popular front," class collaboration tying the workers and oppressed to their exploiters as a bulwark against revolution. Now the counterrevolutionary repercussions of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan will be felt internationally, from South African blacks fighting apartheid slavery to the Nicaraguan masses pitted against CIA contra terror.

In his statement giving the timetable for pulling out of Afghanistan Gorbachev promised, "When the Afghan knot is untied, it will have the most profound impact on other regional conflicts.... Behind the political settlement in Afghanistan already looms a question: which conflict will be settled next? And it is certain that more is to follow." So now there is increasing pressure on the Vietnamese to pull out of Kampuchea in an attempt at a rapprochement with the U.S.-allied Peking Stalinists. Now a leading Soviet journal (*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 17 February) proclaims that "international cooperation" over "national reconciliation" with the CIA's *mujahedin* in Afghanistan is a model for "liquidating regional conflicts," for example by "the revolutionary government of Nicaragua" in dealing with the CIA's contras. And now the Soviets are pressuring the ANC to make a deal with Pretoria that, according to the *Los Angeles Times* (5 February), "would give the white minority an effective veto within a majority-rule government."

From the strangulation of the Spanish Revolution in the 1930s, which paved the way to Hitler's Operation Barbarossa, to Gorbachev's acquiescence to the "Reagan doctrine" of global counterrevolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy's nationalist perspective serves only to endanger the Soviet degenerated workers state. To restore the Soviet state and the Red Army to their revolutionary and internationalist mission requires a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist usurpers of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. Today that means the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, as the continuity of the revolutionary Communist International. ■

WV Photo

**Anti-dratt demonstration in 1980—Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League stood out in hailing Red Army against Islamic reaction in Afghanistan.**

# Afghanistan Sellout...

*(continued from page 4)*

The difference between America's losing colonial war in Vietnam and the Soviet Union's progressive intervention in Afghanistan is captured well in the responses of their respective veterans. Large numbers of Vietnam vets came back from that filthy, racist war emotional basket cases, many angered and indeed radicalized by their experience into becoming opponents of U.S. imperialism. Soviet veterans, in contrast, are demanding official recognition for carrying out their "internationalist duty" and deeply resent any comparison between their just war and the imperialist war in Vietnam. By all accounts, it is the veterans of the Soviet war in Afghanistan, who saw with their own eyes what a mullah victory would mean, who are in the forefront of opposition to a Red Army withdrawal.

Afghan war songs, once forbidden, are now being released on records. The secretary of a club of Afghan veterans told the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* (7 March): "Our sacrifices were not for nothing. We have after all brought there the achievements of the civilized world." One of his comrades echoed these sentiments: "The people there could at least live in peace for a while, had bread, could educate their children. What will be there tomorrow only Allah knows." Kim Selikhov, a Soviet journalist who has covered the Afghan war, writes:

> "I know many internationalist fighting men who, after completing their time in Afghanistan, ask to go to the front line again as volunteers. Those who serve here are primarily children of workers and peasants."
>
> —*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 14 October 1987

"The time has come," Selikhov demands, "to erect a monument in Moscow to the Soviet internationalists who have died valiantly in foreign lands at various times in our history."

Soviet veterans of the Afghan war justly view themselves as fighters for revolutionary internationalism. But the Kremlin bureaucrats abuse and betray these ideals. To truly build a monument to Soviet internationalism in Moscow, it is necessary to oust the Stalinist usurpers and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky. ■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# Central America...

*(continued from page 1)*

to *defend the Nicaraguan Revolution with militant class struggle at home.*

### U.S. Invents Invasion Scare

For years the Reaganauts have attacked Managua as a "Soviet surrogate," vituperating against "Sandino-Communism." They have intimidated the Democrats, fearful of accusations of "losing" Nicaragua. Yet everything Washington has tried for the last seven years to smash the radical-nationalist government in "America's backyard" has failed. Bloody contra terror, CIA sabotage and a U.S. trade boycott have succeeded in making life miserable for Nicaraguans. But instead of creating a mass base for counterrevolution, this bludgeoning has produced mass anger and determination to defend their "small country with a big revolution" against the Yankee colossus. Since the contras have failed, if Reagan is to make good on his vow not to leave this "problem" to his successor all that's left is direct U.S. military action. But the White House gang that can't shoot straight from the Near East to Central America doesn't have the political support at home to pull off an invasion. So they resort to provocation.

The "Sandinista invasion" story was baloney, and everyone in Washington knew it. "It looked more like an American invasion of Honduras," reported CNN television news as paratroopers were dropping into Palmerola. "I know of nothing that justifies sending troops," said Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives Jim Wright. It was recalled on Capitol Hill how in March 1986 the administration invented another invasion scare, twisting the Honduran president's arm to get him to request U.S. assistance, in order to (successfully) get the Senate to vote for contra aid. This time, too, the Honduran military had to be informed they were "invaded," and puppet president Azcona never did formally request U.S. troops.

In Managua, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega went on nationwide radio ordering troops, reserves and the Nicaraguan people to be in "a state of combat readiness and prepared to repel, resist and defeat any attempted aggression by the United States against Nicaragua." "Everyone to his battalion," said Carlos Carrión, coordinator of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in the capital. Speaking on ABC-TV's *Nightline* (16 March), Alejandro Bendaña, secretary general of the Nicaraguan foreign ministry, warned: "if one of those helicopters with American soldiers happens to stray into our airspace, well, we're not going to hesitate to defend ourselves." The Nicaraguans, he said, "don't plan to be exactly sitting ducks" for attacks from Honduras.

The Sandinista offensive that chased the contras out of the remote Bocay River valley in northern Nicaragua was no secret. Washington only started screaming when the CIA's mercenaries had been driven back to their base camps. Washington officials kept talking about a Sandinista "killer blow" against the contras, said to be in a "desperate" situation, only to express surprise when the Sandinistas (unfortunately) pulled back instead of finishing them off. But the Nicaraguan drive was clearly aimed at softening up the contras for cease-fire talks, by cutting off their escape routes and going after their stocks of supplies. (Official U.S. aid was supposed to stop at the end of February.) And on March 21, Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega sat down with a contra delegation in the border town of Sapoá, calling a temporary cease-fire during the negotiations

UPI

**82nd Airborne parachutes into Honduras.**

under the auspices of the Arias "peace" plan.

Some 100,000 rallied in Managua Sunday night to send off the government delegation to the Sapoá talks, and thousands more lined the highway to the negotiations site. But despite a decade of grueling war against the lackeys of U.S. imperialism, which has cost more than 50,000 Nicaraguan lives in the six years of contra war alone, the Nicaraguan masses were combative and aggressive. The crowd chanted "Contras, either surrender or we will crush them," and "The contras have two options: surrender or die." Their determination to "give it to the contras hard" points the way to a genuine peace with justice in Nicaragua, which can never be achieved by the Sandinista tops' treacherous talk of "reconciliation" with the CIA's hired killers. The Ortegas will have a hard time selling the Nicaraguan masses a deal that allows the Somozaist torturers and murderers to go free.

### Class Struggle Sharpens In Nicaragua

Already, the attempts by counterrevolutionaries to take advantage of the opening given to them under the Arias plan have provoked repeated sharp confrontations with supporters of the revolution. On February 7, several thousand members of U.S.-financed anti-Sandinista trade unions staged a protest march in Managua. The next day some 200 residents of Masaya rioted against a sweep by Interior Ministry troops to round up draft dodgers, burning police jeeps and stoning government offices. On February 8, about 300 youths rallied in support of the compulsory military service, a vital necessity in order to fight the contra war. Following the changeover to a new currency in mid-February, an attempt to halt 1,000 percent inflation, hundreds of Sandinista Trade Union Federation (CST) members swept through Managua's Eastern Market, overturning stands of black marketeers and confiscating hoarded stocks of food.

On March 3, CST supporters took over an opposition union meeting and several thousand protested outside *La Prensa*, the CIA-financed voice of the "internal contra." And on March 6, two competing International Women's Day marches were held in Masaya. Several thousand people organized by the block committees, unions and Sandinista Youth demonstrated in defense of the revolution and in honor of the martyrs killed by the contras. The opposition Coordinadora Democrática held a protest against the draft by about a hundred women dressed in black. The FSLN supporters dispersed the counterrevolutionary march while chanting for "people's power" and "The streets belong to the people—the right wing has no right."

Through vigilant mobilization, supporters of the Nicaraguan Revolution should be able to keep control of the streets. But the counterrevolution cannot be smashed by repeated brawls or police action while the government signs agreements guaranteeing political and economic "rights" to the contras. Their power must be *broken* by expropriating the bourgeoisie, which still controls 60 percent of the Nicaraguan economy. The FSLN opposes this necessary step. But increasingly the workers are straining at the limits of the Sandinistas' program. While the government was opening a "national dialogue" with the right wing last November, trade unions grouped in the CSN federation published a declaration saying that any political reforms must aim at "socializing the revolution." The CSN calls for workers control, confiscation of companies involved in black marketeering, expropriating large landowners and elimination of the mass media in the hands of economic groups opposed to the interests of the people (*Barricada*, 2 December 1987).

While the FSLN guerrillas in power destroyed the state apparatus of the Somoza tyranny, contrary to Reagan's assertions they did not substitute a Communist regime, but instead sought a middle road on the program of "mixed economy, pluralism and nonalignment." The petty-bourgeois nationalist regime cannot last much longer in this limbo. Their conciliation of imperialism and domestic capitalist reaction is endangering the survival of the revolution. It is urgently necessary to forge a working-class vanguard, a Leninist-Trotskyist party to carry out the program of permanent revolution, in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. The "peace" plan devised by the Democrats and the U.S.' Central American neocolonies is an attempt to strangle the Nicaraguan Revolution through negotiations. We say: *Defend Nicaragua—Complete, extend the revolution!*

### Gunpoint Elections in El Salvador

"The next trouble spot in Central America is likely to be an old one: El Salvador," wrote *Business Week* (21 March). Escalating guerrilla attacks, militant labor action and now the sharp defeat of Christian Democratic president José Napoleón Duarte in the March 20 legislative and local elections mark a turning point in the eight-year-old civil war racking that tiny country. Not only did Duarte lose a majority in the National Assembly, his son was swamped in the mayoral election in the capital, San Salvador, which Christian Democrats had held for the past quarter century. The big winner in the elections was the fascistic ARENA party, the political instrument of notorious death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, who is personally responsible for ordering the assassination of liberal Archbishop Romero and masterminding the anti-communist terror which has killed over 60,000 Salvadoran workers, peasants and leftists.

The government had put the armed forces on general alert and deployed 50,000 troops to carry out its "counter-insurgency elections." They were attempting to defeat the military campaign called by the leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), which declared a highly effective transport stoppage for that weekend against the "electoral farce." The FMLN also blew up power pylons, blacking out 80 percent of the country, and occupied 19 towns during the elections. In addition to the armed insurgents, the militant National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), the largest labor federation in the country, campaigned against the government's "attempts to force the downtrodden people of our country to the ballot boxes on March 20 at gunpoint." A

Herald [Monterey]

**Fort Ord, California, March 17—Protesters line roadway outside main gate after soldiers from 7th Light Infantry Division were deployed to Honduras. Some soldiers' wives joined the protest.**

# Coast-to-Coast Protests...

*(continued from page 1)*

The social-patriotic protest organizers want to keep "our boys" out of Central America by supporting the Democratic Party-inspired Arias "Peace Plan," whose aim is to strangle the Nicaraguan Revolution without sending in the 82nd Airborne.

But working people have a side to take in this war—the side of the embattled Central American workers and peasants! In Boston, at a 6,000-strong march Saturday, far larger than even organizers had expected, the Spartacist League raised the slogans "Arias 'Peace' Hoax Threatens Nicaraguan Masses" and "Defense of Cuba, Russia Begins in Central America!" At a protest in Cleveland, the SL contingent's chant "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs! Nicaragua needs MIGs!" was picked up on the evening TV news. At the New York City protest in Times Square, SLers opposed the liberal pacifist line of "No More Vietnams" with the slogan "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" At the large demonstrations in San Francisco, Boston and New York, hundreds of young demonstrators eagerly bought our revolutionary literature.

**Spartacists raise revolutionary working-class program as antiwar protests sweep U.S., from San Francisco (above) to New York (right).**

WV Photos

In SF, demonstrations have been going on morning and night for five days, with 500 people arrested so far. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (18 March) described the first day of protest in the Bay Area: "A chanting horde of nearly 1,000 people protesting the deployment of troops to Honduras swarmed through San Francisco last night, halting traffic, flattening police barricades, and threatening to storm the Federal Building." Over the next several days the protests grew, 2,000 on Friday, over 5,000 by Saturday night. "People hung out of their apartment windows to cheer the marchers on," said the *San Francisco Examiner*, while reporting that inside the Federal Building itself, 40 government workers sent out a letter to the demonstrators saying, "We want you to know there are thousands of people in this building who support this protest."

The bourgeoisie is split right now on how to deal with the Sandinistas, so in most cases the cops have been restrained by Democratic Party politicians. In San Francisco, as antiwar slogans were being spray-painted by "guerrilla graffitists" and a metal trash can flew into the glass doors of the Federal Building Thursday night, lines of club-wielding cops were on the verge of charging. Suddenly Democratic mayor Agnos appeared to cool out the crowd, noting Reagan's invasion was an "outrage" and he was "proud that San Francisco is again first in the nation" in protesting it. Agnos, who's also currently waging an offensive against city workers, was met by the SL contingent in the demonstration with the chant "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" Nobody should have any illusions: the minute these protests begin to go "too far," the Democrats will unleash their cops to really start busting some heads. The vicious attempted murder of pacifist Brian Willson, which maimed and nearly killed him when he was run down by a military train, shows the real intentions of this nation's rulers.

Most of the so-called left in this country has simply tailed after the liberal leadership of these protests, refusing to call for a break with the Democrats and to take the side of Sandinista Nicaragua in the war against the CIA-backed contras. At Oberlin College, the DSA (Michael Harrington's "Social Democrats of America" Cold War outfit) called a planning meeting March 17 for a protest against the U.S. troop deployment. SLers intervened to call for a united-front demonstration around the slogans "U.S. Troops Out of Central America!" and "Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" The DSAers waffled around until most of the students attending left in frustration, then raised their objection that defending the "revolution" would alienate people, and instead only "Nicaraguan sovereignty" should be raised; one DSAer raised the logical corollary that of course Honduran "sovereignty" equally should be defended—i.e., the supposed "justification" for the U.S. sending troops to Honduras in the first place!

The Vietnam War protests, even at their height, like the 1970 mass student strikes after the Kent State massacre and Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, did not end that long, bloody war—it was the military victory of the heroic Vietnamese Communist forces on the battlefield that forced the U.S. out. In SF on March 18, the Spartacist contingent linked our militant defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution with the call for "Labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Central America!" The key task for revolutionaries in the U.S. today, as it was in the Vietnam era, is to bring the power of the working class to bear to smash the capitalist state's imperialist war drive. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! ■

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UNTS communiqué proclaimed: "No more elections with repression—labor and political struggle are the only solution!" As a result of the union and guerrilla actions, the number of voters was down sharply.

The showcase elections are nothing more than a cynical maneuver to give the brutal Salvadoran regime a "democratic" veneer so that the U.S. Congress can continue to pour money into this "death squad democracy." But the militant working class has been locked in a sharp battle with the Duarte government and its program of IMF-imposed austerity. Over 50,000 workers, mostly government employees, have carried out job actions over the last couple weeks, demanding emergency wage increases and the rehiring of hundreds of fired compañeros. The government has answered by targeting union militants. In the weeks preceding the elections, death squads made nearly daily attacks on unionists and students. On March 10, government troops seized Humberto Centeno, the head of the militant ASTTEL telephone workers union and member of the UNTS executive board, and savagely beat him unconscious. The next day a member of the STISSS hospital workers union, Francisco Climaco, was found murdered.

The capture of Centeno was a frontal assault on the Salvadoran labor movement. An emergency international campaign was mounted to rescue the union leader from the clutches of the notorious Treasury Police. And in San Salvador the working class mounted a combative protest. On the morning of the 11th, the coffee workers union SITCAFE called a strike demanding Centeno's freedom, and that afternoon some 3,000 militant union activists marched on the American Embassy. AP reported:

> "The demonstrators, many of whom carried nail-studded wooden clubs and iron bars, asked passengers to get off about ten buses along the march route, then deflated the bus tires so the vehicles blocked side streets. A pick-up truck was set afire near the U.S. embassy where the marchers stopped for 30 minutes to denounce U.S. support for the Salvadoran government."

The workers painted slogans on the embassy walls and chanted slogans such as, "We will bury the U.S. Marines in El Salvador one by one." Barely 24 hours after Centeno's arrest, the government gave in (see "Labor Solidarity Frees Humberto Centeno" in this issue).

Last year the guerrillas claimed nearly 9,000 casualties against the government forces, the highest yearly total of the war. As the Duarte regime grew increasingly isolated, a year-end FMLN message declared that intensifying combat and continuing labor protest have "put us on the threshold of victory." Cut off from outside aid under the Arias plan, the insurgents are talking less of a "negotiated solution" and more of fighting for a "revolutionary victory." In an interview published the day after the elections, FMLN comandante Joaquín Villalobos responded to a reporter's questions on how they could win against the U.S.-supplied helicopter gunships and jet bombers:

> "Remember that our strategy is essentially insurrectional. And what good is an air war against an insurgent population, unless you are willing to commit genocide?"
>
> —*Christian Science Monitor*, 21 March

In a country like El Salvador, where pathological killers in the death squads talk of unleashing another "necessary genocide," such as the mass slaughter of 1979-80, this is not just a rhetorical question. With ARENA again in the ascendancy, more than ever the alternative is revolution or death. *Military victory to leftist insurgents—Workers take San Salvador!*

### Central America Under the Gun

As the class struggle mounts in El Salvador, the entire isthmus is in turmoil. Nicaragua is polarizing between revolution and counterrevolution. The U.S. is trying to strangle Panama financially in order to force out their former flunkey General Manuel Noriega. In Guatemala, army killings of Indian villagers are escalating, and thousands of elite U.S. forces are conducting "exercises" all over Honduras. The so-called Central American "peace" plan, already a dead letter in El Salvador, is on the verge of collapse. And meanwhile events in Central America are increasingly interwoven with developments in the U.S. When Ronald Reagan was elected in November 1980, jubilant right-wingers in San Salvador honked their horns and shot off guns. The head of the Guatemalan death squads attended Reagan's inaugural. Now the Salvadoran FMLN and Nicaraguan FSLN are pinning their hopes on outlasting Reagan.

The Reagan-Bush gang, which sends the 82nd Airborne into Honduras to win a vote in Congress, is more than capable of staging a military "October surprise" to get voters to rally 'round the Republican flag in November. But a Democratic victory next November would be no cause to celebrate in Central America. Mondale called for a naval quarantine of Nicaragua in '84, and don't forget how Kennedy carried out the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion planned by Eisenhower and Nixon. Speaking on ABC-TV's *Nightline* last week, both conservative Cold Warrior Albert Gore and black liberal Jesse Jackson said they might order U.S. troops to Central America. "If it would be necessary, I would do it," said Jackson.

The program of the Central American "solidarity" milieu is to pressure the Democrats in Congress. Yet after years of peace crawls and Congressional lobbying, the very same Democrats vote for "humanitarian" aid to the contra terrorists and enthusiastically approve $1.5 million a day to the death squad regime in El Salvador. The day that Reagan sent troops to Honduras, a tape at the New York Nicaragua Solidarity Network told callers to "respond" by phoning Democratic House Speaker Jim Wright, and to protest "imbalanced reporting" such as using "Communist" to describe the Sandinistas. So with Central America at the explosive center of the Cold War (White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater denounces supposed aggression by "the Cuban- and Soviet-supported Sandinista Army"), all they can do is say "no Communists here"... and phone your Congressman.

You can't defend the Nicaraguan Revolution by ducking the "Russian question." Soviet aid has been vital in defending embattled Nicaragua. Soviet wheat, Soviet AKs, Soviet helicopters have enabled the revolution to withstand the imperialist onslaught. And for the Cold Warriors in Washington, Managua is just the first stop of their intended drive to "roll back Communism" right up to the homeland of the October Revolution. The Spartacist League has repeatedly proclaimed, "Defense of the Soviet Union begins in Central America." The fight for genuine solidarity with the heroic fighters in Central America must be a fight for the cause of proletarian revolution throughout the world. ■

# IRA...

*(continued from page 2)*

case by the same special RUC "anti-terrorist" unit. They were unarmed: in the hay shed where 17-year-old Michael Tighe was shot to death and 19-year-old Martin McCauley wounded, several old rifles were found, but no ammunition. Early on, Stalker decided he could "not overlook the possibility that revenge killings had taken place" when he learned that four of the six had been implicated by an informant in the planting of a land mine which exploded when a cop car ran over it.

Stalker was able to determine that false stories had been planted by senior RUC officers after the shootings. Furthermore, in the McCauley/Tighe case, he learned that "An electronic bug, installed by MI5, had been operating, concealed in the rafters, throughout the entire police assault on the barn. McCauley and Tighe had walked into a sophisticated operation that had been camouflaged to look like a chance encounter." Summarily removed from the investigation after delivering an interim report recommending charges against at least eight RUC officers, Stalker became the object of a police investigation into his functioning in Manchester on manifestly trumped-up charges.

AP

**British detective John Stalker was inclined to find out what really happened in killings of IRA youth.**

### Not Orange Against Green But Class Against Class!

Since an SAS ambush at Loughgall, killing eight IRA men and a passing motorist, the government's campaign has borne the marks of an orchestrated effort to take out leading members with maximal force. Thatcher & Co. have played a variety of cards to set the stage, ranging from officially sanctioned cover-up of RUC/Army killings to enlisting the cooperation of Dublin's Garda (police) under the Anglo-Irish accord. Particularly after the IRA atrocity at Enniskillen in which eleven civilians were killed, Irish prime minister Haughey's cops and troops were unleashed in a joint operation with the RUC to hit Republican strongholds on both sides of the border.

Recent events have produced "tension" between Dublin and London, and the long-sought extradition treaty is again on the ropes. But the reactionary clericalist government of the Southern Republic is up to its neck in repression against the Republican movement. Yet it is to this clericalist South that the IRA looks for salvation, with its nationalist project of forcible reunification of the Protestant community in the North into a Catholic-dominated "Thirty-Two Counties." There is no solution to the brutal quagmire of Ireland, to imperialist oppression and sectarian division, short of a struggle for proletarian power on both sides of the communal divide, on both sides of the border and on both sides of the Irish Sea.

The liberation of the English, Welsh and Scottish working class is inextricably tied to the struggle of the Irish masses against British imperialism. Northern Ireland is a testing and training ground for repressive techniques later employed at "home" from the inner-city ghettos to the coalfields. The Prevention of Terrorism Act, now to be enforced "permanently," provides police with vastly enhanced powers of detention, exclusion and expulsion. It is the duty and in the immediate interests of the organised working-class movement to oppose Britain's terrorism in Northern Ireland, to demand the immediate withdrawal of the troops, the smashing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, freedom for the victims of British injustice from the H-Block prisoners to the Birmingham Six (still imprisoned despite massive evidence that their conviction for the 1974 Birmingham pub bombing was a frame-up).

Such elementary internationalism necessarily requires a break with the wretched Labour Party. In Northern Ireland, the personally courageous and dedicated militants who would otherwise squander their lives in the service of dead-end Green nationalism can and must be won to the perspective of proletarian revolution. What is urgently called for is the construction of a Leninist party to unite both Protestant and Catholic workers along class lines through intervention with a revolutionary programme against the all-sided oppression of the Catholic minority in the North as well as against murderous sectarianism and forced reunification. Black ["hot-cargo"] all military transport to Northern Ireland! British butchers out of Ireland now! For an Irish Workers Republic within a Socialist Federation of the British Isles! ■

# Willie Darden...

*(continued from page 16)*

> hide.... I have always, in all of the interviews that I've ever given since I've been here, complained about the injustice, about the racism, about the facts of my innocence."

Hours after millions had watched Darden's image fade from their TV screens, his body was seared by 2,000 volts of electricity. It was state murder, American-style.

Darden was black, and the simple fact that he was tried by an all-white jury in the Deep South tells the story. "Quite frankly," said Rev. Joseph Ingle on *Nightline*, "in Willie's case, it's the old Southern way, and I'm telling you as a white Southerner, born and raised in North Carolina.... It's just plain, simple racism." Darden was accused in 1973 of murdering a white furniture store owner named James Turman. Mrs. Turman made the first positive identification of Darden at a hearing (there was no line-up) in which he was the *only* black man present in the courtroom! Practically calling for a "legal" lynching, in the language of the slavocracy the prosecutor in court called Darden "an animal" who "shouldn't be out of his cell unless he has a leash on him." His court-appointed lawyer was five months out of school, had never tried a criminal case before, and failed to call a key witness who saw Darden with a disabled car miles from the murder scene at the time it happened. It was a pure racist frame-up.

### State Murder Accelerates

Since the Supreme Court reinstituted the death penalty in 1976 after a brief hiatus, the pace of executions has accelerated—96 killed since then, 25 in 1987 alone. Half of the nearly 2,000 people on death row are black and Hispanic—four times their proportion in the population, a reflection of the racial bias in the application of the death penalty. Last year the rightward-moving Supreme Court put the stamp of approval on that as well: despite statistics which proved that blacks who kill whites are given the death penalty *22 times* more frequently than those who kill blacks, the court ruled that that was a "potentially irrelevant factor" (see "Down with Racist Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987). In Florida *no* white has ever been sentenced to death for killing a black. Now the appeals are running out and the pace of state murder accelerates. Only hours before Darden's death, Vietnam veteran Wayne Felde was electrocuted in Louisiana.

In his last words, Willie Darden said:

> "I just hope that the American peoples will take a deeper look inside of themselves at the barbarism, at the racism, at the injustice that is created around capital punishment."

The death penalty in the U.S. is a historical legacy of slavery and racism—it is no accident that the old slave states of the Deep South account for nearly all executions of the last decade and the majority since 1900. And throughout the country the cops simply gun down blacks and Hispanics on the streets before they can even get to the courtroom. This systematic, cold-blooded state murder will come to an end only when the proletariat can overthrow the moribund capitalist class, which retains its grip on power more and more through sheer naked terror. ■

# Jesse Jackson...

*(continued from page 16)*

the South and lately killed busing in the North. The Democratic Party has mobilized the population for every war in this century, from World War I and II to Korea and Vietnam.

Part of the solid black vote for Jackson no doubt represents the democratic aspirations of blacks for integration ("We have a right to vote for a black man as president"). But when Jackson says politics have transcended the "racial aspect," he is telling the mass of working-class and poor blacks to stay "in their place." His primary victories are being painted as the fit culmination of the civil rights movement: "The hands that picked cotton now pick the president." Yet if anything the political and social climate—racist cop terror, Forsyth County, the bombing of Philly MOVE—demonstrates the absolute limits of electoral politics for blacks and the working class. The civil rights movement won its gains through mass mobilizations in the streets and it will take a mass movement linked to the power of the working class to break the tide of racist "rollback."

Jackson is an *enemy* of that kind of struggle. His aim is to channel black hatred for racist injustice and exploitation into Democratic Party electoral politics. Today the entire reformist left—from the Moscow-line Communist Party to Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America—are seeking to revive enthusiasm for this party of racism and war by glorifying Jackson as its great savior. They all see the Democratic Party as the arena, the only arena they can work in. They think that Jesse won't win, but that they can make change there. This is a terrible illusion.

The oppression of black people, with its roots in the old Southern slavocracy, the exploitation of all working people through wage slavery, cannot be eradicated until the capitalist system itself is rooted out—this system which has slaughtered tens of millions of human beings in two imperialist world wars and countless colonial adventures, which condemns millions of poor and minority people to go to bed hungry, which consigns entire continents to famine while plowing under food that is not profitable to harvest, which holds the Third World in thrall through crippling debt and military threat. The urgent need is the forging of a *revolutionary leadership* to mobilize the power of blacks, Hispanics, all workers and the oppressed, in struggle *against the Democrats* for socialist revolution. Break with the Democrats! Black freedom demands a revolutionary workers party!

### Running for Democratic Power Broker

In claiming "I can win," Jackson is pushing the pernicious myth that anybody can grow up to be president. "America is a better America, a stronger America," he said after winning Super Tuesday. In racist, capitalist America where black people are forcibly segregated at the bottom of society, ghettoized, terrorized, that is a lie. While appealing to race pride among blacks—that a black man is running for president—Jackson is *not* running for president. He is running for Democratic Party power broker.

He is planning to broker his front-runner status into Democratic Party kingmaker. His emissaries are putting out the word that Jesse won't be a "spoiler" in November. "He doesn't want to throw it away, he doesn't want to be blamed for a Democratic defeat," says Philly black Congressman Bill Gray. Texas Congressman Mickey Leyland is one of many of his supporters "who have approached white colleagues to explain that Jackson wants a role influencing policy, not a


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

**Detroit**
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

**Los Angeles**
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
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**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

place on the ticket or some other concession that might hurt the party" (*New York Times*, 13 March). Even staunch Dixiecrats like Texas Democratic chairman Bob Slagle now say:

> "I think everybody a year ago thought Jackson would be destructive. Now Jackson has said enough times over that he's committed to the Democratic Party and its ultimate nominee that people have quit worrying about it."

Jackson is particularly key to the "Southern strategy." The Democrats cannot win an election if they keep losing the South. They need Jackson for massive black voter registration and turnout, and he is delivering.

The "Southern strategy" means racist rollback. Jackson praises the "New South" ("no more governors standing in school house doors") as he glad-hands racist Alabama ex-governor George Wallace. But the white East Texas sheriffs who beat Loyal Garner to death never heard of the "New South." Neither did the Florida governor who had Willie Darden electrocuted last week. After the Supreme Court ruled that racial discrimination is no reason to stop executions, Jackson promised to make opposition to the death penalty central to his campaign. But this was buried, along with Willie Darden. At every point Jackson, to broaden his base, has sought to distance himself from positions defending black rights.

Gearing up for the New York primary in April, Jesse praises Ed Koch for cracking down on crack. What about Koch's cops who are cracking heads, gunning down blacks and Hispanics in the streets and in their beds? No problem, says Jesse, because "today, racial violence is illegal" (tell it to the cops!):

> "And though it happens that now and then we have a Howard Beach in New York and a Forsyth County in Georgia, the law is swift to apprehend it, because we marched and we achieved racial justice under the law."

While minority students from Amherst to Ann Arbor face a wave of race-terror, while skinhead punks bash gays in the streets of San Francisco, and prison guards in white sheets terrorize black prisoners in upstate New York jails, Jesse tells blacks the fight against race-terror is history. We have to stop dwelling "on that which pulls us apart," Jackson preached, while obscenely excusing the lynchers, declaring "we've lost more by dope than by the rope."

UPI

**Jackson courts George "Segregation Forever" Wallace in Montgomery, Alabama last summer.**

Jesse will come into Atlanta and sell black votes to the highest bidder. And for what? Maybe Jackson will be appointed "Drug Czar," get to be America's head narc. And black people will get the shaft once again. This deal has been floated by A.M. Rosenthal, Zionist pig emeritus editor of the *New York Times*, ex-Nixon flack William Safire and New York City mayor Ed Koch. In reward for his new moderation, suggested Rosenthal, "Between elections, Mr. Jackson can serve himself, his country and whoever is the President. He can take on the job of running and coordinating the fight against narcotics in the United States." Because of the real devastation of the ghettos *reflected* in drug addiction, many black people will be in sympathy with this scheme. While Jesse pushes the myth, "Up with hope, down with dope," the reactionary role of the drug witchhunt in policing black America can be seen in the Reaganite company it keeps.

The drug witchhunt is sucker bait to *disarm black people* in the face of racist terror and to *sanction cop terror*, from narcs to police sweeps to vigilante action under the guise of "cleaning up" the black community. It is, as Jackson says, "a message of the '80s," and can only go down in a period like the late Reagan years marked by the glaring absence of black struggle. The most grotesque example of this degeneration is in New York, where a *self-admitted FBI informer*, Al Sharpton, continues to command the allegiance of black activists. Only in such a climate could there be a "debate" in the black press over "collaborating with the collaborator"!

WV Photo

**Jesse Jackson vs. black struggle. When 10,000 marched in Norfolk for school busing in 1983, Jesse told them to forget busing, vote Democrat.**

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Jackson is pushing the flag-waving economic protectionism and anti-communism that is standard Democratic Party fare. If Jesse is not as overtly xenophobic as Gephardt with his "yellow peril" Japan-bashing, it's only because this anti-Asian racism is so blatant blacks won't buy it. Jesse's is a soft core version. In the chauvinist code words of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy he lashes out at the multinationals exporting jobs to "slave labor" markets abroad. "We must reinvest in America. We must say to Chrysler, to IBM, to GE, to stop putting profits over people and to put America back to work."

Some commentators have said that Jackson cannot get elected, not just because he's black, but because he's too far left. But as Republican political analyst Kevin Phillips told the *Wall Street Journal* (1 March), "When Mr. Jackson talks about corporate lack of patriotism, that isn't 'left'." Jesse heartily agrees, saying he delivers tough messages on drugs, sex and education that even card-carrying conservatives could love. On foreign policy he is liberal anti-communist. Jesse says he complained to Ortega last summer about double-crossing the Democratic Congress by going to Russia. "I said to him, 'You know, when we fought the contra-aid... you went to Moscow the next day. That undercut a constituency base in this country'." But Ortega isn't running in the U.S. election—he's got a country to defend. In Panama, Jackson supports Reagan's ouster of Noriega.

Playing the broker is no new game for Jesse. He's a hustler whose life motto might be "I have a scheme." Jackson came to prominence in Chicago, a product of the defeat of the civil rights movement after M.L. King signed the Palmer House agreements acknowledging failure in the fight to integrate "Segregation City." Jesse *turned his back on integration struggles* and built his "Operation Push" on getting his "cut" by brokering black business in the ghetto. Except, in this deeply racist country, there is no space for a black bourgeoisie. So Jesse's brand of "black capitalism" was to push (or boycott, depending on the percentage) white corporate giants like Coca-Cola and Burger King.

While the Black Panthers were electrifying the ghetto, Jesse was prattling about "green power" against "black power," trying to cool out blacks by telling them the system really works. That Jesse is the ultimate broker of *black defeat* was most hideously obvious in May 1985, when Philadelphia black mayor Wilson Goode ordered the firebombing of the MOVE commune, murdering eleven black people including five children and burning out an entire block of black West Philly. Jesse uttered not a word of protest against this mass murder—but sought to use the building reconstruction as an opportunity to broker for black contractors!

A recent study—"The Kerner Report Twenty Years Later"—has documented the deepening misery of black America 20 years after the '60s ghetto explosions in which blacks in their anger began to tear this country apart. With infusions of cash in the poverty programs to appease the ghetto, and naked state power against the black militants like the Panthers, the ruling class got out sideways. The installation of the black mayors (supplemented by direct police terror) to hold the lid on the inner cities has been more or less effective to this day. The result: more ghetto poverty, more segregation, more cop terror and more BEOs (black elected officials) to administer black oppression.

It will take hard class struggle, the integrated power of black and white workers, to do away with the racist oppression rooted in the very fabric of American capitalism. And here lies the strength of blacks—not as voting cattle in the rulers' electoral shell game, but as workers in key sections of the economy. Blacks, as the most advanced sector of the proletariat, have the power to shut this country down. The crying need is for a break with the Democrats and the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class and minorities in the class struggle for power. ■

# Norfolk NAACP Forces Down Dixie Flag of Racist Terror

On February 23 the Norfolk chapter of the NAACP marched to the Norfolk City Council to take care of some basic political sanitation—removing the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror from the chambers. The NAACP's Rev. L.P. Watson noted that the flag represents a time when "my grandparents were chattel and not considered human beings" (*Virginian-Pilot*, 24 February). But when they got there, the chamber was bare—the council had hastily removed the flag and banished it to a storage room. The Confederate flag means racist terror for Norfolk's heavily black, working-class population—there has been a rash of KKK-style cross-burnings over the past year. Removal of this rallying point for the lynchers is a victory!

The NAACP's anti-Confederate flag campaign began last December all over the South, where this racist symbol forms part or all of the flags of four states. In Alabama on February 2, 14 black state legislators were arrested as they tried to scale an eight-foot fence to tear down the Confederate flag from the state capitol building, as a crowd of racists waving the "stars and bars" screamed epithets. In mid-March, protests by a black legislator forced the removal of Oklahoma City's Confederate flag.

From Forsyth County, Georgia to Brooklyn, New York, wherever racist mobs gather the Confederate flag is sure to appear like chancre sores in a case of syphilis. In 1984, Spartacist League supporter Ritchie Bradley, wearing a Union Army uniform, twice tore down the flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center as Spartacist and Labor Black League for Social Defense supporters and passers-by rallied. We need mass labor/black action against racist terror, like the 5,000-strong 1982 mobilization, including the Nat Turner Brigade of black workers from Norfolk, that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C., to teach these punks a little Civil War history—*they lost!*

They will not be taught the lesson they deserve by the likes of Democrat Jesse Jackson, who at a May 1983 Norfolk demonstration of more than 10,000 to defend Norfolk's busing program outrageously stated, "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost." Then as now, Jackson's role is to round up black votes for the Dixiecrat party of war and racism. We need an integrated party of the working class to finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution! Down with the Confederate flag of slavery and race-terror! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

# Jesse Jackson Fronts for Party of War and Racism

After Super Tuesday, the smoke cleared on the primary battlefield for the two parties of American capitalism. The Republican machine has rolled up a commanding lead for Vice President George Bush, the Number Two unindicted Contragate conspirator, over conservative Senator Bob Dole. The program of ex-CIA Director Bush, who combines Texas oil money with Connecticut Yankee prejudice: four more years of Reaganism without Reagan. Dole, they say, is running as a "populist" (the "poor boy from Gucci gulch," quipped a Bush staffer), meaning that he throws around demagogic rhetoric about invading Nicaragua while Bush was actually trying to do it through his "cabal of zealots" in the White House basement. On the Democratic side, the seven dwarfs are dwindling, presaging a "brokered" convention in Atlanta between Massachusetts governor Mike Dukakis' Northeastern yuppies and Al Gore's "New South" Cold Warriors. And then there's Jesse Jackson.

Jesse Jackson has been running as a mainstream Democrat, and doing phenomenally well. The spectre of a black front-runner coming into the Atlanta convention originally sent panic through the Democratic Party leadership. Novelist Ralph Ellison wrote of blacks as the "Invisible Man"—for months the bourgeois media treated Jackson as the "invisible candidate." Racist reaction ranged from death threats to a KKK plan to march on the Democratic convention.

AP/Wide World

**Jackson runs for power broker amidst Democratic field of yuppies, Dixiecrats and yahoos.**

In contrast to the inflatable plastic midgets running against him, Jackson seems positively presidential. "America Is Listening to Message of the '88 Jackson," headlined the *Los Angeles Times* after his big win Super Tuesday when Jesse won five states, and outpolled everyone in the raw vote. It was no surprise that black voters are uniformly voting for Jackson. But Jackson's mix of "anti-corporate" rhetoric and anti-drug crusading is attracting some white support as well.

White Iowa farmers tearfully embrace Jackson—he's the only one who stood with them against the banks' and feds' repossession of farms that have been in the family since the Homestead Act. Midwestern meatpackers at Hormel and Cudahy, Latina cannery strikers in Watsonville, California shake hands with Jesse—he's the only candidate who would fly in and walk a picket line. The thousands cheering as the candidate shouts, "we need Jackson Action," are not black students on campus, but white Appalachian miners in Hazard, Kentucky. At a flag-waving Bay Area labor rally, Jackson said he'd "rather have Roosevelt in a wheelchair than Reagan on a high horse." Under the gun in the sabre-rattling, union-busting climate of the late Reagan years, sections of the embattled labor movement are looking to Jackson as an articulate spokesman for FDR-style "friend of labor" Democratic Party coalitionism.

Make no mistake. When Jackson walks the picket lines of striking workers, or marches through the streets with black protesters, it's *not to support their struggles, but to cool them out.* Today the press (after they could no longer ignore him) patronizes Jackson, praising his newfound "mellowness," "maturity" and "moderation" (he's stopped hugging Fidel Castro and Yasir Arafat). But from his earliest days in the civil rights movement, Jesse has been Mr. Anti-Struggle—the fireman brought in to douse the flames of black revolt. The Jackson message is old-style New Deal liberalism, which from FDR to JFK and LBJ meant a raw deal for black people and the working class. From the 1930s through today the Democratic Party has masqueraded as the "people's party" of American capitalism. Supported for decades by the black establishment and labor officialdom, as well as the social democrats and Stalinists, they have tied blacks to the Dixiecrats, presided over Jim Crow in

*continued on page 14*

# The Legal Murder of Willie Darden

William Coupon

**Willie Jasper Darden was executed proclaiming his innocence.**

## Down with Racist Death Penalty!

Willie Jasper Darden, aged 54, sat on Florida's death row for 14 years, longer than any other inmate. Six times he was prepared for execution, and six times he was reprieved at the last moment. For the poetry he'd written to the many thousands who wrote him sympathetic letters over the years, he became known as the "sage of death row." Last week he was readied for execution a seventh time; but last week there was no reprieve. The Supreme Court voted not to review his case. Florida governor Bob Martinez immediately set an execution date of March 15, allowing only seven days for final appeals rather than the usual 30 days. Willie Jasper Darden went to his death proclaiming his innocence, yet another victim of the "legal" murder machine of racist America.

Among those appealing for his life were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Amnesty International and even the Pope. Darden never got a retrial, but the night before his execution he was interviewed on ABC's *Nightline* with Ted Koppel. Like a scene in a '30s prison movie, Koppel described how the lights went out during the interview because "they were testing the generator for the electric chair." His hands manacled, Darden remained calm throughout and firmly told his audience:

> "If I'm executed tomorrow morning, it's not going to change the facts that I'm innocent. I will take that innocence to the grave. I will take my principles to the grave. I will take my dignity to the grave. I will stand proud, and I'll walk with my head high, because I have no guilty conscience. I have nothing to

*continued on page 14*

AP

**March 15: Protesters outside Florida State Prison death row.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 450 8 April 1988


## Nicaragua

# Sandinista-Contra Pact: Revolution in Grave Danger

The cease-fire accord between the radical-nationalist Sandinista government and the U.S.-created terrorist army poses grave dangers to the Nicaraguan Revolution. The loser contras, beaten on the battlefield and their arms pipeline cut off, say they were forced to stop the fighting—and that's a very good thing. But in exchange for recognition of its rule, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has given dangerous guarantees to the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie and its patrons in Washington which could spell the rollback of many of the limited social gains achieved by the overthrow of the Somoza tyranny. The Sandinistas are offering to run Nicaragua within the limits set by Yankee imperialism, with the Democrats rather than Ronald Reagan calling the tune.

The agreement signed March 23 in the Nicaraguan border town of Sapoá provides for a 60-day truce, during which the contras are to regroup (with their weapons) in several zones; the release (in stages) of all contra prisoners, as well as former National Guardsmen of the Somoza dictatorship; contra participation in a "national dialogue"; and a definitive cease-fire to be negotiated in Managua beginning April 6. The pact guarantees amnesty and full political rights for the counterrevolution. In return, the contras formally accept the legitimacy of the FSLN government and President Daniel Ortega. This is a setback for the Reaganauts, but they are already vindictively retaliating by tightening the trade embargo to cut off a trickle of coffee imports to the U.S.

Gentile/Newsweek

**Contra Cardinal Obando y Bravo signs "peace" accord while Sandinista defense minister Humberto Ortega (seated), Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega (left) and contra leader Adolfo Calero (right) look on.**

Larry Boyd/Impact Visuals

**Managua, September 1987: Nicaraguan mothers, carrying pictures of their children murdered by Somoza's National Guardsmen and Reagan's contra terrorists, march against amnesty for these butchers.**

As we warned of the Arias plan (Esquipulas II) "peace" accords last August, this deal is an attempt to achieve at the bargaining table what the U.S. and the contras were unable to win by force of arms or through economic strangulation of Nicaragua: reversing the spread of revolution in Central America. Already all aid to the Salvadoran leftist insurgents has been banned; *La Prensa*, the U.S.-financed voice of the internal contra, has been reopened; Archbishop Obando y Bravo, the contra Cardinal, has established himself as the rallying point for "national reconciliation." Now the Somozaist butchers are being let loose and contra chiefs would be allowed to organize "peacefully," although they're dragging their feet on completing the deal.

Through seven years of the CIA's contra war and U.S. economic sanctions which have bled the country dry, the Nicaraguan working people have valiantly defended their revolution, refusing to "cry uncle" as Reagan demanded. "The contras have had it," said one U.S. military adviser (*New York Times*, 3 April). That victory was achieved by the prowess of the Sandinista Army, including its latest offensive, which bottled the contras up inside Nicaragua by cutting off their escape route through the Bocay Valley. The cutoff of military aid by a divided U.S. Congress drove the knife in. Now contra leader Adolfo Calero bitterly complains that "once again the United States has abandoned an ally."

### No "Rollback" of the Nicaraguan Revolution!

After the terrible toll of a decade of almost constant war against U.S. puppets—100,000 dead (in a country of three million) plus economic privations that have produced widespread misery—it is understandable that the promise of peace has been greeted with relief by the Nicaraguan masses. Even so, many found the amnesty for the Somozaist killers hard to take: "These people were able to bomb their own hometowns," one woman complained (*Christian Science Monitor*, 29 March). "These Beasts Will Not Return," proclaimed the FSLN's *Barricada* in 1983. But now they are returning. This is a hideous insult to everyone who has lost a son or daughter, mother or father, brother or sister, to Reagan's murderous mercenaries.

Moreover, to allow pathological killers like contra comandantes Attila and Hitler, Mercenario and El Buitre (Vulture) to walk the streets is deadly dangerous. *Barricada* (30 March) reports that "the secretary of the union at FANATEX [Nicaragua's largest textile factory], Bernicia Sanders, announced that relatives of the Somozaists who were amnestied have made death threats against many workers of that enterprise who are fully identified with the Revolution." The organizers of the

*continued on page 4*


**Ligue Trotskyste Fuses with Tribune Communiste**

**Revolutionary Regroupment in France.....6**

# Bc Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Save the Sharpeville Six! Free Moses Mayekiso!

The scheduled execution of the Sharpeville Six has again focused world attention on the brutal oppression synonymous with apartheid South Africa. Mojalefa Sefatsa, Reid Mokoena, Oupa Diniso, Duma Khumalo, Francis Mokgesi and Therese Ramashamola were sentenced to death by hanging for being present when members of an enraged crowd of black rent strikers killed a collaborator of the apartheid regime in September 1984. International protest compelled the South African court to issue a four-week stay of execution on March 17, citing "new" evidence that police had tortured a key government witness into giving perjured testimony.

None of the Six are alleged to have participated in killing the hated apartheid stooge. Rather, using a Nazi-like principle of collective guilt, the court ruled that their presence in the crowd outside the home of Lekoa township deputy mayor Jacob Dlamini established a "common purpose" with those who doused Dlamini with gasoline and set him ablaze after he fired a gun into the crowd of rent protesters. Four days after the stay of execution, a million South African black workers held a nationwide strike to mark the 28th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre and to protest the crackdown on opponents of apartheid.

The case of the Sharpeville Six has evoked an international outcry of protest, compelling even Reagan, Thatcher and the Pope to appeal for clemency. Demonstrations were held in cities around the world. South African president P.W. Botha's haughty response that he would not pressure the courts was followed the next week by his pardon for six soldiers implicated in the November 1985 assassination of Immanuel Shifidi, a prominent member of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

The stay of execution was a ploy to quash the protest. The working masses of the world must not let down their guard. Approximately 40 others are scheduled for execution for their opposition to apartheid and its lackeys. On March 18 the bloody apartheid hangman took Tsepo Letsoara, convicted for killing a Port Elizabeth cop informer by using the burning rubber tire "necklace" which has become a favored method of eliminating the hated apartheid collaborators. The racist butchers who run South Africa want to send the Six to the gallows in the dark of night when nobody's watching. The Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest to the South African Embassy demanding the immediate release of the Sharpeville Six, noting: "This pretext for legal murder evokes the contempt of millions around the globe for your system of apartheid terror."

WV Photo

**Chicago, March 18: Labor rally demands freedom for black South African trade-union leader Moses Mayekiso.**

Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the 130,000-strong National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), and four of his comrades continue to fight for their freedom. Mayekiso, his brother Mzwanele, Obed Bapela, Richard Mdakane and Paul Tshabalala are charged with treason, subversion and sedition for their role as leaders of the Alexandra Action Committee. In February 1986 the Committee organized a revolt in the Alexandra township, expelling police and government officials. For years Mayekiso's effectiveness as a trade-union leader and his standing in the township made him a prime target of the vicious apartheid police state at whose hands he has suffered both imprisonment and torture.

In the U.S. the United Auto Workers have taken up his cause, also supported by the United Steelworkers of America. The PDC has actively joined his fight for freedom, protesting his detention to the South African government, and along with the Spartacist League and the sections of the international Spartacist tendency participating in demonstrations on his behalf. In Chicago, a joint contingent of the SL, PDC and Labor Black Struggle League joined in a March 18 demonstration of 300 people.

Unfortunately, Mayekiso's defense is threatened by the poison of sectarianism. At its merger conference last summer Mayekiso's NUMSA restated that while adopting the African National Congress' Freedom Charter, this was only the "first stage" of liberation of the South African masses. The ANC's uncritical support groups outside South Africa have all but ignored (and in Britain for a time opposed) the campaign to free Mayekiso. We condemn all efforts to sabotage the defense of this courageous leader of a strategic section of South Africa's black working class, in whose hands is the power to bury apartheid once and for all.

As black resistance continues, white South Africa increasingly polarizes. Botha's ruling party lost ground in recent elections to the even more racist Conservative Party while the fascist Afrikaner Resistance Party is ominously growing. Under this pressure the Botha regime has tightened the vise on all opponents of apartheid terror. In Paris on March 29, ANC representative Dulcie September was assassinated as she entered her office. Last month the government banned the main anti-apartheid organizations from "performing any acts whatsoever" and has even shut down the liberal Catholic *New Nation* newspaper. To crush the union power which cost the racist bosses over nine million workdays in strikes last year the government has proposed laws to outlaw "legal" strikes and gut the treasuries of unions for calling illegal work stoppages.

There are increasing cracks in South Africa's white population. Draft resistance among white conscripts has become a problem for the regime. The End Conscription Campaign, an anti-draft group founded in 1983, has a membership of thousands. On March 27, Ivan Toms, a 35-year-old physician, was sentenced to 21 months in prison for resisting continued service as a reserve lieutenant in the South African Defense Force. Toms told the sentencing court on March 3, "I believe South Africa is in a civil war now, and in that situation,

*continued on page 5*

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Soviet Power in the Caucasus

*In a work dedicated to the martyred leaders of the 1918 Baku Soviet, headed by the Armenian Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan, Trotsky pointed out that only proletarian revolution was able to overcome the age-old national antagonisms in Transcaucasia. The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution in the Caucasus is directly relevant today to Afghanistan, where only the extension of the social gains of the October Revolution can prevent a bloodbath by Islamic fanatics and a savage tribalist civil war.*

The Soviet power alone has established peace and national intercourse between them [Transcaucasian peoples]. At the elections to the Soviets, the Baku and Tbilisi workers elect a Tartar, an Armenian, or a Georgian, irrespective of their nationality. In Trans-Caucasia, the Moslem, Armenian, Georgian, and Russian Red regiments live side by side. They are imbued with the conviction that they are one army, and no power on earth will make them move against one another. On the other hand, they will defend Soviet Trans-Caucasia against any and every external foe.

The national pacification of Trans-Caucasia, which has been achieved by the Soviet revolution, is in itself a fact of enormous political and cultural significance. In it is expressed a real live internationalism, which we can safely put against the empty pacifist discourses of the heroes of the Second International, which are but a supplement to the chauvinist practices of its national sections.

—Leon Trotsky, *Between Red and White* (1922)


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**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co, 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial); 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.*

**No. 450** **8 April 1988**



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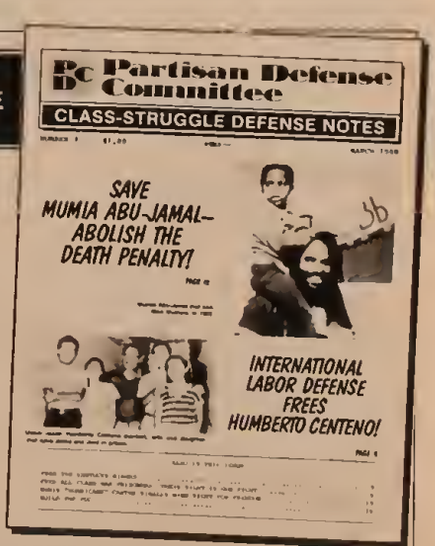


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## Courageous Technician Exposed Israeli Nuclear Arsenal

# Mordechai Vanunu Sentenced to 18 Years

In October 1986, the London *Sunday Times* published a bombshell: the small, primitive nuclear cache of 15 or 20 weapons Zionist Israel was considered to own was in fact a mammoth arsenal ten times that size, more than enough to bomb every Arab city *and the Soviet Union*. By the time this blockbuster hit the newsstands, the man responsible for exposing it to the world had been "disappeared," kidnapped by Israeli intelligence, the Mossad. For nearly 18 months Mordechai Vanunu has been caged in a six-by-nine-foot dungeon in Ashkelon, monitored day and night by a video camera, deprived of even the minimal rights normally accorded prisoners, sealed off from the world and, but for rare brief visits, also from his family. On March 27, Mordechai Vanunu, aged 34, was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment, most likely to be spent in solitary confinement.

So tight was the shroud of secrecy enveloping Vanunu's trial that even the 60-page decision by the three-judge court three days earlier was censored, but for a single sentence: "We decided the defendant is guilty on all three counts." The three charges: gathering information with the intent to harm state security, disseminating information to harm state security, aiding and abetting the enemy in time of war. Who is the enemy? What war? To the Zionist nuclear madmen, it doesn't matter—they are at war with the whole world, everybody is the enemy.

Mordechai Vanunu is treated by the Zionist state terrorists far worse than they treat a Nazi war criminal like John Demjanjuk, known as "Ivan the Terrible" for his sadistic butchery at the Treblinka death camp during World War II. Demjanjuk has been handled with kid gloves in a public trial, while the judges allowed death camp survivors who came to testify against this murderer to be humiliated and harassed. But the Zionist rulers, whose apprenticeship was served in seeking to collaborate with the Nazi Third Reich, are themselves war criminals. The Zionist state deems Vanunu a traitor because he exposed the scope and scale of their terrifying doomsday machine.

Mordechai Vanunu's courageous act was a service to all humanity. He must not be forgotten. There must be an outcry of protest from the international workers movement demanding the release of this man from the clutches of Zionist terror. *Free Mordechai Vanunu!*

Rev John McKnight

Domenica del Corriere

**Mordechai Vanunu (above), bound and gagged by Zionist state terrorists.**

### What Are They Doing Wilh 200 A-Bombs?

Israel's possession of atomic weapons has been an open secret for years, a common subject of popular fiction such as Gerald Seymour's *Glory Boys*. As far hack as 1974, a CIA memorandum noted that "Israel has already produced nuclear weapons." But these were considered to be a handful of primitive bombs, similar to the 20-kiloton bomb dropped by the U.S. on Nagasaki. Then came the *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) story:

> "However, Mordechai Vanunu's testimony, which has been checked with leading nuclear experts on both sides of the Atlantic, shows that one of the world's worst kept secrets is, in fact, one of the best kept confidences of the century. Far from being a nuclear pigmy, the evidence is that Israel must now be regarded a major nuclear power, ranking sixth in the atomic league table, with a stockpile of at least 100 nuclear weapons and with the components and ability to build atomic, neutron or hydrogen bombs."

According to the *Sunday Times*, "as many as 200 nuclear weapons of varying destructive power have been assembled...." Vanunu provided photos as well as detailed information about the Dimona nuclear facility in the Negev desert, where he had worked for nine years, which proved that it produced 40 kilograms of plutonium a year. To shield this massive nuclear arms factory from prying eyes, the Israelis had built an elaborate structure, with false walls hiding access to a six-story underground reactor called Machon 2.

Obviously tiny Israel did not acquire this massive nuclear arsenal on its own. The reactor was first built in 1958 by the French, and passed off as a textile factory. After its discovery by an American U-2 spy plane in 1960, Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion then claimed that it was "a scientific institute for research in problems of arid zones and desert flora and fauna." Later it was billed as a desalination plant. During the 1967 war an Israeli fighter jet, out of control over the Negev, was shot down to avoid a catastrophic collision with the "desalination" project.

The U.S. has been complicit from the get-go. In the mid-1960s, President Lyndon Johnson ordered a cover-up when the Atomic Energy Commission discovered several hundred pounds of enriched uranium missing from the inventory of a Pennsylvania company headed by one Zalman Shapiro. Department of Energy records document a 1963 shipment to Israel of four metric tons of heavy water, a key ingredient in running the nuclear reactor at Dimona. Last year Israel purchased 800 (!) nuclear bomb triggers from an American firm. At the same time Israel successfully tested its Jericho 2 ballistic missile, with a range of 500 miles, and is expected to soon have another version with a range of 900 miles, making the Baku oil fields and strategic Soviet naval installations on the Black Sea accessible.

Several times after retiring as prime minister, Ben-Gurion hinted that Israel was prepared for a "preventative war" against the surrounding Arab states and had the "great equalizer" which would offset the fact that three million Israeli Jews faced 100 million Arabs (*Ha'aretz*, 14 November 1980, translated by Israel Shahak). When an Israeli defeat looked imminent in the first days of the 1973 October war, an earlier version of the Jericho armed with nuclear warheads was placed on combat readiness. In response, the Soviet Union was reportedly prepared to ship nuclear warheads to its Egyptian client state and the U.S. put its forces on red alert.

As we wrote in response to the Vanunu revelations:

> "A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play.... But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: *Russia*. Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets?... The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III."
>
> —*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986

Can anyone doubt that the bloodthirsty Zionist rulers, if driven into a corner, would be prepared to take the whole world with them? The same day Vanunu was convicted, Israeli troops killed two more Palestinian protesters. At least 111 Palestinians have now been gunned down by the Israeli butchers since the start of "The Uprising." When, finally, an Israeli soldier was killed in this one-sided war, the Zionist butchers had the chutzpah to scream, "This is murder." More than 4,000 Palestinians have been rounded up in the last weeks. In preparation for Land Day rallies on March 30, commemorating the murder of six Palestinians protesting Zionist land seizures, the whole of the Occupied Territories was sealed off. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir warned that the Palestinians would be crushed "like grasshoppers": "Anybody who wants to damage this fortress and other fortresses we are establishing will have his head smashed against the boulders and walls" (*New York Times*, 31 March).

### The Man in Ihe Iron Mask

The Zionist terrorists, in collaboration with their imperialist allies and patrons, claim extraterritorial rights around the world. Even before he got to London, Mordechai Vanunu was being tracked in Australia by ASIO, Australian security. In London, Thatcher's MI6 assisted the Mossad. Lured from there to Rome by the infamous "Cindy the Spy" (Cheryl Bentov, a transplanted American Jew from Orlando, Florida married to Mossad agent Ofer Bentov), Vanunu was drugged and spirited to Israel in a cargo boat, as his brother Meir put it in a CBS *60 Minutes* (27 March) interview, "landed like Kunta Kinte, chained" and held incommunicado.

The Jerusalem court where Vanunu was tried was completely sealed off and surrounded by guards. Vanunu was driven to court in a van with painted windows, led to a sealed courtroom through a special "Vanunu tunnel" and forced to wear a motorcycle helmet to cover his face—all so he could not even be photographed. He became known as "the man in the iron mask." When he tried to remove the suffocating helmet with his manacled hands on the first day of his trial last August 30, security guards beat him viciously.

Israel's pervasive chauvinism permeated the Vanunu trial. A Sephardic Jew who has converted to Christianity, Vanunu was given the treatment the Zionists reserve for all those (like Arabs) they deem "subhuman." His American girlfriend, Judy Zimmet, described how "they have made caricatures of him with crosses" and hate letters have been circulated to the effect that "the religious conversion sort of reinforces that what Motti did was done as a traitor and as a spy." Vanunu's family and supporters

*continued on page 5*

**Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand demonstrates in defense of Vanunu outside Israeli consulate in Sydney, February 13.**

# U.S. Out of Panama!

As their contra war was running out of steam in Nicaragua, Reagan's raiders struck back in Panama—or maybe struck out. Last week, just as 3,200 troops of the 82nd Airborne and Seventh Infantry were being pulled out of Honduras after an "emergency" deployment against a mythical Sandinista invasion, the Pentagon announced it was sending 1,300 more troops to Panama to "send a message" to General Manuel Noriega, who has the gall to refuse to step down as strongman when the U.S. ambassador and the State Department demand it.

Complaining about Noriega's "heavy-handed tactics," they sent in 26 helicopters, including seven Cobra gunships, canine squads and headquarters teams for a full-scale intervention force. And meanwhile the Marine assault ship *Okinawa* lurks offshore. Now they're going through a soft-cop, hard-cop routine where Mr. Softee is war minister Carlucci while Secretary of State Shultz wants to kidnap Noriega and launch a CIA-coordinated coup. The U.S.' former pet thug would presumably be brought here to be put on trial by the "Justice" Department headed by arch-Contragater and sleaze king Ed Meese. And the Democrats, including Jesse Jackson, are backing the Reaganauts to the hilt on this one.

One thing has to be said for General Manuel Noriega: "Pineapple Face" hasn't cut and run at the first sign of displeasure from that two-bit Big Liar at Foggy Bottom, Elliott Abrams, unlike Marcos in the Philippines or Haiti's Duvalier. And something else: in nine months of street confrontations, not one person has been killed in Panama—unlike that "free world democracy" Israel, which has shot down well over 100 unarmed Palestinians in recent months. To be sure, Noriega's no nice guy. But who gives the crooks and hypocrites in Washington a license to topple governments at will?

Noriega was trained at the U.S. Army's "School of the Americas" in the Canal Zone, widely known as the School for Dictators. At one point in his CIA career he was being paid $200,000 a year, making him the second-highest paid U.S. employee after Reagan. Just pulling himself up by his jackboot straps, so to speak. Noriega's troubles apparently began when he piqued Oliver North by refusing to come on board in a plot to invade Nicaragua (see "Panama: CIA-Contra Drug Connection," *WV* No. 448, 11 March).

Ronald Reagan still thinks he's living in the heyday of the Monroe Doctrine, riding up San Juan Hill like Teddy Roosevelt (or was it Tom Mix?). Not only have they brought World War II battleships out of mothballs to practice gunboat diplomacy, they send DEA hit squads and Blackhawk helicopters into the Bolivian jungles, indict leaders of foreign countries under American laws, bully the UN, and on and on. The White House gang just can't face the fact that U.S. imperialism's power is in decline, though the Pentagon is naturally nervous about Reagan's blustering, which got 241 Marines blown up in the Beirut fiasco in 1983.

As for Noriega, the Panamanian workers will have their own scores to settle with this former CIA "asset" and his "Doberman" thugs. If the U.S. keeps turning the economic screws, he could call on his Colombian drug pals, who could keep the economy afloat with narco-dollars. Or for that matter, since the U.S. engineered Panama's "independence" from Colombia in 1903 and stole what became the Canal Zone in "the treaty no Panamanian ever signed," he could ask Bogotá to re-annex the country. For our part we say: U.S. troops out of Panama, now, all of 'em! ■

# Nicaragua...

*(continued from page 1)*

Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) "are the first ones whose heads we are going to cut off," a contra relative threatened.

The political guarantees to the bourgeoisie also mean that they will demand their property back. The same *Barricada* article quotes union leaders saying, "that would be like returning Coca-Cola to Mr. Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, who is responsible for the murder of so many thousands of Nicaraguans." Yet the Coca-Cola plant is a fitting symbol of the halfway revolution the Sandinistas had begun: the property of this contra leader and CIA agent was not expropriated, only "intervened" (placed under government receivership) because Calero had left the country. So if he returns... As for lands seized from leaders of the businessmen's association COSEP, the government could simply pay the compensation promised.

For the past eight-plus years, it has been clear to U.S. rulers and the Nicaraguan masses that the fate of the revolution was hanging in the balance. Yet the Spartacist tendency has been unique on the left internationally in insisting that the class character of the Nicaraguan Revolution still had not been determined. When the FSLN entered Managua on 19 July 1979, the state machinery of the dynasty which had ruled the country since the first Somoza was installed by the U.S. Marines 45 years earlier lay in ruins. But contrary to the Reaganauts' talk of "Sandino-Communism," the guerrillas in power did *not* establish a proletarian state based on collectivized property.

Independent

**Sandinista troops ferried by Soviet helicopters mopped up contra mercenaries in March offensive.**

Instead, the Sandinista regime proclaimed its holy trinity of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." Like Castro's guerrillas in Cuba initially, the bonapartist petty-bourgeois government was not committed to defending either socialist or capitalist property forms. In Cuba, U.S. imperialist intransigence, the flight of the local bourgeoisie to Miami and the absence of a proletariat fighting for power meant that a bureaucratically deformed workers state was consolidated. But Nicaragua has not had its "second revolution." On the contrary, we may now be seeing the re-establishment of a Nicaraguan capitalist state.

To be sure, for the past seven years, Reagan has done his best to smash the Sandinistas. But in the aftermath of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat in Vietnam, U.S. rulers are hesitant to commit themselves to another Third World military adventure. Meanwhile, key sections of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie have remained in place. Now, following the Reaganauts' Iran/Contragate debacle and with the demise of the contras, the Democrats have taken control of U.S. policy toward Central America. Having no better alternative, they want to take Ortega up on his offers to sell out. And the Sapoá accords may signal the victory of their line of a "peaceful counterrevolution"—which will be anything but peaceful.

To begin with, there are hundreds of thousands of guns in the hands of the Nicaraguan people. This has been the ultimate obstacle to a contra victory, even giving pause to the Pentagon war machine. For the FSLN to administer a capitalist state means *disarming the masses*. In spite of war weariness, that will not be easy. Certainly, workers at the Coca-Cola plant facing the return of Calero, or peasants working lands seized from COSEP leaders, will not readily give up the guns needed to defend their conquests. And already opposition trade unions have led a bitter strike by construction workers (declared illegal), as well as walkouts by auto mechanics, dock workers and sugar plantation workers.

The winding down of the contra war has led to an escalation of the class struggle internally. The workers' actions were provoked by the Sandinista government's IMF-style austerity policy decreed in mid-February. Combined with the introduction of a new currency unit to cut inflation, paying world market prices to companies producing for export, and increasing the price of gasoline by 500 percent, they eliminated virtually all subsidies of food and other basic products. This has led to a big wage cut while the staple foods of rice and beans virtually disappeared from the markets. In response there have been mobilizations by the unions and CDS block committees to uncover hoarded food held by black marketeers.

While the Sandinistas' attempts to pave the way for a reconsolidated dictatorship of the bourgeoisie have divided the working class, they have united the bourgeoisie...against them. In the 1984 elections and as recently as last summer, the capitalist parties were divided between out-and-out contra supporters and those who did not openly seek to reverse the 1979 revolution. But now that Ortega & Co. have agreed to "reintegrate" the counterrevolution, the *entire* bourgeois (and reformist) opposition has joined in presenting a declaration of 14 parties demanding constitutional reforms challenging the FSLN's "party monopoly of the state." Their first target is the Sandinista Army, the linchpin of the present regime.

### For Permanent Revolution!

Appearing on the CBS program *Face the Nation* March 27, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega was asked why he agreed to negotiate with the contras after vowing for years not to do so. Because they split with Reagan, he replied. Yes, the Reaganauts were upset over the Sapoá accords. But this does not mean the contras have in any way broken with U.S. imperialism. In fact, if they go back to Managua to act as a "civilian" opposition, they will simply be transferred from the CIA and Pentagon accounts in Washington to the "National Endowment for Democracy," which already finances *La Prensa* and various opposition parties and company "unions." They merely switched *patrones* from Ronald Reagan to Jim Wright.

As nationalists, the Sandinistas have always sought a "patriotic" or, as the Stalinists called it, a "national bourgeoisie" that would break with imperialism. But as Leon Trotsky pointed out in formulating the perspective of permanent revolution, in the imperialist


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
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Cleveland, OH 44101
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Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
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New York, NY 10013
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**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
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epoch there is no independent "national" bourgeoisie in the backward capitalist countries. Their rulers are too closely bound to the imperialist overlords, and too fearful of the huge mass of proletarians and impoverished peasants, to carry out the tasks of even the bourgeois-democratic revolution. To achieve an agrarian revolution, democracy and national independence requires—as in Russia 1917—workers revolution led by a Bolshevik party.

The petty-bourgeois FSLN, however, preaches "national reconciliation." For many Sandinista leaders, this simply means sitting down at the dinner table with their siblings and parents who are leaders of the contras. Once before, the FSLN agreed to a pact such as is now being negotiated: the San José accords of June 1979, setting up a "government" including future contra leaders Robelo, Chamorro and Cruz. What blocked the consolidation of a bourgeois "anti-Somoza" regime then was the mass insurrection, which scared the National Guard into fleeing for their lives. Now the Ortega brothers (president Daniel and defense minister Humberto) are talking of Nicaragua following the "Mexican model."

That would likely produce splits in the FSLN. (Already the head of the militant CDS, Leticia Herrera, has been ousted.) And Sandinista militants should recall that the consolidation of a post-revolution capitalist state in Mexico was done over the dead bodies of Zapata and Villa, along with thousands of peasant and proletarian fighters. But even reputed Sandinista hardliners like Interior Minister Tomás Borge are only looking for a beefed-up version of the present regime, and they have shown through their repression of strikes that they are no partisans of the workers. To defend the Nicaraguan Revolution it must be *completed* by expropriating the bourgeoisie and *extended* internationally.

Spartacist demonstrators in San Francisco on March 18 protest U.S. war moves against Nicaragua.

In a peasant country like Nicaragua where industry consists of a few plants like FANATEX and Coca-Cola, recovering from the imperialist-imposed dire economic conditions might well require giving wide latitude to petty producers and small traders, and even some concessions to a few capitalist producers willing to follow the rules—something akin to Lenin's New Economic Policy—rather than the Sandinistas' failed attempts to impose planning on a capitalist economy. But the indispensable condition is working-class state power—with the firm leadership of a party committed to communism. Forging such a Leninist-Trotskyist party is the key to rescuing the Nicaraguan Revolution from the mortal dangers it faces.

A socialist revolution here would have to be international from the start, spreading throughout the region, from strategic Panama to the militant Salvadoran workers and Mexico with its heavy industry. And with U.S. imperialism breathing down its neck, the revolution must extend above all into the imperialist heartland of the United States (where, contrary to the nationalists' claims, every move by the Reagan regime pointing to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua has met with mass opposition). Here as well, a class-struggle workers party must be built in struggle against the reformists who tag along at the end of the Jesse Jackson "rainbow coalition" popular front while Congressional Democrats vote $48 million in contra aid.

And the struggles in Central America must be seen clearly in the context of the imperialists' global anti-Soviet war drive. While the idea that Nicaragua is "a base for Soviet and Cuban efforts to penetrate the rest of the Central American isthmus" (Kissinger Commission report) is a Reaganite fantasy, Soviet aid has indeed been vital to the survival of the Nicaraguan Revolution. But lately Gorbachev has been threatening to cut off Sandinista Nicaragua in return for "détente" with the U.S. At the December summit in Washington, the Kremlin leader offered to eliminate heavy weapons deliveries to Managua as a *quid pro quo* for the U.S. stopping military aid to the contras.

Speaking to a group of U.S. Senators, Gorbachev recently remarked that the USSR "does not have any special interest in Central America" (*Clarín* [Buenos Aires], 13 March). But the Soviet Union does have an interest in stopping Washington's export of counterrevolution there and everywhere. For if the U.S. "scores" in Nicaragua, it will only embolden the Cold Warriors in going after Afghanistan, Cuba, Vietnam, Poland, and ultimately the USSR. For however much Stalin and his successors have dreamt of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, the latter have never given up their dream of "rolling back" the October Revolution.

The "solidarity" milieu tries to duck the key "Russian question" in order to tail after the Democrats. Likewise they now hail the Sapoá accords, which endanger the Nicaraguan Revolution. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League proclaim that the best defense of Nicaragua is revolutionary struggle here. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! ■

# PDC Notes...

*(continued from page 2)*

you have got to take sides.... My experiences during my two years in the army as a lieutenant showed me that even as a doctor I was part of that system of oppression" (*New York Times*, 28 March). We sent the embassy a protest demanding Toms' immediate release pointing out:

> "Decent people everywhere view your government with contempt. Starving, homeless and tortured masses around the globe see the mirror of their oppression in your racist apartheid system. The PDC salutes Dr. Toms and the increasing number like him reviled by apartheid terror."

Free the Sharpeville Six! Free Moses Mayekiso! Free Ivan Toms! Free Nelson Mandela and all victims of apartheid state repression!

* * *

Issue Number 7 of the PDC *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is available now, featuring a campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther, sitting on Pennsylvania's death row. Also read about a number of successful struggles against the system of capitalist injustice, and our increasing efforts toward building a mass organization of class-struggle defense. We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the Partisan Defense Committee. We now have over 110 sustainers and 800 additional contributors who have given over $5. Help us reach 1,000 contributors by the next newsletter. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1.00 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. Be a PDC sustainer! Build the PDC! ■

# Mordechai Vanunu...

*(continued from page 3)*

were forbidden to speak about the case at all. When Meir Vanunu talked to Italian government officials and journalists in Britain about his brother's kidnapping, the Israelis charged him with espionage as well. He is currently seeking political asylum in Britain.

When Mordechai Vanunu's lawyer, Avigdor Feldman, challenged the court's jurisdiction on the grounds that Vanunu had been illegally abducted to Israel, the judges contemptuously dismissed his challenge out of hand. Vanunu's lawyer also tried to argue that since Israel's nuclear arsenal is meant to be a deterrent, revealing its existence could not damage state security, even bringing in as defense witnesses Israeli defense minister Shimon Peres and Abba Eban, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. One defense witness, George Quester, a professor of political science at the University of Maryland, testified that Vanunu's disclosures "actually enhanced Israeli security and that in the academic community it had been generally believed Vanunu's revelations had been a plant."

To be sure, there are elements in the Israeli military and political establishment who argue for cutting back on Israel's enormous arms expenditures by making it clear to the world at large that Israel has and will use a massive nuclear arsenal. But any appeal to the Zionist butchers on the common ground of "national security" could only fall on deaf ears. To them Mordechai Vanunu went beyond the narrowly circumscribed chauvinist pale by which they define a "loyal Jew." But to the peoples of the world he is a hero for revealing the Israeli rulers' demented plans for a thermonuclear holocaust.

It is significant that a number of Israelis, particularly Sephardic Jews—increasingly aware that Zionist Israel is a deathtrap—expressed sympathy for Vanunu. Judy Zimmet told *WV* that when she protested outside the military office in Tel Aviv over being denied permission to visit Vanunu, "There were many people I also saw or who approached me on the sidewalk, who expressed support. And I got a sense which I think could be summed up by what a female soldier said, 'I may not speak, but I wish you luck'."

Though news about his case has been suppressed, Mordechai Vanunu has clearly served as an inspiration. When 200 people were arrested in Australia last October for demonstrating against the CIA's spy station in Alice Springs, six protesters identified themselves in court by saying, "I am Mordechai Vanunu." On February 13, nearly 40 people joined a protest initiated by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand outside the Israeli consulate in Sydney to demand "Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!" The international Spartacist tendency and the Partisan Defense Committee have participated actively in the fight to free this courageous man. International protest must be mobilized now to free Mordechai Vanunu from the Israeli dungeons. Send donations to the Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145. ■


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# Revolutionary Regroupment in France

*This article is based on material from* Le Bolchévik *No. 81, March 1988, the newspaper of our French section, which featured an eight-page supplement on the fusion.*

In early February the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), held its ninth conference jointly with the Tribune Communiste group. The conference voted the fusion of the two organizations. Tribune Communiste was a product of the "anti-opportunist" milieu around the French Communist Party (PCF). These comrades' long-standing impulse to defend the gains of the October Revolution opened the road to their break with Stalinism—which undermines the defense of these gains—in favor of the program of Trotsky's Fourth International, upheld today uniquely by the iSt.

The lessons of their struggle to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky have international significance. Tribune Communiste had its origins in the current headed by Michel Pablo which in the early 1950s abandoned Trotskyism, advocating "deep entry" into the mass reformist Stalinist and social-democratic parties. Pablo's most consistent followers, Michèle Mestre and Matthias Corvin, broke organizationally with Pablo to enter the camp of the PCF where they remained as a submerged "loyal opposition" for a quarter century, publishing *Le Communiste*. The comrades of Tribune Communiste began to break out from this "unconditional" support for the CP in 1979-81—standing fast in support of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, opposing Polish Solidarność and opposing the PCF's joining the anti-Soviet Mitterrand popular front. But as Tribune Communiste moved toward opposing the class collaborationism inherent in Stalinism, posing the question of Trotskyism, they found that over Afghanistan, Poland and Mitterrand, all the major ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France, except the LTF, were firmly and fulsomely in the anti-Soviet popular front.

As the Tribune Communiste group sought to break from the Pabloite liquidationist dead end, their political trajectory brought them face to face with the Ligue Trotskyste and the iSt. Increasingly known in France as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union" over Poland and Afghanistan, the LTF was also the only group which opposed from the beginning Mitterrand and his program of anti-worker austerity in the service of the NATO war drive. After breaking with *Le Communiste*, over the next several years Tribune Communiste passed through a number of loose "committees" seeking to pull together the "anti-opportunists" in the CP milieu. But this attempt to act as an external pressure group on the fringe of the PCF was no more successful than Pablo-style "deep entrism." Frustrated with the "circle spirit," they found that the LTF was having some modest success in recruiting militants directly from the CP youth. Entering into political discussions with the Ligue Trotskyste as well as united-front action against racist discrimination, they have in the course of examining the roots of Stalinism come to an understanding of the authentic program of Leninism and Trotskyism. We welcome them to the international Spartacist tendency, in which they will play a leading role, not only in its French section.

Le Bolchévik

**Paris, January 27: Joint contingent of Ligue Trotskyste and Tribune Communiste in protest called by French CP against fascist Le Pen. Banner reads: "Le Pen—Enough is enough! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to crush the fascists! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!"**

## "Eurocommunism" and "Anti-Opportunism"

Oppositional groupings espousing a more or less traditional pro-Moscow Stalinist outlook emerged in and around many West European Communist parties in the 1970s, in response to "Eurocommunism." The Eurocommunists sought to distance themselves from Moscow and outline a posture of "national Communism" to reassure their own rulers that they would be "responsible" partners in hoped-for new popular-front governmental coalitions—e.g., the attempts to reach an accommodation with the Catholic church in Italy or even with the king of Spain! Thus from the beginning the Eurocommunists' anti-Sovietism, designed to prove to their "own" bourgeoisies—and to Washington—that they could be entrusted with ministerial portfolios, was intertwined with the appetite for class collaboration at home.

That "left" or "pro-Moscow" currents arose in response within the European CPs is not new or surprising. The bureaucratic Stalinist parties are no stranger to cliques and factions adopting a "critical" stance in response to rightist turns, often animated by the fact that yesterday's opportunism frequently looks pretty indefensible today. So there has been no lack of left critics (especially after the fact) of particularly gross capitulations, who, however, accept the framework of the inviolability of "the Party" and locate their dissatisfactions in questions of "personalities"—e.g., "Browder was a revisionist" or conversely the adulation of the "good old days" of Togliatti or Thorez. To break from Stalinist reformism toward the road of Lenin requires the shattering of the false identification of the Russian Revolution and Communism with the Stalinist "gravediggers of revolution" who physically exterminated the Old Bolsheviks and transformed the Communist International from a world revolutionary party to a reformist prop of the bourgeois order.

At the same time, the growth of Eurocommunism within the traditionally Moscow-loyal CPs prompted considerable restlessness in "left" or so-called "hard" Stalinist milieus. The prostration of the CPs before bourgeois opinion represented an opening for propagandistic intervention by Trotskyists. The intensified anti-Soviet pressure inaugurated by U.S. imperialism's hypocritical "human rights" crusade (the attempt to overcome America's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants through a "moral" and military rearmament against Russia) led to the once-"loyal" pro-Moscow CPs openly bleeding for pro-Western "dissidents" like Sakharov, while being shamefaced or worse in response to the aggressive international campaign of the social democrats in support of clerical-reactionary Solidarność in Poland. With the imperialist rulers' anti-Soviet crusade heated to fever pitch by the Russian intervention in Afghanistan, the left CPers' "peaceful coexistence" with the sellout leaders of their own parties became markedly unstable.

The Soviet Union was forced to intervene in Afghanistan for defensive reasons centered on safeguarding its own borders. But the presence of Soviet troops on "foreign soil," and the necessary democratic and socially progressive measures undertaken from the top down by the Moscow-allied Kabul regime (e.g., the liberation of Afghan women from the medieval confines of illiteracy and the veil), raised the spectre of internationalism or "export of revolution," the quintessential "Trotskyite" heresy. With imperialism screaming for blood—and the U.S. embracing the chance for a proxy war on the Soviet border by arming and financing the Afghan cutthroats to kill Russian soldiers—the Eurocommunists' anti-Sovietism led them into open support to imperialism. They reasserted their loyalty to "democracy" by demanding the withdrawal of the Red Army, prompting the formation of even more significant oppositional tendencies, particularly in the Spanish and Italian parties. The role of Afghanistan in these polarizations is underlined by the sobriquets applied to the left currents by their proponents and detractors: "Afganos" in Spain, "Kabulisti" in Italy and "Tankies" in Britain.

Yet these critics were unable to wage an effective fight against the Eurocommunist traitors because they adhered to the same Stalinist class-collaborationist, popular-frontist politics as the Berlinguers and Carrillos. Smaller groupings, with more leftist impulses, like the Turkish TKP-*Iscinin Sesi* and their British associates of *The*

Sygma

Der Spiegel

**French Trotskyists (left) call to break with anti-working-class Mitterrand government. At right, Mitterrand with French CP teader Georges Marchais.**

*Leninist*, also continued in practice to accept the minimum/maximum "two-stage revolution" framework which is a hallmark of Menshevism and Stalinism, while clinging to the illusion of reforming the "world Communist movement."

At bottom, such tendencies believed that in this period of renewed Cold War, loyalty to the Soviet Union was going to be able to stop "the Party" from engaging in class collaboration and capitulating to social democracy. Gorbachev's détente campaign has dealt such illusions a cruel blow. Not only does Gorbachev project *permanent* "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, but he is acceding to the imperialists' demands to pull the Red Army out of Afghanistan! These oppositional tendencies, which coalesced in support of the Soviet intervention, have necessarily been thrown into disarray now that they can no longer claim that their leftist impulses find support in the Soviet bureaucracy or a section of it. If they do not want to solidarize with the horrifying prospect of abandoning the Afghan peoples to be massacred by Islamic reaction, they must confront the historical roots of "peaceful coexistence" in the Stalinist political counterrevolution in Russia. The objective possibilities for such a fundamental re-examination of Communist history are facilitated as well by the phenomenon of Gorbachev's *glasnost*, which has tended to take the question of Trotsky and the Left Opposition (as well as Bukharin and the Rights) out of the realm of demonology. No longer can Trotsky's fight against the Stalinist usurpers be simply dismissed with slanders about "Mikado agents" and "anti-socialist saboteurs"; thus, even Stalin's successors in the Kremlin bureaucracy acknowledge at last that Trotsky was a historical figure of the Communist movement who waged a fight over policy and program.

The Stalinist bureaucratic caste seeks to defend their position sitting atop the collectivized economy from which their privileges derive by appeasing and conciliating imperialism rather than promoting international revolution. Stalin's Comintern, as a transmission belt for this policy of international class collaboration, became essentially similar to the social democrats of the Second International, who rallied to their "own" bourgeoisies in 1914. The catastrophe of 1933, when Hitler's fascists came to power unopposed by the powerful German workers movement, was not just an "error" or a defeat, even a

La Conférence de fondation de la IV· Internationale (Septembre 1938)

**For the rebirth of the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky in 1938.**

defeat of enormous proportions which paved the way directly for world war; it was a crime, generalized and underscored by the Stalin-Laval pact and the adoption at the Comintern's Seventh World Congress of the "People's Front" line which sanctified consistent class collaboration in the name of an "alliance" with the "progressive" imperialist bourgeoisies. The Communist parties had become bourgeois workers parties, reformist props for capitalist rule, fundamentally little different from the social-democratic parties which balance between their proletarian base and the dictates of their bourgeois masters. The CPs, however, have an additional contradiction: they must try to serve two masters, the Moscow Stalinist bureaucracy and the "progressive" bourgeoisies of their own countries, which hate and fear the Soviet Union. Their leadership has thus spent decades seeking to resolve each contradiction on the side of reformism: Eurocommunism is an inevitable product of Stalinism.

The Tribune Communiste comrades found that a revolutionary proletarian alternative to reformism cannot be built within the political framework of Stalinism, which gutted the Communist International of its internationalist content long before its formal liquidation in 1943. This is the basic Marxist perspective encapsulated in the title of the resolution adopted at Tribune Communiste's pre-fusion conference: "From the Illusory Transformation of the PCF to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky."

WV Photo

Fabian/Sygma

**International Spartacist tendency condemned Polish Solidarność as agent for capitalist rollback—a "union" only the CIA and Western bankers could love. At right, anti-Communist Pope embraces Lech Walesa.**

## The Heritage of Le Communiste

Shared pro-Sovietism did not make the various oppositional tendencies any less nationally heterogeneous than the "world Communist movement" of which they claimed to be part. Lacking a program for world socialist revolution, each such grouping was and remains a prisoner of its specific national terrain.

Tribune Communiste issued from the *Le Communiste* group, whose history is indeed illustrative. For *Le Communiste* originated as a by-product of the Pabloite revision of Trotskyism which destroyed the Fourth International (FI) as the world party of socialist revolution. As Tribune Communiste grappled with its own history in the course of its break from Stalinism, they were confronted with Pabloism, the attempt to find a substitute for the proletariat organized by its conscious vanguard under the banner of Trotskyism in resolving the crisis of revolutionary leadership. The LTF-Tribune Communiste fusion thus based itself on the article "Genesis of Pabloism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972) as well as the documents of the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

Following the Second World War, the Trotskyist movement was thrown into a profound political crisis. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 in the urgent attempt, as the alignments for World War II took shape, to resolve the "crisis of leadership" which had left the international proletariat defenseless before fascism and imperialist carnage. But the small Trotskyist forces were in effect militarily defeated. The physical obliteration of the Left Opposition in Russia by the Moscow Trial blood purges was completed by the assassination of Trotsky in Mexico by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Large numbers of Trotskyist cadre in Europe and Asia were wiped out by fascist terror, by the war and by Stalinist repression. The younger generation of European Trotskyist militants, including its most promising young leaders, was decimated, facilitating the ascendancy of Michel Pablo, whose major characteristic was his impressionism. The political passivity of the American SWP (which was a relatively strong party due to the roots of James Cannon and other American Trotskyist leaders in the early CP and a subsequent close working collaboration with Trotsky, and which as an American organization was spared the brunt of the carnage in Europe) toward the devastated European movement after the war also assisted Pablo to emerge as a leader of the postwar FI.

The postwar Trotskyist movement was disoriented as well by new developments. Trotsky had predicted that the war would provoke social convulsion throughout the capitalist world, as the First World War had done, which would necessarily have a profoundly destabilizing effect on the international Stalinist movement. That this prediction was quite correct is shown for example by the Red Army's initial collapse in the face of Hitler's invasion, as well as by the turbulent social conditions in Western Europe at the war's end. In Italy and Greece, naked treachery by the Stalinists was required to militarily and politically disarm the leftist Resistance forces and hand power back to the capitalist class, while in France the Stalinists had to work overtime as proponents of capitalist "national reconstruction" in order to re-establish a stable bourgeois regime. Nonetheless, the Stalinists were successful in deflecting revolutionary struggle and emerged seemingly stronger than before in a number of Western European countries, notably Italy and France, based on their resistance to the Nazis.

An additional, unexpected development was the expansion of Stalinist-ruled states in Eastern Europe. With the military victory of the Red Army over the Nazis and their puppet regimes, the former rulers ran madly for the nearest American headquarters, leaving behind a power vacuum which the Soviet army quickly filled, setting up "coalition governments." Faced with the intransigence of American imperialism at the onset of the Cold War, the Stalinists found themselves forced to set up deformed workers states. A different process occurred in Yugoslavia (and in China), where peasant-based revolutions took place under Stalinist leadership. Confronted with the restabilization and expansion of Stalinist-ruled states, the impressionistic current associated with Pablo came to believe that Stalinism could play an "objectively revolutionary" role.

Pabloite revisionism emerged as an attempt to make the FI more "effective" by accommodating it to the existing leaderships of the working class. Michel Pablo, leader of the International Secretariat of the FI, called for a policy of "entrism sui generis" (entrism of its own kind) in which the Trotskyists would enter the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties with the perspective of staying there for a long period to pressure the reformists to the left. Pablo rationalized this political liquidation theoretically, projecting first "centuries of deformed workers states," then, in his 1951 document, "Where Are We Going?", the imminence of a third world war which would force the Stalinists into "roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation."

The essence of the Pabloite perspective was its objectivism, a "new world reality" in which the tide of revolution is irreversible. Not the Leninist proletarian party, but rather a "blunted instrument" is seen as sufficient for the socialist revolution. This method was not confined to the evaluation of Stalinism; the European Pabloists engaged in deep entrism in the mass reformist parties (both Stalinist and social-democratic) of Western Europe during the 1950s and 1960s, only to shift over to more "mod" targets thereafter: "Algerian socialism"

*continued on page 8*

**Spartacist**
**English Edition**
**No. 41-42**
**Winter 1987-88**
**(64 pages)**
**$1.00**

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to Spartacist Publishing Co Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

# Revolutionary Regroupment...

*(continued from page 7)*

à la Ben Bella, the Cuban Revolution and the petty-bourgeois adventurist efforts to replay Cuba elsewhere in Latin America, infatuation with Vietnamese Stalinism after the American escalation of the war propelled the growth of the student "New Left," the elitist "Red University" radicalism, and so on—endless efforts to find an elusive "new mass vanguard" as a substitute for the Leninist struggle to break the working class programmatically from its traditional reformist leaderships. The essential method of Pabloism is "let the other guys do it," with the candidates for the "other guys" changing rapidly as the impressionists scramble to tail after whatever seems to be "moving." Thus in recent years, Ernest Mandel & Co. became "Eurotrotskyists" tailing the most right-wing sectors of the Western Stalinist parties and the social democrats directly, attempting to broker a lash-up of the "far left" that could act as a pressure group on the popular front. In the service of Cold War social democracy they today hail clerical-nationalist Solidarnośc and call for the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan in the face of the CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries.

In the France of 1954, Michèle Mestre and Matthias Corvin, former leaders of the French section of the FI and associated with Pablo, took Pabloism to its logical conclusion by founding *Le Communiste*. They broke openly with Trotskyism and began a quarter-century of semi-clandestine "opposition" as the would-be left conscience of the PCF. As *Le Communiste* naturally hailed both Khrushchev's 20th Congress speech and the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution later that same year.

Ironically, Mestre herself, in spite of these apologies for Stalinism, was never admitted to membership in the PCF, a party which *Le Communiste* continued to hold was "the party of the working class" even in the face of the PCF's betrayal of a prerevolutionary situation in May 1968.

La Vérité des Travailleurs

La Vérité

**Michel Pablo (left) and Michèle Mestre in 1948.**

### The Cornerstone of Stalinism

Against more than 60 years of defeats and betrayals for which Stalinism is responsible, Trotskyism represents the expression of a scientifically grounded historical optimism: the party, bearer of the revolutionary program expressing the historic interests of the working class, can win the proletariat away from its treacherous traditional leaders to undertake the socialist transformation of the world. Conversely, all the apologists for Stalinism share the conception that the bureaucracy is the sole guardian of collectivized property forms, since any popular revolt, even centered on the proletariat, inevitably leads to capitalist counterrevolution. The logic underlying the Stalinist vision is deeply pessimistic and in fact pro-capitalist: a working class which has experienced a Stalinist regime will, according to them, inevitably prefer bourgeois democracy! The social democrats, who aspire to play the role of spearhead of counterrevolution with a "democratic" face in the deformed workers states, have never thought any differently.

It was this Stalinist cornerstone that the comrades who had formed Tribune Communiste a year earlier confronted in 1981, the year of the Polish crisis and the coming to power of the Mitterrand

Pathfinder Press

**James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism.**

accept such class-collaborationist alliances, the bourgeoisie demands of its labor lieutenants two key guarantees: not to touch capitalist property relations and to support "national defense." As the PCF's support to the Laval-Stalin pact of 1935 (in which Stalin "fully approved" the need for French imperialism's military preparations) was integral to the formation of the popular front, so the PCF support to the anti-Soviet *force de frappe* nuclear strike force (and a joint declaration with the Socialist Party calling for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, in June 1981) was a necessary precondition for its participation in the Mitterrand government.

The positions of the comrades of Tribune Communiste were principled, yet partial and not yet generalized. But the Stalinist methodology which had frozen *Le Communiste* in its sterile and deeply opportunist apologies for betrayal had begun to break down.

### The Confrontation with Trotskyism

The Ligue Trotskyste de France was alone among the "far left" groups in France in opposing a vote to the "Socialist" Cold Warrior Mitterrand. In the fall of 1980, the LTF raised the possibility of savagely critical support to Marchais of the PCF. The Cold War offensive by the social democracy had pushed the PCF into a "ghetto" of electoral isolation: for defensive reasons Marchais' hypocritical posture of independence from the bourgeoisie involved "self-criticism" of the popular fronts of 1936, 1945 and the 1972 Union of the Left ("three times is enough"). The LTF recognized in the Leninist tactic of critical support a means of exacerbating the contradictions in the PCF's campaign, setting the base of the party against the top. But in December 1980, the PCF mayor of the town of Vitry led a spectacular commando raid on a housing project inhabited by black African workers in defense of a racist quota for "his" municipality. The PCF not only defended but highlighted this revolting chauvinism in order to refurbish its patriotic credentials. The PCF's racist campaign thus rendered critical support impossible.

At the same time, the iSt's Soviet-defensist line was becoming increasingly known within the ranks of the PCF. Sales of French *Spartacist* with the headline "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" at the 1980 May Day march were booming as one older worker exclaimed, "I didn't know the Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union." In October 1981 a Stalinist security squad was given the job of moving away LTF militants distributing a leaflet, "Stop Solidarnośc Counterrevolution," in front of a meeting with Walesa hosted by the pro-PCF CGT trade-union federation. "I agree with you about Poland, but I have my orders," complained one of them.

Similarly in January 1982, during the wave of anti-Communist hysteria following the blocking of Solidarnośc' attempted coup, the LTF proposed to the UEC, the Stalinist student organization, at the Paris campus of Tolbiac, a jointly defended debate on the topic "How Should the Social Gains in Poland Be Defended?" after the UEC had been the victim of social-democratic gangsterism. The LTF went ahead with the meeting, with a standing invitation to the UEC—if the UEC bureaucrats didn't dare show up, some of its members did, among them a future member of Tribune Communiste. Anti-communists launched a savage physical assault on the meeting, but the LTF not only successfully defended itself, it ran an aggressive campaign for its right to organize on the campus.

The LTF also sought to polarize what appeared to be, seen from the outside, a heterogeneous "anti-opportunist" milieu, and wrote:

> "Whatever criticisms it makes, *Le Communiste* is trying to keep PCF militants inside the rotten reformist corpse of the 'Party' by avoiding any serious confrontation with the real causes of the PCF's reformism. In effect, they say that the working class cannot hope for anything better than its current treacherous leadership. They eliminate the French—and German, Polish and Russian—working classes as agents of revolutionary change by advising them to make do with what they have. In fact, the PCF is no place for a communist *and* there is an alternative—the revolutionary program with which Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian Revolution."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik* No. 27, September 1981

We didn't know it at the time, but the comrades of Tribune Communiste were even then beginning to break with the philistine notion that "the working class has the leadership it deserves."

In November 1982, Tribune Communiste broke with *Le Communiste*. In the next four years it passed through a number of loose "committees" federating a number of local "anti-opportunist" groups. (*Le Communiste* encouraged the comrades of Tribune Communiste wrote:

> "As 'Le Communiste' left, it discovered a 'fundamental error' in the Fourth International, namely that the parties of the Third International had never betrayed the cause of proletarian revolution. In her pamphlet entitled 'In Defense of Communism,' Mestre wrote: 'to the credit of the Trotskyist movement it should be admitted that the error was facilitated by the opportunist course of alliance with the democratic bourgeoisie followed (from 1933 on) by the Communist Party of the USSR as well as by other communist parties.' 'Socialism in one country'; the liquidation of the soviets; the liquidation of the party, reduced to the role of a tool of the bureaucracy; the execution of virtually all of the 1917 Bolshevik Central Committee; the decapitation of the Red Army; the defeat of the German proletariat; the crushing of the Chinese Revolution; the defeat in Spain—all that was reduced to the level of a mere opportunist course which one can undertake to correct."
>
> —"From the Illusory Transformation of the PCF..."

What the founding charter of *Le Communiste* termed the "defense of the USSR" was in reality the defense of the Soviet bureaucracy. A "process of regeneration" was substituted for proletarian political revolution and popular front. In December 1981, two initiators of Tribune Communiste—the comrades Emile Fabrol, then a member of the *Le Communiste* leadership, and Yannick—correctly gave military support to Jaruzelski's counter-coup d'état, a counter to the real attempt to take power by the counterrevolutionary forces of Solidarnośc. But at the same time, they fought, with others, against the position of also giving political support to the Polish bureaucracy. They wrote of the state of siege, "these measures will not settle anything basic as long as the lines are not called into question: political line of capitulating to nationalist, petty-bourgeois and reactionary forces, economic line consisting of ever increasing subordination of the economy to imperialist capitalist countries."

At the same time, they were among those who convinced the editorial board majority of *Le Communiste* to refuse, for the first time, to vote for the PCF in the legislative elections of June 1981, in opposition to the entry of the PCF into an anti-working-class, anti-Soviet popular front. Their factional opponents called for "a vote in principle for the party of the working class."

This was the intersection of the Russian question and the popular front. To

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**Workers in Budapest topple statue of Stalin during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.**

the multiplication of such local groups—as a purely literary, external pressure group on the PCF. The "anti-opportunist" current, which Tribune Communiste correctly notes was a "hybrid concept" in between "revolutionary" and "opportunist," was incapable of Leninist functioning.)

They ended up in the "United Communist Regroupment" (RCU) which proposed to go back to the traditions of the Communist International without any analysis of how or why the International had been destroyed! In September 1986 they were expelled from the RCU for the heresy of proposing to actually recruit militants *out of* the PCF. Tribune Communiste was frustrated with the "anti-opportunist" "circle spirit"; they wanted to intervene into reality armed with a program. They began to notice that it was the LTF with its forthright declaration that "the PCF is no place for a communist!" which was having some modest success in recruiting militants from the PCF. It was indicative of their break from the sclerosis of the whole *Le Communiste* tradition that shortly before entering into political discussions with the LTF, they proposed a united-front action in Paris in the context of a campaign initiated by the LTF against the racist discrimination practiced by the "Flunch" cafeteria in Rouen.

**Rouen, June 1987: United-front protest by LTF and Tribune Communiste against racist segregation at Flunch cafeteria.**

### Reforge the Fourth International!

These comrades described their quandary after being expelled from the RCU as follows: "At first, it seemed to us that we had to rethink *everything*, which, given our forces, could make one despair. For us, the continuity of the revolutionary struggle had been broken by Stalinism in 1935: there was a gap of fifty years of experience of the workers movement to be bridged."

In their evolution to the left, they were repulsed by the pro-social-democratic anti-Sovietism of the entire fake-Trotskyist left: the gangsters of Lambert's PCI, the economist philistines of Lutte Ouvrière, and the Pabloite LCR, which found the pro-Mitterrand, anti-Soviet "Rénovateur" Pierre Juquin (who led a recent rightist split out of the PCF) more to its taste. Indeed, more than once, the comrades of Tribune Communiste found themselves intervening against the popular front, against Solidarność, for the Red Army in Afghanistan, in parallel with the LTF against the pseudo-Trotskyists.

When they began discussing with the LTF in the summer of 1987, two central questions remained to be resolved. The first was the nature of the bureaucracy as shown particularly over the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. As they write: "We conceived the question of revitalizing the soviets in the USSR and the deformed workers states abstractly and inconsistently. Our view that the intervention of Soviet troops [in Hungary] against the workers councils was an act in defense of the gains of October; that the workers councils were a kind of Solidarność, did not stand up to an analysis of the facts and historic documents. Hungary 1956 *was* in fact an attempt to build a real dictatorship of the proletariat based on workers democracy and the power of the soviets. We would have been on the same side of the barricades as the insurgents."

The second was the question of "Trotskyism." They had accepted the declaration by Mestre of the Fourth International's "bankruptcy" and comrade Fabrol in particular had been taught by Corvin that Trotsky's analyses—*The Revolution Betrayed*, for example—were even correct, but now irrelevant. The real question was the continuing grip of the dogma of the PCF as "the party of the working class" and the heritage of the decades of Stalinist slander.

As late as October 1987 they put out a petition which was their last attempt at trying to influence and pressure PCF militants *as* PCF militants, a petition calling on the PCF not to withdraw in the second round of the upcoming presidential elections in favor of Mitterrand. But a vote to the PCF would not have been and is not even a deformed expression of opposition to the popular front, and the PCF candidate had just "debated" the fascist Le Pen on television!

However, these comrades were won to the need for programmatic clarity and the conception that, as Trotsky said, "In politics the 'label' is also the 'banner'," breaking with the essentially Pabloite notion that generalizes the surreptitious smuggling in of "Trotskyist ideas." On the eve of the fusion they participated in a joint contingent with the LTF, marching with the LTF under the slogans of "Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists!" and "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!" in the anti-fascist demonstration of January 27 organized by the PCF.

In their fusion resolution Tribune Communiste declared the international Spartacist tendency to be the continuity of Trotskyism. The fight against Pablo, essentially carried out by the American and British sections and the majority of the French, resulting in the 1953 split, although partial, belated and thereby weakened, was a necessary one, one which defended the Trotskyist program against liquidationism. It made possible the continuity of Trotskyism today represented by our tendency, which arose as an opposition within the American SWP to that party's embrace, a decade after the ascendancy of Pabloist revisionism in Europe, of Pabloist objectivism expressed in uncritical adulation of a new "new world reality" as represented by Castro's revolution in Cuba. Rejecting the demoralization and historical pessimism that Pabloism made into a revisionist political system, the international Spartacist tendency today fights to *reforge* the world party of socialist revolution on the basis of the authentic internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky.

The regroupment with Tribune Communiste takes place on the firm foundation of the defense of the gains of the October Revolution against the increasingly discredited stream of Cold War II anti-Sovietism. Therefore, it could have a powerful impact on those left Stalinists like *The Leninist* in Britain who, despite their political disorientation on other questions, retain an impulse to defend the Soviet Union against their own NATO-loving bourgeoisie and its servile Labourite agents within the workers movement. Tribune Communiste's struggle to come to grips with its history in the course of seeking to rediscover a Leninist orientation in effect ran the film of Pabloite liquidationism backward: from Stalinism to Pabloism and back to authentic Trotskyism. As a consequence, not only have valuable cadre been won for the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, but our international tendency carries on that struggle with deepened experience and understanding. ■

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# Armenia...

*(continued from page 12)*

internally a bureaucracy imbued with Great Russian chauvinism lorded it over the minority nationalities. Ethnic rivalries were suppressed. Yet as soon as the heavy Stalinist hand was lifted a bit, national antagonisms burst forth.

With Crimean Tatars seeking to return to a homeland from which they were driven by Stalin, Armenian nationalists wanting to recover a separated region, and Baltic nationalists yearning for the bourgeois republics of the interwar years, the national question in the Soviet Union is exceedingly complex. And looming in the background is nativist Russian fascism (see "Pamyat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads," *WV* No. 434, 7 August 1987). As we wrote in "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" (*Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88): "...until political revolution restores Leninist internationalism to the Kremlin, the nationalities question will remain a time bomb." The bomb has now exploded in the Caucasus.

### Caucasian Circle of National Hatred

The craggy Caucasus Mountains, where every valley speaks a different dialect, are a crazy quilt of a dozen interspersed nationalities. For centuries the Caucasus had been synonymous with ethnic feuding and massacres. The Turkic-speaking Azeris, traditionally Shi'ite Muslims, and traditionally Christian Armenians have a bloody history of enmity, while the Georgians have long sought to dominate the region. The tsar's knout superficially suppressed national rivalries during the 19th century, but in 1905 anti-Armenian pogroms broke out in Azerbaijan.

Surrounded by hostile peoples on all sides, Armenians have been called the Jews of the Caucasus. Of all the nationalities in the region, Armenians have traditionally been among the most pro-Russian and pro-Soviet. French anti-Sovietologist Alexandre Bennigsen wrote recently: "At present, Armenians are probably the most Russophilic of all Soviet minorities" (Robert Conquest, ed., *The Last Empire* [1986]). For Armenian nationalists, the mortal enemy is Turkey not Russia.

The first massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the 1890s caused Armenians to look to tsarist Russia, an Orthodox Christian power, as their protector against the Turks. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Armenian nationalist Dashnak party organized volunteer regiments to fight for the tsarist empire against Turkey. In response, the nationalist Young Turk regime moved to expel the entire Armenian people from Asia Minor (Anatolia). More than a million Armenians were killed—over half their population in the Ottoman Empire.

**Lenin called for measures against Stalin (third from left) and his lieutenant Ordzhonikidze (at right), shown here in 1925, for trampling on the Soviet principle of national equality.**

The survivors fled to the Russian Caucasus. The 1915 massacre also inflamed the already tense relations between Armenians and neighboring Azeris, whose sympathies were generally pro-Turkish in the war. Under the impact of the February and October revolutions of 1917, the Russian empire disintegrated. With the establishment in the southern borderlands of bourgeois republics under the protection of Germany, Turkey and later Britain, there was an explosion of national strife in the Caucasus.

Amid the anarchic conditions of the Russian Civil War, Armenia achieved a short-lived independence under the nationalist Dashnaks, who collaborated closely with the White Russian general Denikin. During its brief existence Dashnak Armenia engaged in mutual communalist massacres with Azerbaijan, fought a border war with Georgia and launched a suicidal irredentist war against Turkey. As Kemal Atatürk's forces were marching on Yerevan in late 1920, to save themselves the Dashnaks negotiated an agreement that de facto incorporated Armenia into the Soviet state.

From mid-1918 until early 1921 there had existed a Georgian republic, headed

*continued on page 10*

# Armenia...

*(continued from page 9)*

hy the Menshevik N. Jordania, under the protection first of Germany and then of Britain. But while the Second International prattled about "democratic Georgia," its protectors were mainly interested in Baku oil and Caucasian manganese, and the Menshevik government drove Armenians from the Georgian capital Tbilisi. In February 1921, the local Communists rose up and the Red Army invaded, conquering Tbilisi in less than ten days. In response to the social-democratic hue and cry over Georgia, Trotsky, then head of the Red Army, wrote:

> "We do not only recognise, but we also give full support to the principle of self-determination, wherever it is directed against feudal, capitalist and imperialist states. But wherever the fiction of self-determination, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, becomes a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently from the other 'principles' of democracy perverted by capitalism."
>
> —Leon Trotsky,
> *Between Red and White* (1922)

During the 1920s, national peace and rapid economic growth enhanced the popular authority of Soviet power in Armenia. Armenian students and young workers flocked into the Communist Party. However, in the 1930s Stalin's forced collectivization of agriculture, forced Russification and mass terror—among whose countless victims were respected Armenian Communists—produced a resurgence of Armenian nationalism. Intellectuals nurtured a preoccupation with Armenian history that extends throughout society. And it is a history of great suffering.

During the Cold War the Kremlin tops have to a degree *encouraged* Armenian nationalism, seeking to direct it *against Turkey*, a front line NATO state. New towns and villages in the Armenian Soviet Republic were named after former Armenian lands in Anatolia. Western Cold War propagandists have even accused Moscow of sponsoring Armenian revanchist terrorism against Turkey. As if Armenians needed any outside encouragement on that score! However, recent events have demonstrated that Armenian nationalism is *not solely* directed against Turkey, as the Kremlin chiefs would like.

## Perestroika Fuels Armenian Nationalism

The Armenian republic is in many respects a success story of Soviet nationalities policy. It is a prosperous region and one of the centers of high-tech industry and scientific research in the USSR. The local bureaucratic elite is solidly Armenian ethnically, intellectual life has flourished, and by all accounts Armenia is the Soviet republic where the national (non-Russian) language is most pervasive. A moderate Armenian nationalist living in the West, Mary Matossian, wrote 20 years ago:

> "Although their political, economic, and educational institutions have been formed in the Soviet mold, the Armenians have used these institutions to produce wealth, discover truth, and create beauty that bring credit to themselves."
>
> —Erich Goldhagen, ed.,
> *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union* (1965)

Why then should massive nationalist protest erupt in this favored Caucasian republic?

Most striking in the recent events is the disparity between the scale of protest and communalist violence, and the declared object: the status of a mountainous region of 150,000 inhabitants. The Soviet Caucasus is after all not like Northern Ireland or Lebanon: there is no recent history of national blood feuds, or cycle of communalist atrocities. The last serious fighting between Armenians and Azerbaijanis occurred almost 70 years ago. A major nationalist study of Soviet Armenia, Mary Matossian's *The Impact of Soviet Policies on Armenia* (1962), does not *mention* Nagorno-Karabakh.

Clearly far deeper causes are at work here. The protests were not spontaneous nor were they led by semi-underground nationalist groupings. The main spokesmen for the protests were prominent Armenian intellectuals, such as the poet Silva Kaputikyan and *Literaturnaya Gazeta* correspondent Zori Balayan, who had a friendly meeting with Gorbachev. The London *Guardian*'s well-informed man in Moscow, Martin Walker, noted the view of NATO diplomats that "demonstrations do not continue for several days in the Soviet Union without the tacit backing of the local party leadership."

The impetus came from the powerful and well-entrenched Armenian Stalinists. When Moscow declared invalid the request of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet to join with Armenia, the local bureaucracy publicly defied Moscow by printing the resolution in the region's newspaper. The protests quickly spread to Yerevan with the connivance of the Armenian CP leader Karen Demirchian, under sharp attack by Gorbachev for the last 18 months. When the Soviet party chief appealed for calm, the Armenian CP challenged him by calling for a commission to discuss the future of Karabakh.

Why have the Armenian Stalinist bureaucrats become so assertive in pushing their national claims? Because they believe that Gorbachev's policies will strengthen their standing, that Armenians are the favored children of *perestroika*. A march to mourn the Armenian victims of the communalist riots in Sumgait carried signs saying "the pogroms at Sumgait were carried out by the enemies of *perestroika*." And the main intellectual architect of *perestroika*, Armenian economist Abel Abanbegyan, pushed a government commission which recommended that Karabakh rejoin Armenia.

The climate of Gorbachev's Russia, with its emphasis on rewarding economic competitiveness and individual enterprise, has encouraged the most developed parts of the Soviet Union to seize the advantage. Not only is Armenia a center of advanced technology, its wheeler-dealers dominate a petty-capitalist black market that has now been legalized. So the Armenian bureaucracy and intelligentsia are pushing themselves forward at the expense of poorer, more culturally backward Azerbaijan. An Azeri writer, Velayat Kuliyev, observed:

> "Lately the Armenian nationalists, including some quite influential people, have started talking again about 'greater Armenia.' It's not just Azerbaijan. They want to annex parts of Georgia, Iran and Turkey."
>
> —*New York Times*, 11 March

What we are beginning to see in the Soviet Caucasus is the same explosive combination of economic decentralization and resurgent nationalism which now threatens to tear apart Yugoslavia (see "The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model," *WV* No. 444, 15 January). The main force for ever greater economic decentralization in Yugoslavia has been the Stalinist bureaucracies in the most developed regions, Slovenia and Croatia. This, in turn, has produced a violent nationalist backlash among the impoverished Albanians. The Albanians, traditionally Muslim, resent the wealthier and better-educated Slavs, especially the politically dominant Serbs.

The Yerevan bigwigs are exploiting Gorbachev's *glasnost* for their own purposes. But hundreds of thousands of people do not come out to demonstrate day after day and workers do not walk out in a general strike simply because the local authorities encourage them to do so. (In fact, the scale of the protests surprised and unsettled even the nationalist intellectuals who led them. "When you see crowds of 50,000 grow to 300,000, 500,000, 700,000, it's frightening," one exclaimed.) Nor can sympathy for their brethren in Karabakh account for a protest movement of this magnitude.

Behind the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian masses were expressing a desire to control the political life of their country. For those few days in February they had a taste of social power and freedom to express their views. The Yerevan protests demonstrate that any rift within the Stalinist bureaucracy can create an opening for explosive social struggle. But they also show that the democratic, economic and social aspirations of the masses can be misdirected into a potentially murderous and suicidal nationalism.

## Stalinism Cannot Solve the National Question

The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted in 1986, declared in a classic example of bureaucratic blindness that "*the nationalities question inherited from the past has been successfully solved in the Soviet Union*" (emphasis in original). Hardly! In contrast, Western Cold War think-tankers, usually funded by the CIA, see in the nationalities question the main chance to destroy Soviet power from within.

In particular, Cold War ideologists are looking forward to an Islamic *jihad* erupting in Soviet Central Asia.

WV Maps

**National conflict erupts in Soviet Caucasus (at right) over demands for transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region from the Azerbaijani to the Armenian republic.**

Jerome Davis

Planeta Publishers

**Bolshevik Revolution burst chains of tsarist prison house of peoples: Soviet newspapers distributed in Turkistan in early 1920s (left); Red Army brings Soviet power to Georgia, 1921.**

A few years ago two French anti-Sovietologists, Alexandre Bennigsen and Marie Broxup, wrote in their book, *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State*, that "since the war the demographic development of the Soviet Union has been a race between the Slavs and the Moslems, with the Slavs steadily losing out." And a recent novel by the Pentagon's favorite, Tom Clancy (*Red Storm Rising*), begins with a fanatic Muslim oil worker blowing up a key refinery.

The notion that all the non-Russian peoples are about to revolt against Moscow is imperialist fantasizing. To begin with, their nationalism is often directed against one another. The Armenians and Azerbaijanis are only the currently most striking case. Ukrainian nationalism is virulently anti-Semitic. And Soviet Jews, even the most ardent Zionists among them, are hardly likely to support Ukrainian separatism. Nor are relations among the various so-called Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia all that brotherly. During the Russian Civil War of 1918-21 the Bashkirs, then a semi-nomadic people, fought a savage war with Tatar peasants who coveted their land.

We say "so-called Islamic peoples" because they have become basically secularized. In Tashkent and Alma Ata there are almost no women in veils and relatively few mosque-goers, most of them aged. A recent *New York Times* (12 February) account of Soviet Central Asia reports: "Signs of religious fervor are rare, especially in the cities, where young people seem more inclined to congregate at video parlors and discothèques than at mosques. Among the men gathered for midday prayers at mosques in Tashauz and Dushanbe, the capital of Tadzhikistan, the average age appeared to be over 50."

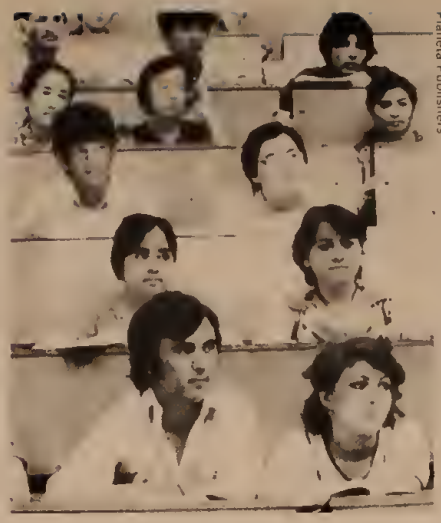
It is true, however, that national/ethnic conflict can be a mortal danger to the Soviet state as it is presently constituted and bureaucratically governed. Stalinist nationalism can produce a fracturing of the ruling bureaucratic caste along national/ethnic lines as in Yugoslavia. This was manifest in the last major outbreak of nationalist protest in the Soviet Union—in Kazakhstan in December 1986. When long-time Kazakh party boss Dinmukhamed Kunaev was ousted by Moscow and replaced with an ethnic Russian, thousands of angry Kazakh student-youth took to the streets of Alma Ata; two demonstrators were killed by police.

National frictions at the top of the bureaucratic oligarchy can produce mass nationalist unrest at the base of Soviet society. And the imperialists want to *exploit* these national antagonisms to bring about the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Whatever the rights and wrongs in specific instances, the fundamental responsibility for nationalist conflict in the Soviet Union lies with the predominantly Great Russian bureaucracy forged under the Russifier Joseph Stalin.

It was over the national question—moreover, in the Caucasus—that Lenin broke with Stalin in late 1922. When Stalin tried to force the Georgian, Azerbaijani and Armenian republics into a Transcaucasian federation, Lenin accused him of waging a "truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign."

> "It would be unpardonable opportunism if, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, we undermined our prestige with its peoples, even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice towards our own non-Russian nationalities."
>
> —V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" (December 1922)

Lenin was especially incensed that Stalin's lieutenant Sergo Ordzhonikidze physically assaulted Georgian Communist leader Budu Mdivani. He proposed that Stalin be removed from his post as general secretary and Ordzhonikidze be expelled from the party for at least two years.



Planeta Publishers

Der Spiegel

**Turkic-speaking students, including young women, attending college in Soviet Central Asia (left); in Khomeini's Iran, women remain shrouded under the veil.**

The so-called Georgian affair was *not an episodic dispute* within the Bolshevik leadership. It was the first battle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution. Stalin's campaign for a single, Moscow-dominated apparatus, which Lenin likened to the old tsarist conception of Russia "one and indivisible," foreshadowed the doctrine of "socialism in one country" which he proclaimed after Lenin died in 1924. Standing on the program of proletarian internationalism, Lenin intransigently defended the rights of the national minorities in the Soviet state. Semi-paralyzed by a stroke, Lenin turned to Trotsky as his main ally in this, his last fight.

Lenin's notes on the Georgian question were intended, in his words, as a "bombshell" to destroy Stalin politically at the upcoming Twelfth Party Congress in April 1923. He expressly warned Trotsky against a rotten compromise with the wily "Gensek." However, in early March Lenin suffered another stroke which left him paralyzed and speechless until he died ten months later. Trotsky, excessively concerned about disrupting the unity of the Bolshevik leadership, pulled back at this critical juncture from a hard fight against Stalin, who agreed to accept Lenin and Trotsky's position on the national question provided he retain his position of power.

Lenin's fight with Stalin on the national question was originally precipitated over the drafting of a constitution for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin thought that the "union" was premature except in military and diplomatic affairs. The founding constitution of the USSR, although adopted in 1924 when Stalin was already in the ascendant, nonetheless *formally* granted the constituent republics wide internal autonomy and equal standing in the higher bodies of the Soviet state. Furthermore, the constitution declares: "Each one of the member Republics retains the right to freely withdraw from the union."

Such constitutional guarantees did not of course prevent Stalin from later trampling all national rights, expelling entire peoples from their ancestral lands and exterminating the Communist leaderships of practically every Soviet republic. The post-Stalin era has seen the disappearance of mass terror in the USSR and the restoration of a degree of national autonomy within the republics. However, in the framework of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state of today there is *no democratic means* for resolving national disputes, claims and aspirations.

### Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Except where it serves as a cover for capitalist counterrevolution, we support the right of national self-determination for the various Soviet peoples—i.e., the right to secede and form a separate state. And we do not regard as sacrosanct the internal national boundaries of the USSR, which the Kremlin bureaucracy has arbitrarily fixed. Nagorno-Karabakh was separated from Armenia in 1923 under Stalin, at the height of his attempts as People's Commissar for Nationalities to impose a Transcaucasian federation, riding roughshod over the local Communists.

The borders of the various republics and autonomous regions should be adjusted in light of changing demographic conditions and the democratic will of the peoples involved. Since a majority of inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh are Armenians who want to be part of the Armenian republic, that is their democratic right. The Kremlin's flat refusal to consider changing the status inflamed Armenian nationalism and is ultimately responsible for the mass protests in Yerevan and the bloody communalist riots in Sumgait.

Gorbachev is trying to pass the buck for the Armenian crisis backward to his predecessors. As usual he is blaming everything that goes wrong in the Soviet Union on the unprotesting corpse of Leonid Brezhnev. Visiting Yugoslavia in mid-March, he stated that problems in the Caucasus had been "neglected for a long time" and were "out of the reach of the party leadership." But this alibi is not going to stand up. It is clear to everyone that the turmoil in Armenia/Azerbaijan is directly linked to Gorbachev's policies with their explosive and contradictory mixture of economic decentralization and political liberalization.

Novosti

**Martyred Armenian Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan, leader of the 1918 Baku Soviet.**

In fact, the mass nationalist unrest and communalist violence in the Caucasus poses the biggest crisis yet for the Gorbachev regime. As *Business Week* (28 March) wrote:

> "The danger for Gorbachev is not a serious attempt at a breakaway by any Soviet republic but the risk that nationalist agitation could stir a political backlash against his reforms."

Conservative elements in the bureaucracy will exploit the Armenia crisis to push for cracking down on *all* political dissent and popular protest. But it will not be easy to clamp the lid back on and return to the complacent police-state atmosphere of the last Brezhnev years.

Today, *Pravda* (21 March) calls for "forging a class approach" to the nationalities question and educating the workers in the spirit of "socialist internationalism." That requires more than scolding the Azerbaijani and Armenian bureaucrats for national egoism. If the Soviet leadership had been pursuing a genuinely internationalist policy, the attention of the Azerbaijani population would have been focused on encouraging socialist revolution among its fellow Azeris in Iran, suffering under the dictatorship first of the bloody shah and then of the Persian-chauvinist mullahs. Soviet Central Asia would have been mobilized in a gigantic effort to extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghanistan.

Instead the Kremlin conciliated Khomeini, and after halfheartedly fighting the CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin*, Gorbachev is now pulling out of Afghanistan, setting the stage for a bloody massacre by the feudalists. So it's no surprise, after decades of Stalinist anti-internationalism in the USSR, that the non-Russian nationalities become enmeshed in local squabbling. Despite Gorbachev's often scathing criticism of the country's economic stagnation and rampant corruption, and despite the hopes for a better and freer life it has awakened among Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, liberal Stalinism cannot meet these democratic and socialist aspirations.

It is necessary to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to oust the bureaucratic parasites in the Kremlin and to restore soviet democracy. The power to rule society, usurped by Stalin and his successors, must be restored to the working people through proletarian political revolution.

Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh—focus of the recent bloody nationalist turmoil—was named in honor of Stepan Shaumyan, an Armenian Bolshevik who was one of Lenin's close comrades-in-arms. Shaumyan was head of the 1918 Baku Soviet, then the center of Bolshevik power in the Caucasus, based on Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian and Russian oil workers. The Baku Soviet was overthrown by a British expeditionary force in league with local Armenian and Georgian nationalists, while Azerbaijani nationalists were supporting a Turkish assault on the city from without.

Trotsky dedicates his book *Between Red and White* to Shaumyan and his 25 comrades who were executed by the British. Among them were the Azerbaijani Communist Meshadi Azizbekov, the Georgian Alexei Dzhaparidze and the Russian Ivan Fioletov. Only when the internationalist traditions of Bolshevism, embodied in the Baku Soviet and its martyred leaders, are restored to the Soviet Union can the national question be solved in a just and egalitarian way. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Nationalist Violence Flares in Gorbachev's Russia

# Behind the Armenia Crisis

In mid-February Mikhail Gorbachev told his fellow Kremlin bureaucrats that policy toward the diverse nationalities making up the Soviet Union was "the most fundamental, vital issue of our society." Within days this warning was borne out in the most dramatic way possible. A massive outburst of nationalist fervor in Armenia was followed by anti-Armenian pogroms in neighboring Azerbaijan.

Day after day in late February and early March, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets of Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia. On February 26 a million gathered in the Theater Square, almost a third of the entire population of the USSR's smallest republic. Schools were closed, factories stopped working. It was the biggest outpouring of popular protest in the Soviet Union in more than half a century.

The immediate demand of the protests was the transfer of the mountainous Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region from the jurisdiction of the Azerbaijani republic to that of the Armenian republic. Karabakh is an overwhelmingly (85 percent) Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan. After a petition was signed by virtually every Armenian adult in the region (over 70,000 signatures), the local government formally requested the transfer—an unprecedented show of independence.

As the protests in Yerevan escalated, Gorbachev personally appealed to Armenians to "return to normal life and work, and observe social order." While promising reforms, he left open the future status of Nagorno-Karabakh. Whether in response to Gorbachev's appeal or fearing military repression, the Armenian nationalist leaders agreed on February 27 to suspend the demonstrations for a month. Yet no sooner had the Armenian capital quieted down than it was reported that two Azerbaijanis had been killed in Karabakh.

This news triggered bloody communal rioting in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait, near Baku, as Azeri mobs rampaged through the streets randomly attacking Armenians. Scenes of horrendous savagery are reported, including grisly attacks on Armenian women in a maternity ward, children thrown out of windows. The deputy public prosecutor of the USSR described it as "a pogrom." The Soviet news agency TASS reported that 32 people were killed. Unofficial sources put the death toll in the hundreds.

The Soviet army had to be brought in to restore social order and protect the Armenian community. "The losses would have been greater if local residents hadn't helped us," reported General V. Kraev. Azerbaijani families protected Armenians in their homes, a bus driver evacuated a dozen Armenians to another city, workmates were sheltered from enraged mobs. In the aftermath, Communists from the region formed squads to aid the militia (police) in keeping order.

But the crisis was by no means over. On March 21, the official Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, denounced the movement to transfer Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia, declaring "the 'noble' ideal of 'reunification' carries an obvious anti-socialist stench." Two days later the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a resolution declaring it "inadmissible... for all sorts of self-proclaimed groups to call for the redrawing of state and administrative borders" (London *Independent*, 24 March).

TASS lashed out at the Armenian nationalist agitators for seeking to "exploit people's emotions for provocative aims so as to reverse society's development." However, the Soviet ruling elite is far from united over how to handle the Armenia crisis. The newspaper of the Communist Party youth organization, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, published an account of the Yerevan protests somewhat sympathetic—at any rate, not hostile—to the Armenian standpoint.

The Soviet government decree, coming a few days before the protests were set to resume, ordered local authorities to "take every necessary measure to ensure public order" and prevent further nationalist disturbances in the Caucasian republics. At the same time, the CPSU Politburo approved a series of measures to pump almost half a billion rubles into backward Karabakh, and to increase Armenian-language schools, books and television in the region.

In the face of this policy of the carrot and the stick, in Yerevan March 26 passed relatively quietly. But Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, was paralyzed by a general strike which continues as we go to press.

Newsweek

**Hundreds of thousands demonstrate in Armenian capital of Yerevan, largest outpouring of popular protest in the Soviet Union in over half a century.**

### Stalinist Nationalism Undermines the Soviet Union

As the Western media has repeatedly pointed out, the events in the Caucasus mark the most serious nationalist disturbances since the official formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the end of 1922. Questions abound. Why Armenia and why now? Will similar nationalist outbreaks spread throughout the Soviet Union? How will the Armenia crisis affect the future course of Gorbachev's reforms?

Amid all the uncertainties one thing is clear: the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy, permeated with nationalism, *cannot solve* the complex nationalities question. Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* (openness) has merely brought the suppressed but powerful nationalist currents to the surface of Soviet political life. At the same time, economic decentralization under the rubric of *perestroika* (restructuring) will *intensify* national divisions and rivalries within the USSR.

Anti-Soviet Cold Warriors have for years seen the nationalities question as the Achilles' heel of the USSR. They dream of a non-Russian majority of the Soviet Union rising up to throw off a "Soviet imperial yoke." Yet the recent protests in Armenia were neither anti-Russian nor anti-Soviet. To emphasize the point, many demonstrators carried portraits of Gorbachev and signs reading "Karabakh is a test of *perestroika*." Even the head of the Armenian church, Catholikos Vasken I, declared:

> "Our people and we are always true to the fraternity of nationalities of the Soviet Union on the basis of the historically proved unbreakable friendship with the Russian people."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 1 March

From Israel-Palestine, Lebanon, Cyprus and Sri Lanka to Northern Ireland and Spain's Basque country, the bourgeoisies have no solution to national conflict but bloody domination by the stronger power. As with Alsace-Lorraine and Serbia in WWI, national grievances are used as a cynical pretext for imperialist slaughter. Already at the birth of Soviet power, both the warring imperialist coalitions sought to weaken the October Revolution by stirring up fratricidal wars in the Caucasus.

But the proletarian revolution led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky broke the chains of the tsarist prison house of peoples, raising for the first time the vista of harmonious national development on the basis of genuine equality. Made up of 15 national republics and a score of autonomous republics, with more than 100 officially recognized languages, the Soviet Union, horn of workers revolution, is unique among modern states in being *internationalist* in its very foundations.

As the revolution was subsequently bureaucratically deformed under Stalin, while the forms of Leninist internationalism were preserved they were filled with nationalism. Externally this was expressed in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," while

*continued on page 9*

AFP

**Gorbachev appeals for an end to nationalist unrest in the Caucasus, but the Armenia crisis continues.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 451 | 22 April 1988


## Jackson Campaign—Trap for Labor and Blacks

# Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party

### Forge a Workers Party!

Democratic dwarfs dwindle: Jackson between the yahoos and the yuppies.

AP

Let's get something straight right away. The Democratic Party is a racist party of racist American capitalism—they are no "friend" of labor and blacks. It was the Southern Dixiecrats who stood in the schoolhouse door to keep blacks out, the Northern liberals who knifed busing in Congress while the racists rampaged in the streets. From Wilson Goode who ordered the cops to drop a bomb on black Philly, to Tom Bradley who orders the LAPD roundup of thousands of black youth, black Democratic mayors are the overseers on Reagan's plantation. It was Democrat Carter who used the power of the state against striking coal miners and who prepared the plan for busting PATCO which Reagan carried out, while the pro-Democratic AFL-CIO tops left the air controllers hanging in the wind. And the Democrats vie with the Reaganites as rabid Cold Warriors. In the 1984 campaign Mondale called for "quarantining" Nicaragua; today Dukakis says he is prepared to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union.

Now there's a lot of energy going into the Jesse Jackson campaign. Young black college students and ghetto youth alike are proud to see a black man for the first time ever as a serious contender for president. "If America Is for Humanity...Then JJ Will Be President..." read headlines in the black press. Middle-aged white farmers, white ethnic hard-hats in the Midwest are voting for Jackson, because, as he says, "I've stood with them and they want to stand with me." But come this summer and fall, there are going to be a lot of upset people around when they figure out that "Jackson action" means being herded to the polls as voting cattle for the same old Democratic Party of strikebreaking, racist terror and imperialist war.

The most conscious will look to those who told them the truth from the beginning. The Spartacist League warns that the Jackson campaign is a trap for labor

*continued on page 8*

## When Zionist Fascist Shot Jewish Girl

# Pogrom Unleashed Against Palestinian Villagers

Palestinian homes in Beita blown up by Israeli army.

AP

"*Goyim* kill *goyim*, and they immediately come to hang the Jews," sneered Menachem Begin five years ago, to divert attention from his responsibility for the massacre of more than 1,800 people in the Palestinian refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra in Lebanon. To the Zionist "master race" every Arab is an animal, a subhuman. So when one of these inflamed Zionist fanatics shot down a young Jewish girl who was in his line of fire as he was trying to kill Palestinian villagers, they sought "revenge" by going out to hang Arabs. Here was their "martyr" for the cause of an anti-Arab bloodbath.

The funeral for 15-year-old Tirza Porat was turned into a festival of blood, as 5,000 "mourners" armed with M-16 assault rifles and Uzi submachine guns screamed "Revenge! Expulsion!" A fascistic spokesman ranted that the West Bank Palestinian village of Beita where she died "should be wiped off the face of the earth." Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir vowed that "God will avenge her blood." But it was the army that this arch-terrorist sent in to do the job. Beita was sealed off by Israeli troops, who proceeded to round up every male between the ages of 15 and 60, blow up 14 houses, gun down one 19-year-old and raze seven acres of olive trees. Six residents were singled out to be deported from the country. The anti-Arab rampage spread to the village of Beit Umar, where 70 shops and houses were bulldozed. And this was deemed "mild"—the fascistic "settlers" were looking for a bloody massacre, aiming ultimately for the mass expulsion of Palestinians from "Greater Israel."

Adapting the calculus of the Nazi Third Reich, the Zionist butchers proclaim that one Jewish life is worth hundreds of Arabs. Well over 140 Palestinian Arabs, many of them younger than Tirza Porat, have been shot down in cold blood in the last four months. Thousands more have been tear gassed, thrown into dungeons, tortured, buried alive. But the Zionist bloodlust remains unquenched. Following the Mafia-style murder of top PLO leader Khalil al-Wazir (known as

*continued on page 3*

## Drug Companies Cave In to Moral Majority

# Let American Women Have Safe Abortion Pill!

A safe and easy way to end pregnancy, the new "abortion pill" RU 486, will soon be available, but not in the United States. Developed by the French company Roussel-UCLAF, the new drug will be sold in Europe and China within the year. Worldwide, there are approximately 90 million births each year, and 40 to 50 million abortions, French researchers pointed out in a *New England Journal of Medicine* (18 December 1986) article reporting the successful results of their tests of RU 486. What a relief to millions of women it would be to have access to such a simple, safe and private way to end unwanted pregnancies! As a French midwife pointed out when news of the development spread in France over a year ago:

> "When taken at home, the RU pill, above and beyond representing a substantial de-medicalization, contributes to making abortion a private decision, freed from institutional straitjackets, and thus leads toward greater individual autonomy. In this sense, the RU pill better corresponds to my image of a real right to abortion."
>
> —*Libération*, 5 February 1987

Shamefully, this new medical breakthrough is being denied entirely to American women. So far American drug companies have refused to even apply for Food and Drug Administration approval to market RU 486 in the U.S. The reason is sordid and simple: Moral Majority blackmail. National Right to Life and other groups have warned drug companies they'll boycott all their products if anyone dares market the new drug. Upjohn Company, which tried to develop abortion-inducing drugs several years ago, gave up the effort in 1985 in the face of such a boycott by National Right to Life.

It is precisely because this drug is genuinely private that the Moral Majority bigots are going crazy. If this really becomes viable, it means the whole question of pregnancy and abortion becomes genuinely a *personal* choice in which the government *cannot* intervene. Further, since most clinics perform abortions during the first trimester, the same time frame this pill works in, it means there won't be any more abortion clinics to picket and bomb. So the Moral Majority is going to be stymied—what are they going to do, recruit peeping Toms to climb into bathroom windows to stop women they suspect?

Since the initial French tests, researchers in Europe and China have found that RU 486, when taken along with prostaglandins, has a 95 percent success rate. Prostaglandins have been available in the U.S. for some time, but have painful side effects including cramping and nausea—however, the two drugs in combination appear to avoid this problem. Recommended for use within the first seven weeks of pregnancy (along with necessary medical follow-up to check effectiveness), the drug works by blocking progesterone, a hormone needed to maintain pregnancy, thus causing a woman to start menstruating, in the course of which the tiny embryo is passed out of the body naturally along with menstrual fluids. This is a real breakthrough: no more need to go to a hospital or clinic, no anesthesia, no more possible risk of infection or punctures from the surgical procedures of vacuum suction or D&C (dilation and curettage).

RU 486 has other potential benefits as well, including possible use as treatment for some forms of breast cancer and endometriosis (a leading cause of infertility) and for a hormonal disorder affecting both men and women, as well as potential for opening the birth canal, which could enable many women giving birth to avoid Caesarean sections.

The *New York Times* (25 March), decked out as the champion of bourgeois liberalism, has come out with an editorial in favor of the abortion pill, pointing out "a large majority of Americans favor the right to choose abortion," so, "Clearly, then, there is an American market for RU 486. Now, where's the marketer?" The U.S. bourgeoisie wants this drug because they don't want blacks to have more kids, and then of course they don't want to be embarrassed by their own nubile young daughters coming home with the classic "Guess what, mommy..." line. So powerful forces are annoyed with the Moral Majority yahoos for messing up their lives.

For us, it has always been a simple matter that no woman—or girl—should be forced to bear a child she does not want. We have always fought for free, safe abortion on demand—and this new "abortion pill" holds out the promise that for the first time in history the technical means are there for this to become a reality.

The refusal of the drug companies to make this drug available in the U.S. shows that the reactionary miasma of the Reagan years is by no means dispelled. And years of social reaction have taken their deadly toll, in growing poverty, homelessness, disease and hopelessness. The U.S. has one of the highest rates of "out-of-wedlock" teen pregnancies of any industrialized country: more than a million teenage girls get pregnant every year, about half of them have abortions. But this doesn't reflect the whole sad story: especially for the poor, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic, this society offers no options, not even the chance to learn to read and write.

Certainly, if pregnancy wasn't such serious business, there wouldn't be such social hysteria over the question. Taking this pill as a result of pregnancy is a gentle way to remind teenagers that sex does have consequences. But sex is an extremely powerful drive, not just a casual night's recreation. Indeed, Western "civilization" is rife with examples of the demented and bizarre practices of those who deny such urges, from the "nice, quiet boy next door" who turns out to be a multiple ax-murderer to peculiar religious habits of self-mutilation.

Sygma

**Women in a New York City abortion clinic. For the right of free, safe abortion on demand!**

Modern science has opened up a new prospect, with this "abortion pill," for relieving women of much of the pain and trauma of ending unwanted pregnancy. But it will take a socialist revolution to rid the world of the reactionary hysteria and powerful social institutions which perpetuate women's oppression. ■

### History Will Avenge the Crimes of Stalin

TROTSKY

LENIN

*In 1936 Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, comrade and fighter for the Fourth International, trenchantly exposed the Moscow Trials as the greatest frame-up in modern history. The victims of Stalin's terror, including Sedov himself as well as his father, the co-leader of the October Revolution and founder of the Red Army, will be avenged when the Soviet workers rise up against the Kremlin oligarchy and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky.*

Stalin had to have very important reasons to stage this trial, to commit these murders. Indeed, a whole gamut of reasons, at different levels but closely interconnected. Stalin doubtless regarded this trial as a cunning and slick move which would signal very clearly to everyone the beginning of a new period, a period of still greater strengthening of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the final extermination of the Opposition. Heretofore, when Trotsky was still in the USSR, i.e., in the hands of the Thermidorian clique, which then did not yet dare to drag Trotsky to the guillotine, Stalin believed the best way to be rid of the implacable Bolshevik was a carefully engineered operation ending with banishment to a foreign land. In this he was mistaken, and it does not take a specially sharp eye to see how this failure torments him today. Today, as the Opposition keeps coming back and growing, Stalin has Bolsheviks shot in cold blood, former leaders of the party and Comintern, heroes of the Civil War. But this time, too, he will be mistaken, and very soon he will discover it. These terrible crimes, committed in cold blood, will rebound upon the head of their author.

—Leon Sedov, *Rotbuch über den Moskauer Prozeß*
(Red Book on the Moscow Trials, October 1936)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street New York NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO, New York NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 451** **22 April 1988**



## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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# Palestinians...

*(continued from page 1)*

Abu Jihad), who had nearly 100 slugs pumped into him by six commandos in front of his horrified wife and daughter in their Tunis home, the Israeli army went on a rampage of terror against angry protesters in the Occupied Territories on April 16. The murder count at the end of that bloody day climbed to at least 16, the number wounded into the hundreds, as Israeli troops fired "horizontally into troops of fleeing protesters," according to a UN observer.

By all accounts, the events leading up to the death of Tirza Porat were aimed at provoking a bloodbath. Sixteen Jewish "settler" youth from the Gush Emunim village of Elon Moreh went on a "Passover hike" through West Bank Arab villages—in the middle of a virtual civil war—escorted by two "guards" (both with records of murderous attacks against Arabs) armed with an M-16 and an Uzi submachine gun. This was one of 48 such "hikes" through the West Bank countryside that day. Asked why they went, one of the young "hikers" later explained, "We have to show them [the Palestinians] that we are the owners of the country."

One of the guards, Romam Aldubi, a crazed supporter of Meir Kahane's fascist Kach party, pulled out his M-16 when they were met by some stone-throwing Arab youths near the village and shot one of them dead. Arab villagers intervened to defuse the situation and led the "hikers" into the village in order to extricate them. But when the body of her son arrived, the distraught mother started throwing rocks at the murderer. At that point, according to a leaked report by Israeli military investigators, Aldubi "had the hikers gather around him during the confrontation and used them as a shield while he fired at stone-throwing Arabs with an M-16 assault rifle" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 April). Shooting wildly, this cowardly fascist killed another Palestinian youth and one of his "shields."

Army chief of staff General Dan Shomron admitted that the only reason these would-be Hitler Youth got out of Beita alive was "because some villagers did not allow them to be harmed." In fact, any number of Beita's 4,000 residents could easily have overwhelmed them, but they didn't. This did not stop Shomron from having these same villagers "punished." Likewise the infamous massacre of Deir Yassin in 1947 was perpetrated against a village which had in the past hidden Jews from Arab anti-Semites. In their drive to establish that they are the "owners of the country," the Zionists make no distinction between "good" and "bad" Arabs.

The initial army report lied that the girl had been killed by Palestinian stone-throwers, fueling the bloodlust of Zionist reaction. When Israeli papers, which were shut down for the two-day Passover holiday, carried the "revised" army account, the story was met with chauvinist hysteria against the army. Now the "settlers" are denouncing the army for being "soft" on the Palestinians, and Knesset (parliament) extremists like Geula Cohen of the HaTehiya Party are calling for Shomron's ouster. The 70,000 "settlers" in the West Bank are the vanguard of Zionist reaction, heavily permeated by the fascistic Gush Emunim and the fascist Kach of Brooklyn-born Kahane (a.k.a. Michael King), many of them the scummiest dregs of New York's racist Jewish Defense League.

Among the homegrown American fascists who found their future in Israel are the infamous "Eli the Wolf," an ex-FBI informer who indiscriminately shot down Arabs in Hebron, and Nathan Nathanson, who went to Israel to fulfill his ghoulish personal "dream": catching young Palestinian children at random and breaking their arms with his own hands. To make clear that these psychopaths are part of the Zionist family, the government is planning to "celebrate" Israeli Independence Day by pardoning the last five members of the "Jewish underground" still in jail for carrying out anti-Arab massacres and plotting the bombing of Jerusalem's Muslim holy site in the early 1980s.

The settler movement is the political godchild of the "moderate" Labor Party, which initiated and encouraged it as a way of securing the 1967 conquest of the Occupied Territories. As then Labor prime minister Golda Meir said, "The frontier is where Jews live, not where there is a line on the map." Today the fascistic settlers, committed to an apocalyptic "final solution" to the Palestinian question at any price, represent one of the extremes of an increasingly polarized Israeli society. The Palestinian uprising has demonstrated that the status quo is untenable. It has enormously increased the pressures, inherent in the logic of the Zionist state, for the mass expulsion of the Palestinians from the West Bank.

Independent

**West Bank youth spearhead four-month Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation.**

However, strong elements in the Zionist establishment, including the army officer corps, have in mind a somewhat different solution to the Palestinian question. It is perhaps no accident that eleven former generals and senior intelligence officers are at the forefront of the so-called land-for-peace movement. These Israeli generals have not turned pacifist; they simply want to extricate the army from a no-win situation by creating a neutered Palestinian "mini-state," another variant of forcible expulsions.

Der Spiegel

Jerusalem Post

**Zionist fascist Meir Kahane (left) and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir scream for Arab blood as armed settlers turn funeral of Tirza Porat into rally for "final solution" to the Palestinian question.**

James Nachtwey

At the same time, much of the officer corps looks forward to another war with the surrounding Arab states, hopefully ending in cheap victory, to restore Israel's fractured national unity. However, if the tide of battle goes against them, the Zionist madmen are prepared to blow up the entire Arab East—and with it, the world. A chillingly perceptive commentary by two Israeli liberals in the *Boston Globe* (3 April) takes note of Mordechai Vanunu's exposure of Israel's massive nuclear arsenal and warns:

> "...Israel may not start a war, but it is hard to see how an Israeli government would not consider using nuclear weapons to try to end one. A longer, more drawn-out or inclusive regional war would mean thousands of Israeli casualties—a price the Israeli military will not want to pay. The Palestinian uprising has made Israeli military difficulties much sharper than ever before.... Many of the IDF's training programs have been disrupted by so much occupation duty. The uprising has undermined the deterrent forces of Israel's conventional forces."

From its very foundations, the Israeli garrison-state has been more like an army with a state than a state with an army. President Chaim Herzog warned the military's rightist critics, "To involve the army in political argument is very dangerous." As Israel's future direction is sharply posed, its economy gone to hell, this is reflected not only in a divided government but also in mounting pressure on the army. The always narrowly defined racialist "democracy" of Zionist Israel is today driven closer and closer to an outright bonapartist solution. And there are a lot of candidates for the role of the man on horseback waiting in the wings.

The U.S., meanwhile, is posing as the apostle of peace, as Secretary of State Shultz undertakes his bouts of "shuttle diplomacy." What hypocrisy! Both Democrats and Republicans denounce the PLO as "terrorists" while they all cheered as U.S. jets bombed a Tripoli neighborhood, killing over 100 people in a failed attempt to murder Libyan leader Qaddafi. What Washington wants is not peace in this highly unstable region but an anti-Soviet "consensus" ...on the backs of the Palestinian Arab people.

While its troops were slaughtering Arabs, the Israeli state was grotesquely commemorating the Nazi genocide on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Herzog intoned: "Never again will there be another Holocaust, and the state of Israel is the guarantee of that." The state of Israel is *preparing another Holocaust*, this time directed against the Palestinian Arab people. It could not be clearer that the "promised land" is a blood-drenched charnel house for the Palestinian people and a deathtrap for the Jews. This barbaric Zionist regime must be exploded from within, through revolutionary class struggle linking the Hebrew-speaking workers to the oppressed Palestinian masses, championing the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Forge Trotskyist parties fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East! ■


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# NYC Meeting on Moscow Trials Victims

# Soviet Workers Will Restore Trotsky's Rightful Place in History

On March 19 a meeting was held at the New School for Social Research in New York City calling to "clear the names of all the accused in the Moscow Trials," the monstrous frame-ups in which Stalin had the remaining members of Lenin's Bolshevik Central Committee "liquidated."

The U.S. Moscow Trials Campaign Committee called the meeting, noting that the Soviet government had recently declared that Bukharin, Rykov and Rakovsky were innocent of the charges for which they were convicted and executed. The call added, "It is, however, very far from certain that a complete rehabilitation of all the defendants, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Radek, will take place, as the restoration to their rightful place in history as Lenin's lieutenants in the founding of the Soviet Union would raise the question of reprinting their writings, and making them available to all Soviet citizens."

Listed speakers at the meeting included Trotsky's grandson, Esteban Volkov Bronstein; noted civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn; the editor of *Jewish Currents*, Morris Schappes; Professor Paul Siegel; and Juliet Ucelli of the New York Marxist School. A message was read from George Saunders, translator of many of Trotsky's writings. Marilyn Vogt-Downey spoke on behalf of the Moscow Trials Campaign Committee, and the meeting was chaired by Naomi Allen. In the lobby there were literature tables of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, Socialist Action and the Spartacist League.

In response to a request by the international Spartacist tendency for a speaker, Joseph Seymour of the SL Central Committee was called on and offered brief remarks to the meeting. We reprint below the remarks by Joseph Seymour and Esteban Volkov.

### Joseph Seymour:

We support the rehabilitation of the Old Bolsheviks killed in Stalin's terror, and especially their greatest representative, Leon Trotsky. But this question is not primarily a juridical question. It is a political question. The tens of thousands of communist militants will not really be rehabilitated in the Soviet Union until the principles for which they lived, fought and ultimately died triumph in the Soviet Union. For that reason we do not appeal to Gorbachev and to Stalin's successors in the Kremlin. We appeal to the Soviet workers, collective farmers and leftist intellectuals as did Trotsky himself.

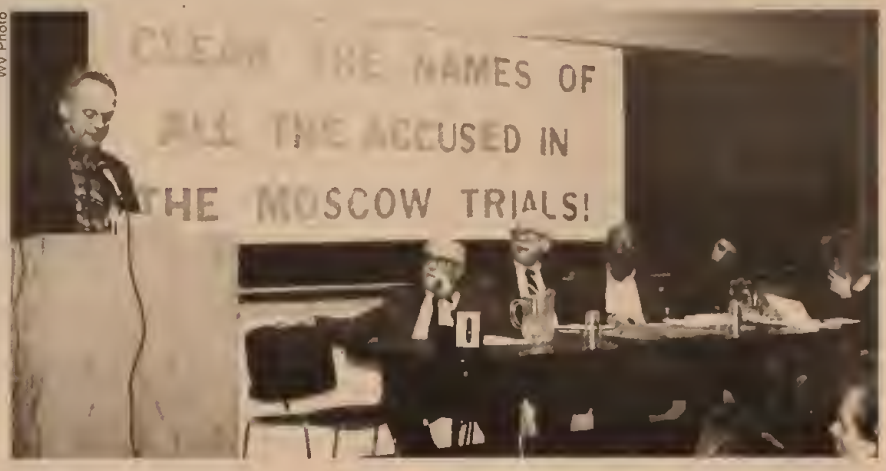
Now, we find that whenever the Kremlin bureaucracy for its own reasons attacks the crimes of Stalin, as Khrushchev did in 1956—and one should note that Khrushchev here showed rather more political courage than has Gorbachev—whenever the Kremlin bureaucracy tolerates a certain openness, the question of Leon Trotsky becomes a very hot issue. Bukharin, Tukhachevsky, Radek, all of these people may to some degree be rehabilitated, recognized, honored—but not Trotsky.

In fact there is a renewed, albeit more sophisticated, campaign under Gorbachev to discredit Trotsky. He is presented as ambitious, as arrogant. Well, considering that his leading rival Joseph Stalin was a criminal psychopath, these are not such terrible qualities.

Why? Because deep within the Soviet political culture and subculture it is recognized that it is not Bukharin, it is not Zinoviev, it is Trotsky who is the anti-Stalin. It is Trotsky who fought Stalin in the name of authentic Leninism. He lives in the consciousness of the Soviet people.

But the actual program of Trotskyism is unfortunately only vaguely known, and as a result of decades of Stalinist propaganda, in some ways distorted and misknown. Do Soviet workers know and understand Trotsky's call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin bureaucrats and restore Soviet democracy? Probably not. Certainly not in its concretes. Therefore the struggle to reprint Trotsky's writings is key. It is key to any socialist renewal in Russia, because in Trotsky's writings the new generation of Soviet workers and intellectuals will find the revolutionary solutions to the very questions to which Gorbachev, for his own reasons, has called attention: the economic stagnation, the political cynicism and indifference, the social pathology of alcoholism.

But they will find more than that. They will find the revolutionary solution to the ultimate cause of these problems, namely the isolation and the encirclement of the Soviet Union by the hostile capitalist powers in the West. That is the program of permanent revolution, of bringing the Russian October to the West, to the United States. And that, comrades, is our task!



WV Photo

Esteban Volkov, Trotsky's grandson, addresses New York meeting.

### Esteban Volkov:

The original idea of socialism in its empirical form and later in its most articulate and scientific form, that is to say, Marxism, arose in response to the social conditions of exploitation, injustice and alienation of the human being. These conditions, which have prevailed in all societies accounted for by history and have taken their most sophisticated and extended forms in capitalist society, still persist unfortunately in post-capitalist and pre-socialist societies with their statified economies under bureaucratic dominion.

The first triumphant Marxist revolution took place on this planet approximately 70 years ago. This triumph, based on the uprising of the Russian workers and peasants, was directed successfully by the Bolshevik Party, which was headed by men of great talent, boldness and indomitable faith in the socialist cause: Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev.

The monopoly and the centralization of power in the hands of the Bolshevik leadership, which previously had been a key element in the victory of the revolution, later opened the door for Stalin to establish and consolidate his dictatorship. In addition, there was the isolation of the revolution, the depolitization and exhaustion of the masses, the weakening of the revolutionary leadership as a result of Lenin's death together with the fact that Trotsky was surrounded by the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy.

Stalin created the most implacable dictatorship and tyranny known in modern history, betraying the foundations and principles of Marxism. Instead of using the truth as a battering ram and revolutionary weapon, he imposed lies and falsification of history as his "modus operandi."

Instead of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, he sent from 10 to 15 million Soviet citizens to work as slaves in Siberian work camps.

Instead of a respectful and comradely treatment of Lenin's Bolshevik companions, he set up a monstrous parody of justice with his Moscow Trials frame-ups, as a result of which most of them were executed in the basement of Lubianka or exiled to Siberia. Two years later, Leon Trotsky, the organizer of the Red Army and close collaborator of Lenin, was also murdered in Mexico City by a GPU agent. For "the dictatorship of the proletariat" he substituted "the dictatorship over the proletariat," penetrating and invading every area of Soviet life with an absurd and asphyxiating bureaucratic control. So that now, 70 years after the October Revolution, the Soviet Union is still trailing behind the rest of the industrial world in many scientific and technical fields as well as in housing and the general standard of living of its citizens.

And as a grand finale, he committed high treason against his own country, the land of Lenin, when in his paranoia,

*continued on page 10*

**Spartacist**
**English Edition**
**No. 41-42**
**Winter 1987-88**
**(64 pages)**
**$1.00**

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to Spartacist Publishing Co Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

## A Reply to CP's Jim West

# Workers Revolution— The Only Road to Peace

Last December American Communist Party spokesman Jim West delivered a speech, subsequently turned into an article for the CP's *Political Affairs* (March 1988), at a Moscow symposium on "The Great October Revolution and the Contemporary World." Rehashing the usual Stalinist tripe about chasing "peace-loving" imperialists ("appeal to the common sense of politicians and statesmen..."), West goes out of his way to launch a diatribe against "U.S. Trotskyites":

> "The Trotskyites, by nature incapable of any new thinking, still peddle the permanent revolution dogma of a here-and-now military showdown with capitalism. In utter disregard of the over-riding nuclear war danger, the U.S. Trotskites [sic] blaze in their paper the headline: 'Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism'....
> "Underlying this thinking is the Trotskyite dictum of 'permanent revolution' which would require that the Soviet Union carry out its revolution around the world."

The American Trotskyists referred to are, of course, the Spartacist League. But "a here-and-now military showdown" with U.S. imperialism? Several months ago West targeted the same *WV* headline by tarring us with the brush of right-wing imperialist warmongers (see "Yes, Gorbachev... Peaceful Coexistence With Imperialism *Is* a Pipe Dream," *WV* No. 444, 15 January). Now he tries to palm off the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution as, in effect, a call for a Soviet nuclear first strike. Who is West arguing against? Not only don't we have that position, nobody does.

The reformist Jim West obviously cannot conceive of a working-class revolutionary upsurge in West Europe or the United States. In the face of such an *internal* convulsion, hydrogen bombs and MX missiles are not very useful—especially if the military technicians deploying these weapons have become, at least in part, a component of the revolution. What prevented a proletarian revolution in France in May 1968 was not fear that de Gaulle would use the nuclear *force de frappe* against the workers but the sabotage and treachery of West's comrades in the French Communist Party.

Jim West clearly has a bee in his bonnet. And given the Moscow setting, this was hardly a spontaneous outburst. It's no secret that there is a significant current of dissatisfaction within the Soviet hierarchy—and within Soviet society generally—to the pullout of troops from Afghanistan (see "Gorbachev's Afghan Sellout: Some Russians Say *Nyet*," *WV* No. 449, 25 March). Lest those opposed to this cringing attempt at "détente" with U.S. imperialism should look to the path of class struggle instead of class collaboration, West dismisses the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world socialist revolution as tantamount to nuclear Armageddon.

Against the anti-Soviet "pacifists" whom the CP seeks to befriend, we Trotskyists have always defended the Soviet Union's right and responsibility to acquire whatever nuclear weapons it needs to defend itself. Does West object to that? Against the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, we uphold Lenin and Trotsky's perspective of world socialist revolution. As we stated in the very article whose "warlike" headline West vituperates against:

> "The Soviet bureaucracy is genuinely frightened of nuclear war, and rightly so. They also reflect the mass sentiment of the people of the Soviet Union in a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. But there is also a sense among elements in the Soviet officialdom, intelligentsia and working people that appeasement, capitulating to the 'Reagan doctrine,' or allowing U.S. imperialism to isolate and starve heroic Vietnam and take over Afghanistan are *not* the road to peace....
> "However, the answer to Gorbachev's version of 'peaceful coexistence' is not support to more hardline elements in the Kremlin, who will betray and weaken the defense of the Soviet Union in other ways....
> "While Reagan is on the rocks, the thermonuclear-armed ruling class he represents is still in the saddle. The fate of the homeland of the October Revolution, the emancipation of the oppressed and toiling masses, and the very survival of humanity are inseparably bound to working-class revolution in the dominant imperialist countries, above all the United States. World revolution is no utopia but the only reality which can disarm the Pentagon."
> —"Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace With Imperialism," *WV* No. 424, 20 March 1987

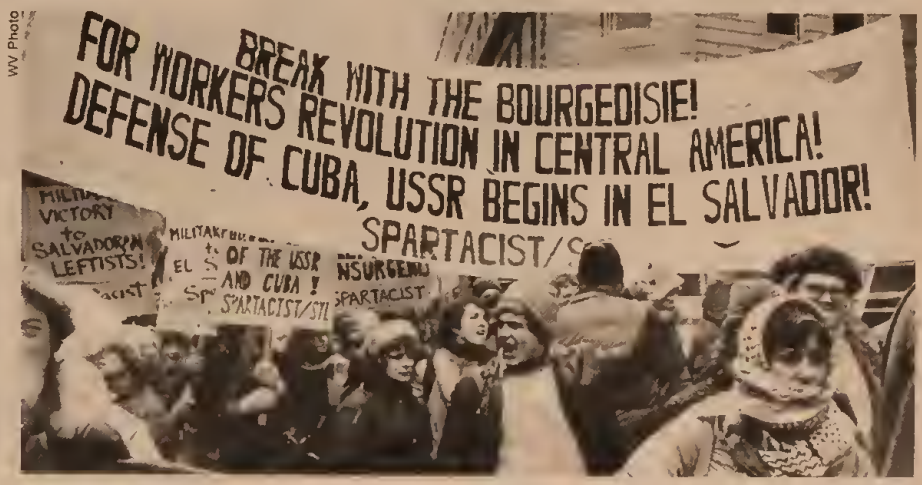
*Glasnost* notwithstanding, the Stalin school of falsification is alive and well in the CPUSA.

In fact, it is "peaceful coexistence" which is a utopia, and a deadly dangerous one. *It is precisely because a direct military confrontation with U.S. imperialism is so suicidal that "peaceful coexistence" is such a dead-end policy.* For when appeasement fails, the result is military confrontation. The Kremlin seeks to placate a hostile imperialist enemy. But the imperialists only grow more emboldened by every sign of Soviet "weakness." They cannot be placated, short of liquidating the social foundations of the October Revolution upon which the bureaucracy itself rests. As Reagan's National Security Council Russia "expert" Richard Pipes threatened in 1981, the Soviets face a choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war."

"While capitalism and socialism exist side by side, they cannot live in peace: one or the other will ultimately triumph," Lenin told party activists in 1920. Futile illusions of the USSR peacefully coexisting with imperialism are made even more dangerous by the development of nuclear arsenals. For despite all their talk of nuclear war being "unthinkable," the real policy of the NATO imperialists is not the "deterrence" of MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) but the mad program of a *nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union*. An exhaustive two-part report on "The Button," published in the *New Yorker* (1 and 8 April 1985), spells out Washington's longstanding policy:

> "'If there is a nuclear war, the United States will be the one to start it,' an Air Force strategist who has worked on the United States war plan (known as the Single Integrated Operational Plan, or SIOP) told me.... Thus, contrary to all the statements about responding to a Soviet attack, the actual war plans, including all the versions of the SIOP that have been developed since 1960, give the United States the option of launching a first strike against the Soviet Union if war appears to be unavoidable."

The recent book *To Win a Nuclear War* (1987) by Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod documents 25 incidents between 1946 and 1980 in which the American rulers threatened or considered the use of nuclear weapons. More over, in 1948, 1954 and 1961 they were on the verge of launching a "preemptive" nuclear strike. And the Democrats are no less Cold Warmongers than the Republicans. Indeed, as Kaku and Axelrod observe, it was JFK who first made fighting a nuclear war official policy. It was Carter who issued Presidential Directive 59 calling for "decapitating" the USSR—i.e., killing the Soviet leadership.




**Spartacist contingent in Boston protests Yankee imperialist intervention in Central America, February 1982.**

### On Revolutionary War

The only way to stop imperialist warmongering is to put the warmongers out of business through socialist revolution. It is this perspective which the Stalinists rail against. To do so, from Stalin on they have sought to portray the Leninist-Trotskyist program of international workers revolution as military adventurism. The Great Organizer of Defeats himself "renounced" the "export of revolution" in a famous interview with American journalist Roy Howard in 1936:

> "HOWARD: Does this declaration of yours imply that the Soviet Union has in any way renounced its plans and intentions to bring about a world revolution?
> "STALIN: We never had any such plans or intentions.
> "HOWARD: It would seem to me, Mr. Stalin, that quite a different impression has been current in the world for a long time.
> "STALIN: That is the result of a misunderstanding.... It is nonsense to try to make revolution an article of export."

Stalin declared the program of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky a "tragicomic" mistake. Trotsky replied:

> "'We' more than once proclaimed as the duty of a proletariat of a victorious country to come to the assistance of the rising peoples—with advice, material means, and, if possible, with armed force. All these ideas (incidentally, they bear the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht) are written down in the most important

*continued on page 10*

Crown Publishers

**Pentagon has always planned nuclear first strike against the USSR.**

# Young Spartacus

## Spartacus Youth Club Forum on Afghanistan

# Anti-Soviet Psychos Foiled at Cornell

ITHACA, New York—In a satisfying victory for democratic rights, members and supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club spiked a bid by right-wing College Republicans to bust up our forum, "Soviets Must Win Afghan War!", at Cornell University on March 12. Our call to "Finish Off the CIA's Afghan Warriors!" enraged the campus contras who mobilized supporters from as far away as Pennsylvania in an attempt to turn our forum into a proxy war, targeting young communist students as "surrogates" for Red Army soldiers in Kabul. Strange, too, that on a Saturday night the Dean of Students was roused and carted along, together with anti-Soviet placards and a few policemen, including the chief of campus security, for this well-orchestrated "counterdemonstration."

The whole chanting cabal was met at the door to our forum by several convincing defenders of democratic rights, including a labor defense squad whose leader told the dean, "either you keep these guys quiet, or we will" (*Cornell Daily Sun*, 14 March). Because the forum's defenders were well-organized and visibly determined, the right-wingers' intended violent intimidation of the participants fizzled. The College Republicans, without their picket signs, were admitted and seated near the door so that the forum by Spartacist spokesman Miriam McDonald would proceed without interruption even if they tried to violate the ground rules. An orderly meeting ensued, concluding with Spartacist supporters with raised-fist salutes singing the *Internationale*. A baffled Dean Kramer conceded to the campus paper, it "'was obviously different from the typical classroom participation,' [but] the Spartacus Youth Club has the right to direct its events."

Young Spartacus

**Spartacus Youth Club members and friends thwart ultrarightists' corridor "counterdemonstration" aimed at breaking up our public communist meeting.**

When their counterrevolutionary scheme went bust, one bitter yahoo griped that "the dean is a quisling idiot for letting the forum happen." The College Republicans also lodged formal charges against us for "discriminatory seating"! (Actually, with Cornell's eco-faddists enforcing "no smoking" zones all over the campus, we thoughtfully established a buffer of clean air between our forum participants and the stinking ultrarightists.) The strikebreaking Cornell administration, no friend of left-ist student organizations, nevertheless threw out this patently ludicrous charge at a meeting where the SYC and sympathetic faculty presented evidence of the Republicans' antics, from threatening and tearing flyers out of the hands of a young woman student to writing letters to the campus paper complaining that the forum went on as scheduled because the ultrarightists were "denied effective protest" (*Cornell Daily Sun*, 15 March). The miserable fake "left" like the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which on the Russian question sleeps in the same sheets as the right wing, refused to take a side in our defense. But a broad spectrum of students were pleased to see a victory over these Reaganite thugs.

### Not Just Harmless Nerds

Far from being mere envelope stuffers and doorbell ringers for Republican Party electoral candidates, the College Republicans are a central component of a nationwide network of right-wing shock troops on the campuses. Their bedfellows include groups like Accuracy in Academia, the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (Moonies), and a string of slander sheets (including the *Cornell Review*) godfathered and financed by Nixon-era treasury secretary William Simon.

The flagship paper in this chain, the *Dartmouth Review*, is infamous for its attacks on blacks, gays, Jews and Native Americans. And not just in print—most recently the *Review* made headlines when three staff members were suspended for racist harassment of a black music professor, William Cole. Several hundred students protested this new outbreak of disgusting bigotry, and even the Dartmouth president was moved to condemn the *Review* as "irresponsible, mean-spirited, cruel and ugly." That's putting it mildly: ten *Review* staffers led a potentially *deadly* sledgehammer attack on an anti-apartheid shanty-town *while it was occupied by student protesters.*

The rightists' brethren at Cornell also stand for racist violence. Consider one Robert Palmer, no apple-cheeked youth, who led the attempted disruption of our forum. He also served as body-guard for Nicaraguan contra *jefe* Jorge

# L.A. Times Retracts Deadly Libel

The Spartacist League has again won the retraction of a deadly libel against us. In a 24 January piece on the joys of student life at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), *Los Angeles Times* reporter Philipp Gollner wrote that "...the Spartacus Youth League and the [Progressive Labor] International Committee Against Racism, have had violent confrontations with campus police trying to monitor political demonstrations." This was a consciously false and deadly dangerous smear—people accused of "violence" against police have a way of being *killed* by the cops.

*Times* reporter Gollner should have known better. His accusations stemmed from a protest initiated by the Spartacus Youth League at UCLA in 1984 against the Salvadoran ambassador of death, Rivas-Gallont—which Gollner himself reported on for the UCLA *Bruin*. The SYL led some 150 students who appropriately greeted Rivas-Gallont with chants of "Butcher!" and "50,000 dead!" Four SYLers were dragged from the hall, arrested and handcuffed by the campus cops who tried to force "democracy" Salvador-style down students' throats. No charges of "violence" were ever brought against the SYL.

A demand for retraction by Spartacist League General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who detailed numerous successful battles in defense of our good name against more formidable forces, wrested a full retraction printed by the *Los Angeles Times* (28 February). This violence-baiting "libel that kills" is one that has been pushed against us and others who protest this government's war drive. Over the years, we have won victories in defense of democratic rights for ourselves and on behalf of all of those targeted for victimization by repeatedly fighting instances of slander. We've fought and won against former California attorney general (now governor) George Deukmejian, the sinister Moonie cult's *Washington Times*, the FBI, and most recently, Reagan's junior McCarthyites in "Accuracy in Academia."

The workers party has a right to organize—and we steadfastly assert and defend that right! ■

Los Angeles Times —28 February 1988

### For the Record

In a Jan. 24 article about student groups at UCLA, The Times inaccurately stated that the Spartacus Youth League and another campus group "have had violent confrontations with campus police trying to monitor political demonstrations."

The statement was based in part on an incident on March 5, 1984, in which four Spartacus Youth League members were arrested for disrupting a speech at UCLA by Ernesto Rivas Gallont, the Salvadoran ambassador to the United States.

The individuals were removed by University of California police because the demonstrators' shouting violated UCLA policy forbidding disruptions of speeches held on campus.

There was no evidence that Spartacus Youth League members physically assaulted campus police during the demonstration, and no charges or allegations of violent confrontations between the Spartacus Youth League and campus police were made.

# UMass Amherst Student Elections

# CP Youth Barred from Office

## Seat the Elected Reformist!

Rathe/Boston Globe

**YCL member Jason Rabinowitz has the right to take office!**

Remember all that crap shoved down your throat in grade school about "freedom, democracy and the American way"? A lot of students at UMass Amherst are learning that they can't even vote for what they want in a small-time student election without the powers that be coming down on them like a ton of bricks. The "supreme court" of the Student Government Association (SGA) ruled that Young Communist League (YCL, youth group of the Communist Party) leader Jason Rabinowitz and his non-Communist running mate Shari Silkoff cannot be elected as SGA co-presidents even though they won the March 15 election by a wide margin.

Nobody's fooled by the SGA's flimsy pretext of a small-print and contradictory clause allegedly prohibiting co-candidacies. The very provocative, crazed ultrarightist and racist junior McCarthyites at UMass are committed to purging the campus of communists, blacks and just about anyone else who is a perceived "home-front enemy" of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

The far right has been riding high in the saddle of the student government at UMass for two years. But students are fed up with the spate of racist attacks on campus. In February, black students held a six-day building occupation which drew substantial support. YCL member Rabinowitz, a prominent figure in the anti-racist protests, forged a reformist electoral coalition appealing to the administration to respond to student outrage against racist attacks. The right-wing yahoos ran an ugly redbaiting campaign that would make even the slimiest bourgeois politicians blush.

Stickers reading, "Jason Rabinowitz is a Communist. He is President of the Young Communist League. Don't vote Communist, March 15," were posted by incumbent College Republicans associated with the reactionary *Minuteman* crowd (whose hero is the indicted Contragate crook, Ollie North). Fraudulent posters, allegedly from the "Third World community," denouncing Rabinowitz, as well as a forged endorsement from the YCL, cropped up. Michael D. Ross, president of the College Republicans, filed absurd charges against Rabinowitz and Silkoff for tearing down these posters, sniveling that "students have a right to read" reactionary forgeries and lies! Last November Ross led a failed attempt to violently break up a forum given by Communist Party leader Gus Hall (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 443, "Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting").

**CP calls on capitalist government which breeds racist terror to "outlaw" racism. Real reds mobilize labor/black power against fascists.**

The campus rightists' accusations aside, YCLer Rabinowitz did not run for office as a revolutionary communist. Just as the CP fosters illusions in the class enemy by appealing to the racist, capitalist ruling class to pass anti-racist laws, Rabinowitz derails militant student and labor struggle by appealing for action from an administration which is committed to maintaining UMass Amherst as a safe haven for racists. Recently, 100 students and campus workers protested the administration's "sentencing" of racist thugs *to an alcohol treatment center* for attacking an interracial couple in February! As if booze rather than brazen bigotry were the issue here!

While Jason Rabinowitz pushes the CP's line of asking Reagan, Meese & Co. to "outlaw" racism, the junior Reaganites and assorted campus contra twits are busy trying to outlaw *him*! Part of what the right wing is obsessed with is the $8,000 student budget at the SGA president's disposal. Unlike the YCL, the Spartacus Youth Clubs run openly on a communist program and refuse the budget allocations that the union-busting, pro-capitalist university administrations use to support sandbox socialists on campus. He who pays the piper gets to call the tune.

As communists who fight to mobilize students in alliance with a fighting workers movement, we would not counsel a vote to the star-spangled, pro-Democratic Party Young Communist League. But Rabinowitz and his running mate won that election fair and square and the call for new elections is a blatantly undemocratic and anti-communist maneuver. We say, let the elected reformist take office! ■

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Rosales at Cornell, threatening students who showed up to protest the mercenary contra scum. Martin Schmelkin, vice president of the College Republicans and "ad salesman" for the *Cornell Review*, was chief goon for the Zionist fascist Meir Kahane's appearance at Cornell last November. Schmelkin sports a T-shirt of the terrorist Kach Party whose American cohorts in the Jewish Defense League are under investigation "in connection with bombings, homicides, extortion and kidnapping," including the October 1985 pipe-bomb murder of Alex Odeh, an official of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (*Village Voice*, 24 November 1987). Kahane and Kach spell genocide.

### The Russian Question Pointblank

Afghanistan has been a battle cry for Democrats and Republicans alike. Congress has gleefully funded the opium-smuggling feudalist Afghan insurgents to the tune of *billions* of dollars, because it's the one place in the world where every dime goes toward *killing Russians*. When the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979, we Trotskyists said "Hail Red Army!" because defense of the gains of the Bolshevik October Revolution and the possibility of extending them to this hideously backward country were posed. By contrast, phony "socialists" wailed ahuut "poor little Afghanistan" and leapt to support the CIA-backed "freedom fighters" who insurrected when the Soviet-allied government in Kabul lowered the bride price!

Before the Bolshevik Revolution, the areas now comprising Soviet Central Asia were as wretched as Afghanistan, where women are bought and sold like chattel slaves, swathed in dozens of yards of black cloth (the stifling *chadori*) and kept in a state of enforced illiteracy. Today the border between Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan is not measured in kilometers but centuries. The Bolshevik Revolution broke the power of the reactionary mullah caste, landlords and exploiters, and created a new world for women and all the oppressed national minorities.

Only a victory of the Red Army could have broken the social power of the mullah cutthroats in Afghanistan. However, the Kremlin bureaucracy, still pursuing "détente" with U.S. imperialism, refused to commit the forces or carry out the strategy needed to secure victory in the Afghan war. And now Gorbachev is pulling out of Afghanistan while the imperialists are crowing that the Soviet Union has suffered a "historic defeat." No matter how much the bureaucrats capitulate and sell out, the imperialists will not be reconciled to the Soviet Union.

To withdraw from Afghanistan now, handing the CIA's fanatics a victory right on the border of the USSR, also means abandoning women, leftists, schoolteachers and workers to a horrible bloodbath by Islamic fundamentalists. As Trotsky pointed out, the defense of the Soviet workers state requires international revolution to defeat the imperialist war makers by ending their exploitative class rule, combined with workers political revolution to oust the conciliatory, parasitic bureaucracy. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

We are Marxists, Trotskyists, who stand unconditionally in defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. Here at home the anti-Soviet war drive has meant union-busting, attacks on the democratic rights of blacks, women, homosexuals and others, and the immiseration of millions as society's wealth and productive capacity are poured into instruments of destruction aimed against the USSR. The enmity we have earned from crazed ultrarightists is not surprising. We stand on the opposite side of the barricades from the proponents of capitalist oppression and violence, including their junior buddies fueling racist and anti-communist attacks on the campuses. How sweet it is to make them eat it. ■

Young Spartacus DPA

**Bloody mujahedin (right) shoot and skin women schoolteachers. Protected by campus cops, College Republicans (left) boast of support to mujahedin. Kill a "commie" in Kabul, wear a smile in Cornell quad.**

# Jesse Jackson...

*(continued from page 1)*

and blacks. The urgent task is to break the chains that bind the black masses and workers to their capitalist masters through the Democratic Party. The only road to black liberation and the emancipation of the working people is the road of socialist revolution, led by a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed.

Higgins/NY Times

**Bureaucrats and Democrats: New York labor fakers hold fund-raiser for Jackson, April 11.**

### Racist Democrats' Dilemma

As the primary race comes down the home stretch, it has finally dawned on the Democratic Party tops that they "have a problem." The party which poses as the "people's party" of American capitalism and which in the 1984 elections revealed that its bedrock voting base is majority black, now has a black front-runner. Jesse Jackson is tied for the lead with the technocrat Democrat, Michael Dukakis, a man described by Richard Nixon as having all the pizzazz of a word processor. The pols were even more distressed when a poll for the right-wing *U.S. News & World Report* said a Dukakis-Jackson ticket could beat George Bush, the former head of the CIA and colorless Reagan clone most Americans wouldn't want in their living rooms. The Democrats, wrote the *New York Times* (29 March), "were in a quandary, wondering if there was a way to confront the growing movement toward Mr. Jackson without appearing to be racist" (answer: no).

The "anybody but Jackson" move really got going after the bombshell of the Michigan primary, where Jackson beat the pants off Dukakis by nearly 2 to 1. Jackson not only carried black Detroit by 95 percent, but took cities like Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw—white working-class areas which went for George Wallace against McGovern in 1972. The Democrats' horror over Jackson's Michigan triumph was matched only by their "relief" that Dukakis won Wisconsin, with Jackson "only" pulling a quarter of the white vote. Democratic Party professionals described their situation with words like "crisis, disarray, disaster, consternation, mess, and wacky."

What really upsets the Democrats is not that Jackson has such tremendous black support. He also had a lot in '84. As Jackson's campaign manager, California House Speaker Willie Brown, says, they intend to "market" Jackson as a party builder. "He excites voters. He brings voters back into the fold, and they're all loyal Democrats" (*Washington Post*, 10 April). The consummate broker, Jackson wants to go into the Atlanta convention as kingmaker. He will deliver the delegates to the highest bidder, and a lot of black people will get the shaft. But now Jackson is winning white support, and on the basis that he is seen as the voice of a revived Rooseveltian "New Deal."

But the Democrats do not want to run on a program of new New Deal liberalism. Even the cynical election promises of yesteryear are gone—with the economy shaky, "tightening the belt" of the workers and poor has replaced the "war on poverty." And above all the Dems do *not* want to run a black man for president. The whole strategy after '84, when Mondale-Ferraro were routed, was to cease being the party of "special interest," (i.e., labor and blacks). That's what Super Tuesday was supposed to prove—conservatives like Gore and Gephardt would out-Reagan Reagan, pander to the racists and take back the South. Instead, Super Tuesday was won by two liberals, Jackson and Dukakis, not border Bourbon Al Gore and his cultural fascist wife Tipper who wants to take the sex out of popular music (what's left?).

### What's Behind the "Stop Jackson" Reaction

So now there's a "stop Jackson" movement in full swing. The stopper was supposed to be Mario Cuomo, but the liberal Democratic governor was unwilling to be used for a baldly racist maneuver, and announced he would not accept a draft. The "stop Jackson" action runs the spectrum of the party. Resident bleeding-heart liberal on the *New York Times*, columnist Anthony Lewis, came out with a sharp warning: "Jesse Jackson is not going to be elected President. The notion that he can be is a romantic delusion—one of exactly the same kind that has repeatedly undermined the Democratic Party in recent years." When Lewis writes that the "Democrats have a genius for self-destruction," he is reflecting the real contradictions of a party so torn between blacks and racists that it can't elect a president. And the American bourgeoisie does not want a government permanently split between a Democratic Congress and Republican presidency.

The anti-Jackson movement is now redbaiting the black candidate, pointing to his embracing of Fidel Castro and especially Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. They're trying to paint Jackson as soft on the "enemies of America." Leading this pack against Jackson is the racist Zionist mayor of New York, Ed Koch. "Koch to Jews: You've 'got to be crazy' to vote for Jesse," was the *New York Post* front page that shook the Big Apple. Koch got down and dirty to open the New York primary wars, waving the checkered kaffiyeh like a red flag, branding as Arab symps and self-haters all Jews who vote for the man who hugged Arafat. It was "East Side, West Bank," wrote *Daily News* columnist Lars-Erik Nelson. Koch endorsed Gore, who was the only Democrat granted a meeting with Yitzhak Shamir on his trip to Washington, and who denounces even Reagan for being soft on the Arabs.

Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel snapped back at Koch, "How dare this man declare himself king of the Jews?" NYC Teamsters leader Barry Feinstein told the press that Koch does not "speak for the Jews": "He does not speak for me and I'm as Jewish as any Jew who ever lived," Feinstein said, accusing Koch of "taking a dagger and sticking it into the heart of the city." Jackson told Koch he wasn't "healing": "Given the tension in New York around matters of race—[Tawana] Brawley case, Howard Beach, subway shootings—it's a tinderbox on the question of race."

NEW YORK POST

SPORTS FINAL

Koch to Jews: You've 'got to be crazy' to vote for Jesse

**Koch's open call for bigotry incites racist violence. Jackson told reporter Jimmy Breslin: "We've had to cancel a lot of meetings because of bomb threats. We went all across the South and we never had the threats that we've had here in New York since Koch started."**

Ed Koch is running for re-election as mayor of New York against Jesse Jackson. He baits Jackson with the spectre of the sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan. Koch's hypocrisy is boundless, denouncing Farrakhan's demagogy while the mayor is whipping up race war and his cops are mowing down blacks. Koch "celebrated" Purim 1984 by parading through Queens with Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Palestinian refugee camps Sabra and Shatila. This year, Koch would have liked to "celebrate" Israeli "40th Independence Day"—two days before the primary—by dancing the horah on Palestinian graves.

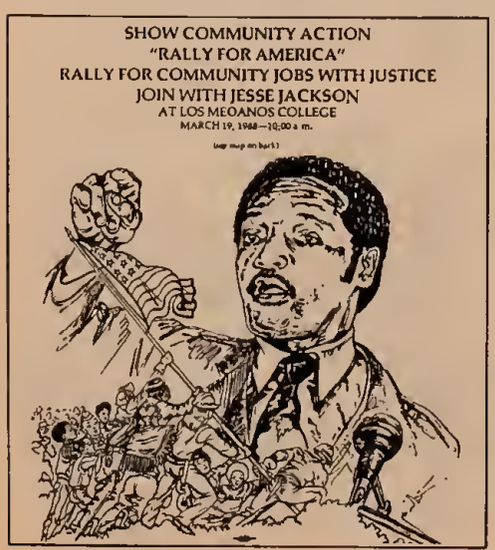
But all the redbaiting of Jackson runs up against a shift to the left in the mood of the American populace. Every poll shows it: the population is 3 to 1 against an invasion of Nicaragua; 2 to 1 against contra aid; more than a few say Mikhail Gorbachev would make the best candidate! So now the Democratic Party professional politicians are opining that caucuses and maybe even primaries are too dangerous. It tells you something about "American democracy"—even when the mood of the masses increasingly matches the politics of Jesse Jackson, no party will run him because he is black.

### Jackson and Labor

In the 1972 Democratic Party primary, arch-segregationist George Wallace carried Michigan. Sixteen years later Jackson swept the state, not only with black votes, but with those of white unionists. Even a few AFL-CIO building trades councils endorsed him. But this is no "rust belt" rebellion or labor insurgency. In Michigan Jackson's support came from key figures in the popular front of labor bureaucrats and Democrats who ran labor-black Detroit into the ground. In New York, the same labor bureaucracy which sent city labor down the Big MAC rat hole and bailed out Wall Street and the banks is now pushing Jesse Jackson. It's a cheap way of looking pro-black, pro-union, and keeping their constituencies within the Democratic Party. And it sends a "message" to the Democrats: You can't take us for granted forever.

Jackson took Detroit over the opposition of black mayor Coleman Young, a Dukakis supporter. He piled up worker votes in hard-hit auto company towns like Flint and Saginaw, and won in every city in Michigan. United Auto Workers president Owen Bieber was officially neutral (while giving the nod to rabid Japan-basher Gephardt). But key UAW International and local bureaucrats, like Chrysler Department head Marc Stepp, campaigned for Jackson. Stepp is the traitor who rammed through the massive givebacks at Chrysler, buying top labor cop Doug Fraser his seat on the Chrysler board in exchange for thousands of jobs and billions of dollars in concessions. In Kenosha, Wisconsin, where Chrysler plans to throw 5,000 workers on the scrap heap in September, Jackson flew in to denounce "corporate rape" and receive the UAW endorsement. As Chrysler closes plants, once again the union tops' message is *don't fight, vote Democrat.*

In New York the labor bureaucracy is the backbone of Jackson's campaign. Jackson headquarters is the union hall




**Anti-Japanese chauvinism pushed at Northern California labor rally featuring Jesse Jackson. Recalling World War II battle of Iwo Jima, unionists are shown raising American flag.**

of the heavily black and Hispanic hospital workers Local 1199. The unions have been key to drawing Hispanic support for Jackson. As *Time* (18 April) noted, "New York's Puerto Ricans have a greater affinity with blacks than do the Mexicans of Texas or the Cubans of Florida." Today city workers, hospital workers, hotel workers, garment workers and transit workers are all heavily black and Hispanic. Even the white ILA tugboat workers, on strike against a vicious union-busting campaign, came out for Jackson and appealed to him for support in their strike. TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall hasn't lifted a finger to defend black and Hispanic transit workers against the racist cops. He's running as a Jackson delegate even as he rams binding arbitration down the throat of bus and subway workers.

Jackson shows up at picket lines, from Midwest meatpackers to California cannery workers, to *strengthen* the chains that bind labor and blacks to the capitalist Democratic Party. He carries a slick soft-core protectionist message: "We're caught between cheap labor at home and slave labor abroad, in South Korea, Taiwan or South Africa. The workers of the world must unite [!] because slave labor anywhere is a threat to organized labor everywhere." This fake "solidarity" talk is a cover for protectionism to "save American jobs" and put South African black miners and Mexican auto workers out of work.

Capitalism fosters nationalist divisions just as it gives rise to racist hatred. While many black workers who have lost their jobs at the heart of American industry as American corporations "run away" to the Third World still "buy" protectionism, they are nervous about it being linked to racism. Even Jackson, at a New York labor rally, made reference to the 1982 protectionist murder of Vincent Chin by a racist auto foreman in Detroit.

Nonetheless, the Jackson campaign, especially among labor, is exploiting protectionist poison. Thus he spoke at a "Rally for America" called by the longshore and construction unions in Pittsburg, California on March 19, where anti-Japanese jingoism was the theme (see *WV* No. 449, 25 March). This was made hideously graphic in a flyer showing unionists hoisting the stars and stripes over Iwo Jima, while Jesse Jackson cheers them on! Today, the Democrats push economic nationalism as their answer to labor's woes—like FDR in the 1930s, when beggar-thy-neighbor tariff wars led to imperialist war with Japan.

### "Popular Front" of Class Collaboration

For the left, the Jackson campaign has become *the* issue of the American popular front, the vehicle for class collaboration which ties the working class to the bourgeois parties. A front-page *Village Voice* (19 April) editorial endorsing Jackson captures the mood of the rad-libs who are marching into the arms of the Democrats:

> "And for progressives of all stripes, only Jesse Jackson embodies their agenda—*our* agenda—bringing together in his campaign the disparate strands of a grassroots movement to make democracy more than just a hollow promise, and to make the Democratic party, once again, the party of hope."

A look at the headlines shows how the bulk of the left has piled on behind: "President Jackson?" (*Guardian*); "Winning Jesse's Way" (*Frontline*); "New Worker Unity Seen in Jesse Jackson Upsurge" (*Workers World*); "Jackson Campaign Inspires Millions Across the Country..." (*Unity*).

The Jackson people said they had no use for the "S-word" (socialism), but the social democrats are pushing Jackson to beat the band. The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), through its ties to the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy, has brokered the New York labor bloc for Jackson. (Not without internal wrangling, as the Zionist DSA mouthpiece *In These Times* opposed endorsing Jackson.) DSA leader Michael Harrington says baldly: "Jackson is not a socialist and his campaign is not a socialist campaign"...so he supports him, just like this "socialist" supported Kennedy. At the very time the U.S. Army was hip-deep in the swamps of Vietnam, Harrington was braintrusting the JFK/LBJ "war on poverty" to defuse black militancy on the home front.

The granddaddy of them all is the Communist Party. The CP wants no "lame ducks" this time around. For the first time in 24 years, the CP is not running presidential candidates, to bring its supporters a clear message: "Vote Democratic." Gus Hall made it explicit in his report to the CP convention in Chicago last August, saying the Democratic Party nominee was the "vehicle through which the all people's front, the forces of political independence in particular, could wage an all-out campaign against the Reaganites." Hall added:

> "It is obvious to all realistically minded people that, in practical terms, defeating the Republican presidential candidate in 1988 means electing a Democrat."
>
> —*People's Daily World*, 20 August 1987

Angela Davis, in an interview in the Canadian *Tribune*, specifically acknowledged that the reason the CPUSA is not running is to boost the Jackson campaign: "As a Communist, I cannot endorse a Democrat. But I would certainly encourage people to get involved in Jesse Jackson's candidacy." The CP is going all out to reconstruct the old FDR coalition, whose historic role was to chain the rising CIO unions to the Democrats in the 1930s, and head off a developing insurgent workers movement.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are the soft-core popular-frontists. The SWP is running a presidential slate whose propaganda does not even call for a labor party nor contain a single word of criticism of the Jackson campaign. In '84, the SWP tried to feed off Jackson's popularity without specifically endorsing him, by calling on Jackson to "break" from the Democrats. Today the Morenoites of the Internationalist Workers Party play this role. The IWP's *Working Class Opposition* (July 1987) issued "An Appeal to the Rainbow Coalition" to "break from the Democratic Party and run Jackson as an independent," as if there was any way this could possibly happen when Jackson's whole purpose in running is exactly the opposite. As for the "Rainbow Coalition," it never was anything but Jackson's Democratic Party machine—and it has disappeared in '88, the Jackson campaign having long since transcended the need for a radical sandbox to scoop up leftists.

UPI

**Malcolm X said: A vote for the Democrats is a vote for the Dixiecrats. Jackson courts George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.**

UPI

### Blacks in America

As the Democrats gear up for the convention in Atlanta this July, black mayor Andrew Young is straining to keep the lid on this 70 percent black city. Angry residents in the projects "ambush" the mayor and pelt police squad cars with bottles, in outrage over the wave of wanton police killings of black people. Black city workers, grossly underpaid by the mainly black city council, are threatening a job slowdown during the convention. The full weight of the state's repressive apparatus will be brought out to safeguard the convention. This means that the "at least 1,000 Klansmen" who have threatened to show up will be protected while blacks are fair game.

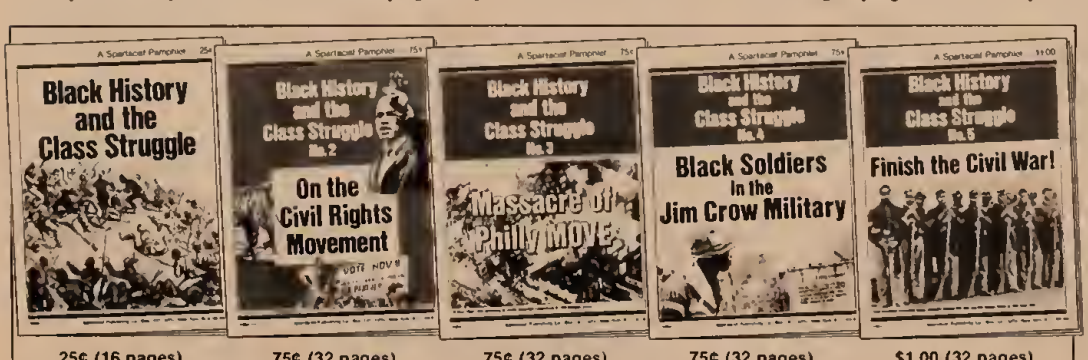
Cop terror in the black community, homeless in the streets: that's the black condition in capitalist America. This giant capitalist country was built on the bedrock of slavery and racist oppression—it will take a monumental social upheaval, a socialist revolution, to root it out. Yet Jackson hustles black people with the cynical lie, "stay in the system and you can win." School integration, self-defense against racist attack, opposition to the racist death penalty—Jackson has buried or opposed every effort at *black struggle* during the Reagan years.

His single "program" for black youth is the "war on drugs" and it is evidence of the desperate conditions of blacks that this old sawhorse has widespread black support. The drug trade has always flourished in the ghetto, and, like "crime in the streets," it cannot be wiped out until the pounding *oppression* which spawns the whole social pathology of ghetto misery is smashed. Whether it's Nancy Reagan or Jesse Jackson, capitalism's "drug crusade" means bringing the black community tighter under police control.

Today, 20 years after the ghetto explosions in which black people tore this country apart in their anger against the lies of the preachers and Democratic pols, a proliferation of studies show the widening social gap within the black population. "Black Middle Class Has Grown But Poor Multiply," headlined the *Los Angeles Times* (2 April), reporting that since 1969, the year after M.L. King was shot, the proportion of black men earning less than $5,000 a year soared from 8 percent to 20 percent, although the number of black men earning more than $30,000 a year jumped from 8 to 14 percent. Almost half of all black children are now living in poverty.

*Class* divisions are sharpening within the black population, marked by the gulf between a thin layer of black professionals, who poured through the gates forced open by the civil rights movement, and the massive "black underclass" of the permanently unemployed, swollen through the devastation of American industry in the '70s and '80s. As Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander pointed out in a Black History Month speech at the University of California at Berkeley February 26:

> "You've got these reformists running around beating the drums for Jesse Jackson, pushing illusions in his Rainbow Coalition, a rainbow which has Tom Metzger at the other end! So Jackson says that racist violence in this country has come to an end—he opposed blacks fighting for integration to defend busing in Norfolk, Virginia in 1983 and has embraced Southern racist demagogues like George Wallace.
>
> "What we Trotskyists say is that we need a class-struggle revolutionary workers party in order to lead the blacks, Hispanics and working class in this country in a struggle for power.
>
> "It's not in the interest of working people and the oppressed to support and put their energies into putting a few more black faces in high places while the masses rot below. There might be a few people that say, 'Why can't we have black leaders who are making it because if they succeed, then we succeed?' There's three things to say to that: bunk, baloney and bullshit. It's a question of an integrated working-class struggle for power, a question of fighting for a class-struggle program, not in furthering illusions that a few more black slave drivers will remove the whips from our backs and the chains from our legs.
>
> "For the black people in this country—hemmed in by prejudice daily, pounded and executed—there is no other road forward except through the struggle for black liberation through proletarian revolution. Anyone that wants to change this system has got to be a communist. You have to be part of a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party fighting for a socialist future. We don't have to live this way. We must not live this way. We must try to gather those forces that are going to change this world." ■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# Reply to Jim West...

*(continued from page 5)*

> programmatic documents of the Bolshevik Party and of the Comintern. Stalin has proclaimed that all this is a misunderstanding!"
>
> —"The Stalin-Howard Interview" (March 1936)

Stalin and his epigones to the contrary, permanent revolution is not a program of "exporting" socialism on the bayonets of the Red Army, but of *international workers revolution*—including with the military aid of existing workers states. In the preamble to the military section of the 1919 program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Lenin emphatically rejected the "philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats" in "disarmament under capitalism" and called instead for "fighting until victory over the bourgeoisie of the whole world is achieved both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars."

The most famous example of an attempt to spread the revolution by the action of the Red Army was the Polish campaign of 1920. After Pilsudski's forces attacking the Ukraine were beaten back, Lenin was in favor of pursuing a revolutionary offensive onto Polish territory, while Trotsky was opposed. Both agreed on the urgent need to link up with the German workers: the only issue in dispute was whether a revolutionary war against Poland at this juncture was likely to succeed. In the event, the Red Army's Polish offensive failed, in part due to Stalin's treachery on the Southwestern Front, as well as French military aid to Pilsudski, and in part because the Pilsudskiites were able to rally much of the population around Polish nationalism, especially given the recent memory of oppression at the hands of tsarist Russia.

Following the defeat of the Soviet forces on the banks of the Vistula, there arose a current within the Red Army general staff, centered on M. Tukhachevsky, which argued for a constant policy of bringing "revolution from without." Trotsky was the principal Bolshevik spokesman *against* Tukhachevsky's doctrine of offensive revolutionary war in all circumstances. He insisted that "military intervention from without must have only an attendant, assisting, auxiliary function" and that the primary agencies for extending the Bolshevik Revolution to the rest of Europe were the Communist parties based on their *own* working classes. (For a discussion of the 1920 Russo-Polish war and the ensuing Tukhachevsky debate, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.)

Heikes/U.S. News & World Report

**Gorbachev, pursuing "détente" with warmonger Reagan, is abandoning Afghanistan to CIA-armed Islamic fanatics.**

While Tukhachevsky was wrong and his position was repudiated by the Bolshevik leadership, he remained a valiant and dedicated Communist committed to the defense of the Soviet state until he finally fell victim to Stalin's blood purge (see "In Defense of Marshal Tukhachevsky," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88).

The initial Bolshevik debate over revolutionary war was focused on Poland, a relatively advanced bourgeois nation-state. Indeed, this was a fundamental reason why the Red Army offensive failed. On the other hand, in the feudal backwaters of Central Asia with its mosaic of pre-national peoples in the grip of medieval mullah reaction, revolutionary war proved to be the only means to extend the Bolshevik power.

Ullstein

**Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army general in 1920 Polish campaign.**

A recent article in the Soviet women's journal *Rabotnitsa* (November 1987) describes a courageous mass action by 10,000 women in the region who tore off their veils on International Women's Day, 1927. What the article neglects to mention is that the following day hundreds of these women, including Communist militants, were massacred by their reactionary kinsmen for their "crime" (see "Early Bolshevik Work Among Women of the Soviet East," *Women and Revolution* No. 12, Summer 1976). It was only the armed might of the Red Army which was able to crush the Islamic terror and bring social progress to this region. And that is precisely what is at stake in Afghanistan today.

### Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Jim West begins his speech by saying, "Seventy years have passed since the party of Lenin said 'Yes!' to the questions which involved the very existence of the beleaguered, young, first socialist republic: can socialism be built in one country? can capitalism and socialism peacefully coexist?" But Lenin and the Bolsheviks resoundingly answered "No!" to those questions—otherwise they would have been incapable of leading the workers to power in backward Russia! For the CPUSA Stalinists today the October Revolution is a dead historical question; for the Trotskyists it is our lifeblood. And those incapable of even *conceiving* of socialist revolution in the imperialist heartland are equally incapable of defending the homeland of the first workers revolution in history.

These "reformists of the second mobilization" of the Stalinized CPs were the product of the increasing degeneration of the USSR. For the conservative bureaucracy with Stalin at its helm which consolidated power through political counterrevolution in 1924, imperialist encirclement became a given. The Stalinist dogma of building socialism in the Soviet Union alone meant writing off the European revolution. The Comintern had become a vestigial organ long before Stalin finally gave it the coup de grâce in 1943. Instead of seeking the overthrow of the bourgeoisie through proletarian revolution, he sought to ally with and prop up the "peace-loving" imperialists.

As we wrote in an article on the recent fusion of the Tribune Communiste group, coming out of the "anti-opportunist" milieu around the French Communist Party, with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency:

> "The catastrophe of 1933, when Hitler's fascists came to power unopposed by the powerful German workers movement, was not just an 'error' or a defeat, even a defeat of enormous proportions which paved the way directly for world war; it was a crime, generalized and underscored by the Stalin-Laval pact [with French imperialism] and the adoption at the Comintern's Seventh World Congress of the 'People's Front' line which sanctified consistent class collaboration in the name of an 'alliance' with the 'progressive' imperialist bourgeoisies."
>
> —*WV* No. 450, 8 April

*"Socialism in one country" means the popular front everywhere else.*

Ultimately, Stalin's nationalist program led to the strangulation of social revolution in the West as a means of winning "friends" among the imperialists. When Spain was rocked by civil war in the late 1930s, the Stalinists sought to behead it. Stalin wrote to Largo Caballero to warn against any talk of socialist revolution, which would only frighten the bourgeoisie. And while the bloody purge trials were killing off Lenin's former comrades-in-arms in Moscow, in Spain GPU killers were slaughtering anyone who even made a pretense of fighting for socialism. The end result was the defeat of the Spanish Revolution, directly paving the way to Operation Barbarossa—Hitler's invasion of Russia.

In the Soviet Union, meanwhile, Stalin liquidated the entire general staff of the Red Army who wanted to prepare for war with Germany. Stalin even swallowed Nazi forgeries implicating Tukhachevsky—all in the name of the "fight against Trotskyism." The General Secretary instead placed his trust in securing the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact with Nazi Germany. Recognizing how Stalin's policies were endangering the USSR, veteran Soviet military intelligence agent Ignace Reiss broke with the "Father of the People" and declared for Trotsky's Fourth International. Reiss was repaid by the Stalinists for his

# Moscow Trials...

*(continued from page 4)*

he decapitated the Red Army by executing its most experienced and brilliant generals and officers only a short time before the Nazi invasion, putting the survival of the Soviet Union in peril. The list of Stalin's crimes is too long and varied to waste more time on.

It is shameful for humankind, that in our time, we have had to witness political regimes such as Stalin's. They have to be openly denounced and wiped out of any future page of history.

If Gorbachev and his leadership really want to succeed in achieving *perestroika* and *glasnost* and return to the road of authentic socialism, it is a *sine qua non* that light should be cast on all of the crimes of the Stalinist era. All the names of the innocent victims have to be made known and must be cleared. The historical truth must be re-established. Among this long list of victims, we have to emphasize once more the indomitable Russian revolutionary and Marxist theorist Leon Trotsky. He was a key protagonist in the triumph of the Russian Revolution and afterwards he became its fiercest defender in a deadly fight against the Stalinist counterrevolution. Leon Trotsky became the most calumniated and persecuted revolutionary of the planet. Until now, *glasnost* has not succeeded to free him from all these calumnies and neither has it allowed the publication of his writings and free discussion of them inside the Soviet Union.

Leon Trotsky will show us how far *glasnost* will advance. The avalanche of lies, falsifications and calumnies that have covered the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries for more than half a century have to be exposed and eliminated forever! Free and open discussion has to be re-established as it was at the beginning of the Bolshevik Party.

In history there is little place for experimentation. Most of the events have to be solved as they occur. That's when one understands the extraordinary force and richness of the open, direct and violent polemics that took place within the ranks of the Bolsheviks during Lenin's time, when ideas emerged as incandescent iron ingots which were impetuously hammered out by the blacksmiths of the revolution, forging the tools for its victory. This was the great secret of the Bolsheviks' strength and success. The mediocrity of Stalin's court of adulation came later.

The last pages of history have shown us that the abolishment of private property over the means of production is not a magic formula that will automatically take humanity into an earthly paradise. A second element of great importance to reach socialism is the solution of the equation of power. The same as property, it has to be shared by all the working sector of society. If the power is only in the hands of one social group, chances are that this group will sooner or later keep the best and the most of what society offers and will not have very much concern about what is left over for the remaining groups. The third important factor is to establish an adequate level of abundance, which will permit the fulfillment of all human needs. Scarcity will always generate stratification of society with inequalities on a national and international scale. The fourth factor will be the prevailing of internationalism. Socialism behind national borders will always be a potential source of conflicts and wars.

Man came out of the cave seminaked. He has reached the moon, has freed the energy of the atom, developed the supercomputer and has created the new science of genetic engineering. Is he then unable to create a more just and harmonic social organization on this earth? Or has human history reached its last page?

Until the present, the train of history has not reached its final destination: authentic socialism. It has to make a previous stop in an inhospitable desert. Fortunately, little by little, the train is resuming its forward motion. ■

Roger Viollet

**Workers' barricades in Barcelona, 1936. Stalinist-engineered Popular Front suppressed the Spanish Revolution, paving way for Franco's victory.**

loyalty to the world revolution with a bullet to the head, as were tens of thousands within the USSR.

While Stalin's terror is no more, the policy of the popular front remains. And the American Communist Party is a prime practitioner of this program of defeat. To the extent that the CPUSA has any existence today, it is as a carbuncle on the ass of the Democratic Party. This year they are not even running their usual fig-leaf presidential campaign as a cover for backhandedly supporting the Democrats. Pushing the "all people's front" against Reagan at last August's CP convention, Gus Hall admitted that, "in practical terms, defeating the Republican presidential candidate in 1988 means electing a Democrat" (*People's Daily World*, 20 August 1987).

Seeking to put a "left" face on this class collaboration, Jim West intones against "the idea that the class interests of the working class have to be subordinated to the demand to end the nuclear war danger." Who do you suppose might hold such "wrong concepts"? Could West be polemicizing against CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev, the author of *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, who says of Lenin that "More than once he spoke about the priority of interests common to all humanity over class interests"? According to Gorbachev's "new thinking," the development of nuclear weapons has effectively ruled out the class struggle; he even removed the point in the CPSU program referring to "peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as a 'specific form of class struggle'."

In his speech, West lauds the "peace-loving" credentials of the American labor fakers, whom "the pseudo-Left sectarians dismiss as fully beholden to U.S. imperialism's goal of world domination." He notes that at last year's AFL-CIO convention, "delegates defeated the attempt of the CIA-controlled International Department of the AFL-CIO to place the trade unions in support of aid to the Contra terrorists against the Nicaraguan government." Well, the CIA didn't shed many tears; the same resolution also demanded an end to Cuban and Soviet aid to the Sandinistas, reaffirmed the AFL-CIO's boycott of the "communist-controlled" World Federation of Trade Unions, supported Polish Solidarność and "sharply condemned Soviet expansionism and genocide in Afghanistan."

This is the Democratic Party's foreign policy, and the pro-Democratic Party AFL-CIO tops—dominated by right-social-democratic ideology—are in some cases more virulent Cold Warriors than your average Republican. Yet this is what passes for the CP's "road to peace." Whether coming from the pen of Gorbachev or from the mouth of an unreconstructed Brezhnevite hack like West (who praises the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia as a "peacekeeping measure"), Stalinist politics amount to the subordination of the working-class struggle to the bourgeoisie. Yet as the American Empire declines, its rulers only grow more dangerous, underscoring the need for international workers revolution.

Putting Afghanistan on the chopping block today will no more ensure peace than did strangling the Spanish Revolution in the '30s. As Lenin explained more than 70 years ago, imperialist capitalism is a system driven to war. In repudiating and suppressing revolutionary struggle, the Stalinist bureaucracy not only signs its own death warrant, but undermines the survival of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Fortunately, they do not have the last say in the matter. The world party of October will be reforged, under the banner of the Fourth International, in the struggle to restore Lenin and Trotsky's revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin through political revolution, and through socialist revolution to implant it wherever capitalism remains.

Ultimately either the organized proletariat led by its authentically communist vanguard will destroy capitalism, or capitalism will destroy the world. ■

Foreign Languages Publishing

**1920 poster looks to Communist International to combat imperialist attacks on Russia: "Workers stand firm! The proletariat of the West is coming to your aid!"**

# Victory to the Writers Guild Strike!

For six weeks, the 9,000-member Writers Guild of America (WGA) has been on strike against movie and television producers in New York and Los Angeles. Unlike the 1985 strike, when TV writers crossed the motion picture writers' picket lines, this time WGA members are united in opposing the rollbacks in residuals (payments for rebroadcasts) demanded by the movie and TV moguls.

But 110,000 actors and announcers for television and radio commercials who walked out two weeks into the WGA strike went back as the SAG signed a separate pact. Actors scabbed to pick up their Oscars at the Academy Awards, delivering their own lousy lines. Too often, the individual unions in the entertainment industry—actors, writers, technicians and stagehands—have been left to go it alone, with disastrous results.

The technical unions, who are next on the studios' hit list this summer, must stand with the writers strike. Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the Writers Guild!

WV Photo

# Geronimo Pratt...

*(continued from page 12)*

the entire seventeen years I have spent in prison I have never escaped, nor have I ever been charged with escapes."

It is no accident that this latest vicious assault on Pratt comes as he faces yet another major turning point in his years-long battle for freedom in California. He was again denied parole in May 1987, and is now appealing his conviction before the federal Ninth Circuit Court in California. A new parole hearing is scheduled for next month. Overwhelming evidence that Pratt was framed up, including a former FBI special agent's revelation that FBI wiretaps showed Pratt was 500 miles away at the time of the killing for which he was framed, came to light almost *four years* ago. FBI special agent Swearingen said specifically that "Pratt was set up." Last November millions saw evidence of Pratt's obvious innocence on the CBS-TV documentary "60 Minutes."

So they're trying everything in their power to silence this courageous man. The three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees on the Court of Appeals has announced its plan to keep Pratt locked up for the rest of his life, using the legal technicality that his notice of appeal was filed a few days too late—it came up with this excuse more than 15 months after a district court judge had already waived the late filing! On February 19, the Court of Appeals ordered Pratt's lawyers to "show cause why this court should not dismiss this appeal for lack of jurisdiction."

The sinister and sleazy Ed Meese and his boss Reagan may be reluctantly preparing to leave Washington with their spoils, but they are determined to keep their victims rotting in prison hellholes. Meese oversaw the state of California's campaign to wipe out the Black Panthers when Reagan was governor. Pratt narrowly escaped being murdered in a massive 1969 LAPD assault on Panther headquarters in Los Angeles, though his bed was riddled with bullets. So they jailed him on charges of "conspiring to assault police." He was acquitted but they kept him behind bars on a weapons rap. Then in 1971 came the FBI's frame-up murder charges. Seventeen years of Geronimo Pratt's life—including *eight years* in solitary confinement—have been stolen. And COINTELPRO continues today, as groups including Maryknoll nuns, peace activists and trade unions have been subjected to FBI investigations and disruption for opposing the U.S.' dirty war in Central America.

Geronimo Pratt today is America's foremost class-war prisoner. He is still in prison *only* because he continues to stand up to racist capitalist oppression. His freedom is vital to all who fight that oppression, not only for the justice of his case, but for the memory of his fallen comrades. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Geronimo Pratt Put in Chains

## Former Black Panther Hounded by Meese Police

In a harrowing five-day ordeal, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, the former Black Panther Party leader and victim of a COINTELPRO frame-up, was dragged across the country in shackles last month. Transported in prison planes through a string of Southern prisons, Pratt was chained hand and foot and forced to carry a 20-pound weight, denied access to showers or a change of clothes or even the opportunity to brush his teeth. His legal documents were seized, and he was thrown into solitary confinement at every stop. Most dangerously, throughout the agonizing journey, including hours of driving along Southern roads, the federal government had him tagged with the deadly and baseless label of being a "prison escapee"—a charge designed to set him up for official murder!

This vindictive treatment, all too familiar to many American prisoners, was inflicted by U.S. Marshals in the course of "transporting" Pratt, currently serving a life sentence in California's San Quentin prison, to testify as a defense witness in the government's ongoing dragnet RICO trial of Mutulu Shakur and Marilyn Buck in New York City. Pratt came to testify about the government's COINTELPRO campaign of disruption and murder directed against the Black Panther Party and other political opponents of the government's policies.

Upon hearing of this brutal and life-threatening "transfer" from Pratt and at his request, the Partisan Defense Committee's staff counsel moved quickly to file a lawsuit on his behalf against U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese, FBI director William Sessions and the warden of the Metropolitan Correctional Center (MCC) in New York. The suit demanded that the false and deadly charge of being an "escapee" be deleted from his file, that this brutal mistreatment be stopped, and his papers returned.

On April 6 a federal district judge, acknowledging this dangerous situation, restrained the warden of MCC from moving him. In court the government was forced to admit there are no escape charges on Pratt's record, yet they had labeled him "violence prone" and an "escape risk" on his transport record. Pratt's attorney in the lawsuit, Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee, announced on April 12 that Pratt settled the suit. The settlement was sealed by the court, at the government's insistence. Wolkenstein stated that "on the basis of the settlement, we believe that Geronimo will return to San Quentin with some modicum of safety and protection." The PDC is continuing to fight for the return of Pratt's legal papers.

WV Photo

America's foremost class-war prisoner, Geronimo Pratt, speaks from San Quentin, 1985.

Pratt's affidavit described the degrading treatment he suffered at the hands of U.S. Marshals:

> "I left San Quentin on March 3, 1988 and it took five days to travel here. The entire time I was kept in both leg-chains and wrist-waist chains that contained an oppressive 'black box' which weighed about twenty pounds. While traveling I was chained to my seat, and the slightest movement gave me excruciating pain, particularly given my wounds from service as a U.S. Army paratrooper in Vietnam. The chains were not removed, even when I went to the bathroom, or during hours stop-overs. Thus I was forced to sit upright for lengthy periods of time. Nor was I able to wash, shower or even brush my teeth during this five day period. I was not allowed any phone calls, to my attorneys or to my family.
>
> "From San Francisco I was first held over in Denver, Colorado. Then I was taken to the F.C.I. [federal correctional institution] at El Reno, Oklahoma where I was placed in the 'hole' [solitary confinement] and kept there for three days. After that I was taken to El Paso, Texas, and from there to Houston, Texas, then on to Miami, Florida, and from Miami on to F.C.I. at Talledega, Alabama where I was taken by bus back and forth to the airport in Birmingham which consisted of a ride of about two and a half hours each way. From Birmingham/Talledega, I was flown to an airport in upstate N.Y. and then finally transported by van here to M.C.C. At each detention center I was placed in 'the hole'."

The government treated Geronimo Pratt as though he were an escaped slave on an antebellum plantation, loaded down with ball and chain and carted on a sadistic journey through the South. This racist state and its cops viciously groove on the slavocracy image of blacks in chains—remember Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, the Los Angeles Black Panthers and so many others chained up by this barbaric state. In Atlanta recently, prominent black lawyer Chevene B. King Jr. was seized, paraded through the streets in handcuffs and chains and then hauled before a judge by federal marshals simply because he couldn't reschedule a court appearance! When Reagan smashed the PATCO air controllers union as one of his first acts, they made sure that white PATCO leaders too were put in chains and shown to photographers.

Because Geronimo Pratt continues to fight steadfastly against the government's bloodsoaked COINTELPRO vendetta that took the lives of so many black militants and consigned him to life imprisonment, the government is determined to try to break him by any means. Or worse—remember black militant George Jackson, framed on charges of killing a prison guard at Soledad, paraded through the courts in chains, then set up in a phony "escape attempt" and shot down by guards. (The Soledad Brothers were later acquitted of the frame-up, after Jackson's murder.) Thirty-eight members of the Black Panther Party were slaughtered in the government's war against militant black radicals.

As Pratt pointed out in his affidavit, "The source of any allegations concerning escape attempts must be the FBI, a continuation of government persecution of me." Accusations of being an "escapee" couldn't have come from his current records in California, where he's been allowed to work outside the prison walls and to have family visits. He's been married for the past 12 years and now has two children. Pratt stated, "During

*continued on page 11*

Daily World

AP

**Capitalism chains blacks and labor: Black Panther George Jackson, murdered by the state in 1971; leaders of PATCO air controllers strike, 1981.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 452 | 6 May 1988


## Workers Strike, Contras Splinter, Sandinistas Backpedal

# Nicaragua in Turmoil

## Workers Need Bolshevik Leadership

Outside U.S. embassy in Managua, Sandinista demonstrators denounce CIA-backed assassins, call for permanent cease-fire to end contra war.

With truce talks in Managua between the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime and Washington's contra mercenaries once again interrupted, Nicaragua is seething internally. As government negotiators offered increasingly dangerous concessions to the counterrevolutionary chiefs, who keep demanding more, thousands of Sandinista supporters demonstrated with signs demanding "death to the contras." Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan masses stagger under anti-working-class austerity which has slashed their miserable wages. Pushed to the wall, construction workers and mechanics have been on strike for the last two months. And as the Sandinista police crack down, the internal right wing and contra leadership—in collusion with opposition union leaders—are cynically posing as friends of the strikers.

*In the all-sided turmoil engulfing Nicaragua, a Bolshevik party is ever more urgently needed to crystallize the situation along class lines, fighting to complete the revolution by expropriating the bourgeoisie, and to extend it throughout Central America and beyond.*

The March 23 Sapoá cease-fire agreement, implementing the Esquipulas II "peace" pact engineered by the Democratic Party and Costa Rican president Arias, is an effort to undermine the limited gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution through negotiations, since Reagan's contras have lost on the battlefield. Contra official and former *La Prensa* editor Pedro Chamorro said as much on returning to Managua: "We came here to achieve at the conference table what we have not been able to achieve in the mountains" (*New York Times*, 17 April). Backed up by the $48 million voted by the Democrat-controlled Congress, the contras want all Sandinista military *and civilian* personnel to abandon the seven "cease-fire" zones! They are also demanding the right to receive "replacement" weapons and ammunition, and that Soviet military aid to the government be cut off.

The Reaganites in Washington are doing their best to sink the truce talks. Under the Sapoá accord, "humanitarian" aid to the contras is supposed to be delivered by a "neutral" party, so the White House picked AID (Agency for International Development), synonymous with CIA counterinsurgency programs from Vietnam to El Salvador. AID has already resumed air drops to the mercenary camps along the Honduran border with Nicaragua. Even so, the military attempts at overthrowing the Sandinistas may have reached a dead end. "The bottom line is that the Contra war is over," said U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams in an off-the-record interview. "And perhaps the last service I will perform for the Contras will be to hand out green (US immigration) cards" (*Independent* [London], 9 April).

Meanwhile, the contra leadership is

*continued on page 10*

## Workers, Minorities Must Crush Le Pen in the Streets!

# Behind French Elections: Fascist Threat Mounts

Gavin Smith

French fascist Le Pen.

As the results came in from the first round of the French presidential elections on April 24, millions in France and throughout Europe reacted in shock. Jean-Marie Le Pen—candidate of the fascist National Front, paratrooper-torturer from the dirty colonial war in Algeria, the man who reaped international infamy with his declaration that Hitler's gas chambers were only a historical "detail," the sinister inciter of anti-immigrant terror—had won over 14 percent of the vote. From Amiens in the north to Marseille in the south, in many cities, including the Paris region, Le Pen beat the candidates of the "respectable" bourgeois parties and more than doubled the Communists' total, finishing second only to "socialist" François Mitterrand.

The second round, on May 8, pits President Mitterrand against Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, former disciple of de Gaulle. Although he came in ahead of Raymond Barre, the other major bourgeois candidate, the Gaullist Chirac received less than 20 percent. The score of the Communist Party (PCF), historically *the* party of the militant French proletariat, was catastrophic: 6.8 percent, its lowest since the 1920s, down by two-thirds from the last presidential elections. Mitterrand himself received only 34 percent. So while Chirac is bidding for Le Pen's racist electorate, Mitterrand is trying to undercut the National Front by promising public spending to improve housing conditions in areas with high unemployment and immigrant population. Mitterrand will likely remain in the Elysée presidential palace, perhaps with a coalition of his Socialist Party (PS) and sections of Barre's UDF.

On May 1, Le Pen held a sinister anti-working-class provocation in Paris. Mixing May Day and Joan of Arc, the fascist leader wanted to review his troops under the watchwords of "fatherland" and "labor." Nearly 25,000 people marched, shouting "France for the French"—code words for attacks on immigrants. This fascist demonstration wasn't the massive outpouring that the National Front hoped for after its spectacular electoral breakthrough. Aside from a hard core of some 2,000 fascist thugs sporting

*continued on page 8*

# Bc Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Geronimo Pratt Back Safe— Free Him Now!

On April 29, Geronimo Pratt finally arrived safely in San Quentin prison, more than two weeks after leaving the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York. Pratt had come to New York to testify as a defense witness in the trial of Mutulu Shakur and Marilyn Buck (see "Geronimo Pratt Put in Chains," *WV* No. 451, 22 April). Pratt was kept chained and manacled all the way to New York, his very life endangered by being falsely branded a "prison escapee" as he was dragged through several prisons in the Deep South. In a lawsuit brought by the Partisan Defense Committee in New York, the government was forced to admit in court that Pratt is not a "prison escapee," and thereby he won a measure of protection on his return trip.

Even so, Pratt was kept in the federal prison in El Reno, Oklahoma on the way back for nearly two weeks and subjected to a grueling 36-hour non-stop final leg from there. At El Reno, he was allowed into the general prison population for the first time in over a month, and then *again* placed in solitary confinement for the last five days of his stay. Upon learning that Pratt was back in "the hole," the PDC called news reporters and civil rights organizations urging them to call the prison to protest this latest abuse.

Until El Reno officials threw Pratt into solitary they treated him no better, and no worse, than other inmates—i.e., hideously! And that customarily abusive treatment of prisoners is getting worse. Reaganite privatization has given birth to private prisoner transport companies such as Interstate Extraditions, Inc. (IE), which turns a neat profit transporting prisoners and suspects not convicted of any crimes in a manner similar to the brutal way Pratt was brought to New York. IE packs prisoners wearing leg irons and handcuffs attached to a "belly chain" into a "stretch van" which drives cross-country. The van meanders to drop off and pick up new "passengers." There are no stops for sleep and prisoners are let out only for brief bathroom stops every three or four hours. Food is brought in three times a day and the tightly packed prisoners are denied access to showers or change of clothes.

WV Photo

**Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.**

American prisons are filthy, overcrowded, degrading and deadly dangerous. The largely black and Hispanic prison inmates constantly face the sadistic caprices of their racist jailers. This country's capitalist rulers' only answer to the swelling prison ranks is the speedup on death row. Even the minimal human rights permitted are rapidly diminishing. The Reagan Supreme Court, which last year endorsed the Jim Crow death penalty, is now threatening to bolster the wardens' censorship power over inmates' reading materials.

For those like Pratt who challenge this barbaric system, prison hell is even ten degrees hotter. The federal institutions at Lexington, Kentucky and Marion, Illinois have pilot projects designed for political opponents. For instance, women prisoners at Lexington are confined to subterranean cells under glaring bright lights 23 hours a day and kept under constant surveillance by TV camera. They are subjected to high-tech barbarism using "Clockwork Orange" behavior modification methods—including sensory deprivation. Officials restrict them to one 15-minute phone call with their lawyer each week and one family visit per month. According to Susan Rosenberg, who describes herself as an anti-imperialist political prisoner, Lexington officials told her, "The only way you can get out is if you change your associations and affiliations."

The government hellhound is still on Geronimo Pratt's case. For 18 years Pratt has fought for his freedom and to expose the bloody crimes of COINTELPRO which murdered 38 of his Panther comrades and keeps him behind bars. The PDC learned from prison officials that Pratt's legal papers, seized more than one month earlier, had not been forwarded under federal seal as promised. Instead they were sent through the mails, and "lost"—just like the FBI "lost" the wiretap logs which prove that Pratt was 400 miles away from the site of the murder for which he was framed. Pratt's papers, the product of years of research on COINTELPRO, are vital to his exposure of the FBI vendetta against him. And this sleight of hand occurred as the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals threatens to throw out his appeal on a legal technicality.

Congressman Ronald Dellums has introduced a resolution calling for a Congressional investigation of COINTELPRO and the frame-up of Geronimo Pratt. The Dellums resolution also calls on the California governor and parole board to "take actions within their power to bring about the immediate release from prison of Elmer 'Geronimo' Pratt." The 1976 Senate Church Committee hearings exposed some of the crimes of COINTELPRO—but left its gangsters unpunished and its victims, like Pratt, behind bars. Geronimo needs your help now! Send your letters to Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, 2137 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, and to your local Congressman urging them to support House Resolution No. 413.

Geronimo Pratt is America's foremost class-war prisoner. His freedom is vital to all who fight against racist capitalist oppression. It is now more urgent than ever for all leftists, trade unionists and civil rights activists to unite in the fight for Geronimo Pratt's freedom. As Geronimo wrote, "I earnestly call on everyone who actively supports my efforts to be free to come together, fight together and rally together to see justice done." Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!

• • •

Join our struggle to free Geronimo Pratt and all class-war prisoners. Become a sustaining contributor to the PDC. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Return to Lenin's International!

*Ignace Reiss (Poretsky) was a veteran Polish-Jewish Communist who served in Soviet intelligence for 15 years, first in the Fourth Department of the Red Army, then for the Comintern supplying weapons to Republican Spain. Following the bloody Moscow purge trials in 1936 and in the face of Stalin's counterrevolutionary treachery in Spain, Reiss publicly broke with the Stalin regime and declared for Trotsky's Fourth International in the letter to the Soviet CP Central Committee excerpted below. (See "Honor Ignace Reiss," page 7.) His body was found a few weeks later by a roadside in Switzerland. Stalin's assassins had rewarded Reiss for his loyalty to the world revolution with a bullet to the head.*

The day when international socialism will judge the crimes committed in the past ten years is not far off. Nothing will be forgotten and nothing will be forgiven. History is harsh....

The working class must defeat Stalin and Stalinism so that the U.S.S.R. and the international workers' movement do not succumb to fascism and counter-revolution. This mixture of the worst of opportunism, devoid of principles, and of lies and blood threatens to poison the world and the last forces of the working class.

What is needed today is a fight without mercy against Stalinism! The class struggle and not the popular front, workers' intervention in the Spanish revolution as opposed to the action of committees.

Down with the lie of socialism in one country! Return to Lenin's international!

Neither the Second nor the Third International can carry out this historical mission. Corrupt and dislocated, all they can do is to prevent the working class from fighting. They can only be the policemen at the service of the bourgeoisie....

I cannot stand it any longer. I take my freedom of action. I return to Lenin, to his doctrine, to his acts.

I intend to devote my feeble forces to the cause of Lenin. I want to continue the fight, for only our victory—that of the proletarian revolution—will free humanity of capitalism and the U.S.S.R. of Stalinism.

Forward to new struggles! For the Fourth International!

—Ignace Reiss, "To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R." (July 1937)


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**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO, New York NY 10116

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**No. 452** **6 May 1988**



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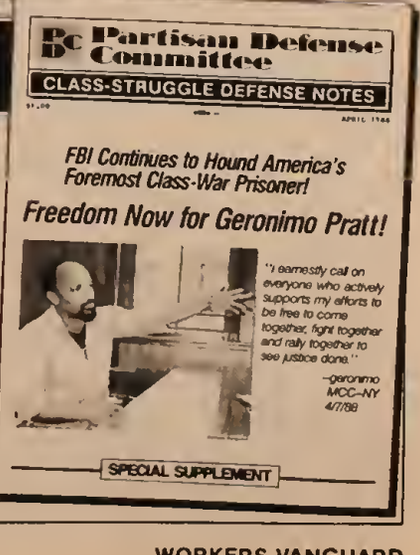

# In Memory of a Yugoslav Communist

*We print below a letter from a sympathizer in Boston.*

February 21, 1988

Dear *WV*,

Your recent articles on Yugoslavia have been excellent and, as such, really disturbing to me. I have in mind to write a letter corroborating your point of view with my own personal observations. I have wanted to combine that letter with a memorial to my father, who died two years ago. My father, Ernest Weissmann, was a Yugoslav Communist and an internationalist for 70 years; starting when he was 12 in 1915 and going to his grave with a red star over his ashes. He knew the world before and after there was a Russian Revolution. He immediately recognized the voice of Lenin in the program of the international Spartacist tendency, and because of that he was won to Trotsky, as he came to understand Trotsky's program, as expressed by the iSt.

As his son, I had the privilege of knowing my father as a fighter and human being. He is gone now forever from the human stage, so it is up to me to convey to you—the fighters of this generation—fraternal greetings from one who fought for Communism his whole life, bowing to no enemy and seeking no compromise for himself, and who finally fell only before death, believing Trotsky was right.

He was a real Communist. He said—this man born to a poor, intellectual Jewish family in the anti-Semitic Austro-Hungarian Empire, this man who worked with Le Corbusier in the 1920s and helped introduce modern architecture to Yugoslavia—that the greatest satisfaction of his life was that when everyone said that it could not be done, that it was impossible to do, he and a small band of others fought for a revolution in Yugoslavia and won. (And he did understand the deep but incomplete nature of that victory in a visceral way.)

I once asked him if he was afraid of dying; he was in his late 70s, and he said, "No. My only regret is that I won't live to see the world revolution." I will never forget when he ended an argument with me about the Popular Front in France in 1936—which he had participated in—by saying, "You know, you're right." And I will never forget the day he looked up at me and said, some 50 years after the events of 1919, 1921 and 1923: "I still say, what we could have showed them if we'd won in Germany."

He said, a year before he died, that if he was 20 years younger (60) he would still be fighting and that the thing he felt worst about was leaving this world, with its terrible trials ahead, to the young. He never said it could be easy but he said the iSt could do it. My father was only one man but he represented a lifetime of dedication to the Communist movement, and his adoption of the Trotskyist program represents, in a small way, the power of the Trotskyist call for proletarian political revolution in defense of the gains already won in the overturning of capitalist property forms, and the insistence on the necessity of defending those gains through international revolution.

I'll never forget the conversation my father and I were having with two politically conscious workers in Yugoslavia, at least one of them a Party member, from the local shipyard. One of the men was wondering why the revolutionary ideals were being lost in one generation. My father started quoting Trotsky on the origin of the bureaucracy being scarcity=lines=policemen to keep order. I guess he figured that being 79, he didn't have too much to lose. What was even more amazing was that these guys were saying, "That's exactly it, that's exactly right. Trotsky's right." Later in the conversation one of the guys turned to my father and said, "Your son, he's a communist, isn't he?" Then he turned to me and said, "It's hard to be a communist in America. It's easier here." Some people know a victory when they see one. Some people know there are gains to defend. These people will find the road to Trotskyism if the iSt can find the road to them.

My father was only loosely, and always somewhat uncomfortably, associated with the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy once it settled into power, and was disgusted with the cynicism, wastefulness, anti-Semitism of some, and personal self-seeking of much of that bureaucracy. Still, he was a kind of maverick member of the bureaucracy, in that he was proud of the gains of the revolution and wanted to defend them and saw no decisive alternative way.

He had a history. He was not unrecognized in Yugoslavia. He was awarded the Order of Tito (which, I believe, is Yugoslavia's highest honor) for his work in the Yugoslav Communist Party in the two decades before World War II. The party was, of course, illegal, the work clandestine, and every day meant potential torture, imprisonment or death; a fate that befell many of my father's comrades and some of his friends. The Nazis knew my father well enough to have him on their list to be executed when they invaded the country. Among other things, he had written an article in the '30s exposing Hitler's highway building as the construction of invasion routes. The Order of Tito was also awarded for the work he did in the United States during and immediately after the war and for his contributions in the area of regional planning in postwar Yugoslavia.

Lujo Weissman

**Ernest Weissmann**

He was in the U.S. when the war broke out. This was one of his greatest regrets because it meant that he could not fight the fascists, arms in hand. Still, he did his part. Working in UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), he battled the American component, to make sure that matériel such as locomotives, supplies for basic industry, etc., got to Eastern Europe. This was, in my eyes, perhaps his greatest service to the workers of the world. His actions, along with other people of similar sympathies in UNRRA (including some Americans), I believe, helped make the difference between life and death for many people in Eastern Europe in the years immediately following WW II. He once told me, "I never broke the rules; I just made sure they were followed." After his death, while looking through his papers, I came across a clipping from the *New York Times*, in which some Senator or Congressman was demanding to know how these locomotives that UNRRA had earmarked for Chiang Kai-shek had ended up in the hands of Marshal Tito. I guess Chiang Kai-shek had already gotten his quota for that year.

My father used to recite with glee the story of how he informed the partisan delegation in the U.S. that the U.S. Army was selling all these surplus jeeps dirt cheap in Italy. Yugoslavia had nothing at the time. I don't remember now if my father just informed the Yugoslavs or also told them to request UNRRA

United Nations Archives

**Belgrade, December 1946: Locomotives obtained by Yugoslavia from UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration were vital to rehabilitate transport.**

dollars quickly, but I do know that the partisans bought the jeeps, marched a detachment of drivers over the border and drove all this surplus equipment back into Yugoslavia.

So I have seen, in Yugoslavia, evidence of the reality of the power of the Trotskyist program to address the needs of the proletariat in the degenerated and deformed workers states and its power to win a section of the bureaucracy to a program of proletarian political revolution based on the defense of socialized property forms. (I have also heard Western-style social democracy openly advocated by one bureaucrat.) These are just individual stories, but about people who represent larger social forces, in just the same way each and every one of you is not only an individual but stands as a marker for the future mass party of a politically conscious working class. The sum of every fighter is the organization, and each fighter is a part of the experience and memory of a working class that can and is willing to take power in its own name.

It is this—that your work and your organization, to paraphrase Lenin, stands as the honor, the conscience and the power of the working class—that my father recognized. And it was the power of your actions and the power your program is capable of mobilizing, that finally at the end of his life, when he was deciding what was really important, won this man—whose life's work in the Communist movement amounted to something—away from fiddling with workers self-management as a poor substitute for workers democracy and away from a kind of economic autarky as an answer to the Western bankers who he hated, and back to the perspective that an international revolution could be won. He was not afraid at the end of his life to pick up that banner once again, once he was convinced that there was an organization that really understood what Marxism is supposed to be about and had the backbone to really fight for it.

I'd like to share with you one more story about my father. I came to the Spartacist League out of the orbit of Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). I broke with the RWL because I wouldn't cross a picket line they were crossing; because I wanted to fight the Klan and defend the Soviet Union, which they wouldn't. My father despised Peter Sollenberger and the RWL. When I asked him in later years what he thought of Peter he said, "I never liked that Peter for two reasons. First, he always knew the answer. He never had to think about anything and he seemed to always have to impress me with how much he knew. And I felt that he hated the Soviet Union." He pinned the Sollenbergerites to the wall in three sentences.

When I asked him at the very end of his life what he thought of the SL he said, "I think if any group will make a revolution it will be this one." I asked him why he thought that way. He said, "From the first time I saw their newspaper I knew this was a serious organization. But what really won me was Afghanistan. Because when I saw what this group had to say about Afghanistan I knew that this was a group that knew how to defend what has already been won."

One day, when we've won it all, when we can truly spare the next generation from the brutality of being born into a capitalist world, and can offer them beauty instead of hope, I would like to see a park for the children of humanity my father loved so much; and by his name, alongside of which he would insist be written "only one among many," I would like to see the words I laid on his casket at his cremation—along with three California poppies—the words of the *Internationale* and these from the pre-WW I German Social Democracy: "Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer/You'll find the red flag flying here." In this way the children of freedom will know the nature of the men and women who brought them to that place of joy.

Fraternally,
Gordon Weissmann

Young Spartacus

## Madison: 700 March Against Frat Rats

# Stop the Attacks on Minority Students!

MADISON—On April 18 an integrated march of over 700 students protested a new wave of racist attacks here. Chanting "We've got to beat back the racist attacks!" the protesters marched from the University of Wisconsin Library Mall down Langdon Street, Madison's "fraternity row" and a stronghold of racist bigots. The Spartacus Youth Club built a militant contingent for the demonstration, leading chants and carrying placards stressing the need for a mobilization of students and labor to stop the racist attacks.

On April 25 a town meeting called by the liberal Minority Coalition demanded that "city, county and University officials... provide the leadership in combatting racism." In a grotesque farce, the program included speeches by the Dane County district attorney, the sheriff, and campus security chief Ralph Hansen—the chief enforcers of racist cop repression on and off campus. Recently a Hispanic youth was beaten by the police, called a "crazy spic" and found dead the next morning in a Madison jail cell. An arsonist, who set fire to a wooden statue of a black woman and child on Madison's south side, was discovered to be a former city cop who is also charged with spray-painting racist epithets around town. And Hansen's campus bullies get off on bashing minorities and leftist protesters—one cop gave a young woman student a black eye at an anti-CIA protest, another stopped a black youth, *pulled a gun* and said, "Okay n----r, why don't you run?"

As the Spartacus Youth Club spokesman stated at the meeting, "the cops, the courts, the administration are part of the capitalist state, *they're on the other side.*" Obscenely, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) officially endorsed this town meeting whose purpose was to preach reliance on the police. These pseudo-socialists say cops—whose job is to break strikes and bust heads on behalf of racist "law and order"—are "workers." The ISO's *Socialist Worker* has hailed police "strikes" (Memphis 1978) and praised black cops for "step[ping] forward in the fight against racism" (Cincinnati 1979). While militant youth in the South African townships have been meting out retribution to the front men for the apartheid regime, the January *Socialist Worker* came out in support of a strike by black cops for higher wages!

Young Spartacus

**Madison, April 18: Spartacus Youth Club joined large, integrated demonstration to protest racist attacks.**

Against liberal and reformist illusions, the Spartacus Youth Club has put forward a class-struggle strategy to stop racist attacks. We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Madison SYC on April 23.

---

Racist attacks in Madison must be *stopped!* On April 8 white fraternity punks from Illinois, brought in by their Madison Acacia "brothers," terrorized African studies classes during midterms, assaulting a professor in one class and setting off stink bombs in another. Last week, a black woman student was jumped and choked by a 45-year-old thug, Gordon Chapman, who repeatedly shouted, "I want to kill all the n-----s." Fortunately, the young woman has a black belt in karate. She was able to defend herself and taught this racist scum a lesson by throwing him to the ground and kicking him in the stomach. When she reported the assault, the cops warned her not to press charges—they ruled out racism as a motive and insisted the bully bigot was just "mentally ill" and forgot to take his pills that day! As the victim stated, "He's not crazy; he just doesn't like black people.... What if it had been some other black woman who wasn't able to protect herself?" (*Capital Times*, 13 April).

On February 11, 23-year-old Rene Campos, a Hispanic student, was found dead in the Dane County Jail. Enough!

"*I didn't come to UW to die for my B.A.*" read one woman's placard at the large, integrated protest march on April 18th. Students and labor must mobilize in militant action *now*, before anyone else gets hurt or killed. In racist America, where the capitalist rulers have been waging a *class war* against the working class and minorities, it's become "respectable" to spew racist filth, and emboldened scum translate their bigotry into the language of violence. Black students are tired of waiting for action from a university administration that repeatedly alibis racist violence as "an alcohol problem" or counsels moral suasion of Klan-inspired punks to promote "racial awareness"! As one fed-up Black Student Union member said, "If it takes being militant, then let us be militant!"

So, how do we put an end to these racist attacks? What's necessary is a *class-struggle program!* The working class, under sustained attack from the bosses and the government, has a powerful objective interest in smashing these racist attacks. A fighting alliance of students with organized labor in Madison (e.g., the large AFSCME locals of workers on and off campus) could stop the racist frat rats from ever poking their snouts out of the sewers again. A one-day strike by students, the TAA, teachers, campus workers and other unionists to *shut down the university* would do more to change the racist climate on campus than a thousand token reforms proposed by the union-busting administration under the "Madison Plan." Part of the reason the Langdon St. thugs, the cops and other racist scum think they can act with impunity is that this university town is kept overwhelmingly white. Blacks are "missing persons" at this university—enrollment is down to a minuscule *1.6 percent*! To undercut the race and class bias of higher education the Spartacus Youth Club fights for open admissions with no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all! Education should be a right, not a privilege! Abolish the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the university!

Now that anti-racist militants are talking about self-defense, the cops and the administration are working overtime to cool out and derail the protests. People must understand that the capitalist state, its cops, courts, university administrations, and front men are *the enemies of leftist students, working people and all the oppressed.* At the April 18th march, Eugene Parks, a protest leader and Madison's Affirmative Action officer, denounced "racial terrorism" in Madison... and called on the terrorist FBI to intervene! These are the bloody G-men who conspired in Klan attacks against freedom riders in the civil rights movement, helped plot the KKK/Nazi murder spree in Greensboro, and ran the government's dirty COINTELPRO campaign to murder, frame-up and destroy the Black Panther Party.

There are also a lot of illusions in

*continued on page 11*

Young Spartacus

**Verdell Hale (left), a black belt in karate, defended herself from racist thug. Student demo raised funds for Verdell's mother, Juana Jackson, to join her daughter in Madison.**


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*—MARXIST LITERATURE—*

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## Anti-Soviet Solidarność Perverts Memory of Jewish Martyrs

# Hail Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!

April 19 marked the 45th anniversary of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising against the Nazis. Fighters against racism and oppression around the world honor the memory of these heroic Jewish martyrs. But in Warsaw itself, the uprising was "commemorated" by a disgusting spectacle. While the Stalinist regime of General Jaruzelski staged an official ceremony whose primary purpose was to cement relations with Zionist Israel, Polish Solidarność organized a march on April 17 through what had been the Warsaw Ghetto. With every step they took, these Pilsudski-lovers trampled over the cause the Warsaw Ghetto fighters died for.

In its drive to restore capitalism to Poland, Solidarność openly embraces the vilest traditions of anti-Semitic Polish nationalism: its guiding spirit is the Catholic hierarchy, historic instigator of anti-Semitic pogroms; its banner, the eagle-and-cross of Polish reaction; its hero, Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, fascistic dictator of interwar Poland with its anti-Semitic *numerus clausus*. In December 1981 Solidarność—boosted by Reagan, bankrolled by the CIA, blessed by the Pope—almost achieved its aims with a counterrevolutionary bid for power. That this reactionary, clerical-nationalist outfit in the Polish deformed workers state could posture as the champion of Jewish anti-fascist struggle speaks volumes about the bankruptcy of the Stalinist regime.

The real purpose of Solidarność' rally was not to commemorate the anti-Nazi fighters but to pervert their memory into an attack on the Soviet Union. As the demonstrators unveiled a monument to two leaders of the Jewish Bund in Poland, Henryk Erlich and Viktor Alter, executed by Stalin in 1941, Dr. Marek Edelman, a surviving leader of the Ghetto uprising and now a supporter of Solidarność, called it a "symbol of the shame of inhuman totalitarianism all over the world." Stalin's murder of these two Jewish socialists—and countless other proletarian and anti-fascist militants—was a heinous crime. But to insinuate that this memorial had something to do with honoring the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising? This grotesque display was aimed at tarring the Soviet Union—which liberated Poland and the rest of East Europe from the Nazi jackboot—with the brush of Nazi barbarism. Solidarność leader Lech Walesa even tried to equate the anti-Nazi uprising with his own anti-Communist conspiracy by claiming that "the uprising of the Jewish fighters was perhaps the most Polish of all uprisings."

For years, the Zionists, whose butchery of Palestinian Arabs emulates the Nazi terror, have tried to claim a monopoly on this anti-Nazi uprising. Now Solidarność tries to paint it in the colors of Polish nationalism. Amid all this filthy hypocrisy, the most moving tribute came when several hundred Arab students laid a wreath at the Warsaw Ghetto monument on April 19 and denounced "the fascist methods used by the Zionists against the Palestinian nation." Many of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters were Communists and pro-socialist Zionists who saw their final act as part of the international struggle against Nazi tyranny and looked in particular to the Red Army as their ally and inspiration. In fact, this "most Polish" uprising was contemptuously repudiated at the time by the anti-Communist and anti-Semitic Polish Home Army, which Solidarność rightly sees as its own nationalist antecedent.

Pantheon Books

**Defiant fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto, rounded up by Hitler's savage SS.**

The Warsaw Ghetto uprising was the last heroic chapter of the fighting Jewish proletariat of Poland, whose deeply *internationalist* traditions produced a generation of committed revolutionaries (see "Memoirs of a Revolutionary Jewish Worker," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88). These were the traditions of the Poland of Rosa Luxemburg—the Jewish revolutionary who was active in the proletarian movements of Poland, Russia and Germany—the Poland of joint struggle by Jewish and Polish workers against tsarist Black Hundreds pogroms. Even under the Nazi occupation, numerous left-wing and socialist journals continued to be published and distributed within the Ghetto walls; others were smuggled in from the "Aryan side." One among these was *Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Flag), put out by the Jewish Trotskyist militants Shlomo Ehrlich and Stella Mihlstein.

### The Red Flag Flew Over the Warsaw Ghetto

In the framework of their hideous "final solution," the Nazis funneled Jews from all over East Europe into the Warsaw Ghetto to await their ultimate destruction in death camps like Auschwitz. By the time the final liquidation of the Ghetto was decreed in early 1943, a population of some 500,000 had been reduced to a tenth of that through systematic starvation policies and deportations to the death camps. Militants in the Ghetto organized to meet the final Nazi onslaught with a resistance to the death. Under unspeakably adverse conditions, with little more than their bare hands and homemade petrol bombs as weapons, the Ghetto insurgents struck a blow against the Nazi tyrants within occupied East Europe, keeping the elite of Hitler's shock troops at bay for over a month until the Nazis literally reduced the Ghetto to a pile of rubble. Reuben Ainsztein's *The Warsaw Ghetto Revolt* (1979) and Ber Mark's *Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto* (1975) provide graphic and well-documented accounts of this epic struggle and the proletarian traditions of East European Jewry which inspired it.

Organizing the resistance at first took the form of a *civil war* within the Ghetto against literally thousands of Jewish collaborators, corrupted or broken under the Nazi jackboot. The Nazi-imposed Judenrat ("Council of Jewish Elders"), former factory owners turned into managers by their Nazi expropriators, the gangsters and Gestapo agents and the 2,000 Ghetto police had to be rooted out and crushed. With the exception of the Communists, the Ghetto organizations were also split along generational lines. The traditional Jewish organizations, both secular and religious, whose representatives sat on the Judenrat, preached collaboration and resignation in the vain illusion this would spare at least some Jews from the gas chambers and ovens. The fighters were recruited overwhelmingly from the youth, who only in the course of the revolt swept along their parents.

The main resistance group was the Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB), initiated by "socialist"-Zionists like Hashomer Hatzair and Poale Zion together with the Polish Workers Party (PPR). Stalin had liquidated the Polish Communist Party in 1938, on charges of "Trotskyism," executing most of its leaders. After Hitler invaded Russia, he agreed to reconstitute it as the PPR, though the Stalinists had become discredited among the Polish proletariat, particularly following the Hitler-Stalin pact. The other significant force in the uprising was the Jewish Military Union (ZZW), formed by the right-wing Revisionist-Zionist youth group Betar, whose leader Menachem Begin fled the country in 1939. Begin became one of a very few Jews to join a Home Army unit in Palestine, on his way to becoming an anti-Arab terrorist.

The Jewish insurgents signaled the start of the uprising on April 19 by hoisting Polish, Jewish and red flags over the Ghetto. The arrogant Nazis, under SS Major General Stroop, believing their own *Übermensch* mythology, at first did not put their own units into operation against the Jewish fighters, relying on their Jewish police and Lithuanian and Ukrainian puppet troops. Day after day, despite their overwhelmingly superior firepower, the Nazis and their puppets were routed. On the fifth day, ZOB leader Mordecai Anielewicz wrote: "What we have experienced cannot be described in words. We are aware of one thing only: what has happened has exceeded all our dreams. The Germans twice ran from the ghetto...."

*continued on page 6*

Newsweek

**Solidarność student protest hails fascistic dictator Pilsudski, marches under eagle-and-cross of anti-Semitic Polish nationalism.**

# Warsaw Ghetto...

*(continued from page 5)*

After the first week of the uprising, a PPR report estimated that over 700 Germans—largely crack SS troops—had been killed in the fighting. On May Day, writes Ainsztein, those Ghetto fighters who still survived "held meetings at which they sang the Internationale in a gesture of supreme defiance of the Nazi New Order."

And who came to the assistance of these isolated and courageous fighters? While the British RAF grotesquely refused to bomb the gas chambers of Auschwitz even as they carried out sorties a few miles away, the Red Army did what it could to assist the Jewish fighters. In response to a radioed appeal from the insurgents, the Soviets ordered bombing raids of Warsaw a day later to hamper the Nazis' mopping-up operations in the Ghetto. Aside from a handful of courageous Polish liberals, the only organized support the Ghetto insurgents received from the outside came from the PPR and its People's Guard militia. People's Guard units on the "Aryan side" carried out a number of military actions in solidarity with the uprising, and the Jewish Communists inside the Ghetto kept Moscow closely informed of events. Notably, the heads of the national PPR and of the Warsaw People's Guard outside the Ghetto were both Jews.

The nationalist Home Army not only refused to offer any practical or military assistance, but even pocketed most of the small quantity of arms airlifted for the Ghetto insurgents from Britain. One statistic tells the story: the Warsaw Area People's Guard had some two dozen pistols in the period preceding the uprising, whereas the Warsaw Command of the Home Army had more than a thousand (as well as hundreds of light and heavy machine guns), yet the former volunteered more weapons to the Jewish insurgents. Home Army commander in chief General Rowecki contemptuously dismissed the ZOB as "Jews from various Communist groups." The Polish nationalists explicitly ruled out any collaboration with Communists—and, in practice, with any Jews. The Bund representative to the Polish government-in-exile in London, Samuel Zygelboim, finally committed suicide in May 1943 in an anguished protest over the lack of assistance to the Polish Jews; *he* is not honored by Solidarność.

Nor, despite the Zionists' subsequent attempts to claim the Warsaw Ghetto uprising as their own, were appeals to Western Zionist leaders much more successful. It is a well-documented fact that British and American Zionist leaders refused to campaign openly for allowing free entry to Jewish refugees from the Nazi terror, or for Allied military action against the extermination camps. In a January 1943 appeal to American Jewish leaders for assistance, the Polish Jews bitterly observed: "Brothers! The survivors of the Jews in Poland live with the awareness that in the worst days of our history you have given us no aid. Respond. This is our last appeal to you."

Schocken Books

**Jewish Socialist Bund leader Henryk Erlich addresses May Day march in Warsaw, 1933.**

Among the handful of Jewish insurgents who survived, many tried to join the Home Army out of a desire to continue fighting the Nazis. Thousands of Jewish partisans did fight, either individually or in all-Jewish units, alongside the Red Army or in Red partisan units. But the Home Army would have nothing to do with them; Jewish partisan units were even attacked and annihilated by the Home Army. Bor-Komorowski, who replaced Rowecki as head of the Home Army, was openly sympathetic to the fascistic NSZ, the so-called National Armed Forces.

When the Home Army finally moved into action against the Nazis with the 1944 Warsaw uprising, it did so to *preempt and prevent* the Red Army's liberation of the city. Even so, a veteran of the pro-Communist Polish People's Army estimated that some 2,000 Jews—one in every 15 combatants—took part in the 1944 uprising, most by hiding their Jewish identities. For many, the only reward they received for their valor against the Nazis was to be shot in the back by a Polish nationalist once they were revealed to be Jews. And this continued after the war, as thousands of Jewish survivors and refugees returning from the Soviet Union were massacred in pogroms by right-wing nationalists embittered over the Soviet liberation. Among them was one of the leaders of the 1943 Sobibor death camp revolt, Leon Felhendler.

Apologists for Solidarność have devoted endless attention to the abortive 1944 Warsaw uprising, falsely claiming that the advancing Soviet army refused to assist it against the Nazis. And how was this anti-Soviet slander first given currency? According to Ainsztein, by the Polish fascists of the NSZ, who "probably killed more Jews than Germans during the uprising":

> "Many of the Polish Nazis were former officers and as such were given command of Home Army units, where they did their best to intensify anti-Jewish hatreds by telling their men that the reason why the Red Army had stopped on the eastern bank of the Vistula was because it was commanded by Jews responsible for the Katyn massacre, who now wanted to take revenge on the Poles for the Warsaw ghetto."

For a fuller treatment, see "The Warsaw Uprising of 1944" (*WV* No. 294, 4 December 1981).

But, Zionist accounts to the contrary, the Polish population was not one anti-Semitic mass. Emmanuel Ringelblum, the noted chronicler of the Warsaw Ghetto, observed in his *Polish-Jewish Relations During the Second World War* (written shortly before his murder by the Nazis in 1944) that while the Polish middle class embraced anti-Semitism "in toto," this was not the case with the workers, "who had long before the war grasped the class aspect of anti-Semitism, the power-tool of the native bourgeoisie, and during the war they redoubled their efforts to fight anti-Semitism." Thousands of Jews were hidden, at the risk of death, and Christian workers in Warsaw often raised a signal to warn of Nazi raids into the Ghetto.

Der Spiegel

**Polish people greet Red Army in 1945. Six hundred thousand Soviet soldiers died to liberate Poland from Nazi tyranny.**

## Under the Banner of Internationalism

The legacy of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising lies not with the reactionary nationalists of Solidarność, nor for that matter with the Zionist butchers, nor with the nationalist Stalinists. With its perspective of "socialism in one country," Stalinism is driven to ape the most reactionary aspects of bourgeois nationalism. Thus in 1968 the Polish Stalinist regime orchestrated an anti-Semitic purge which drove out many of the remaining Jews, including heroic Soviet WW II spy Leopold Trepper.

The Warsaw Ghetto revolt was in essence internationalist, as it could only be, and not simply because the combatants saw themselves as and consciously fought to be the spark for a generalized uprising throughout occupied Poland. The Jews of East Europe were a people who had no nation, who in the most literal sense found their banner in the red flag of international socialist revolution and their salvation in the October Revolution. Not even the Nazi horror could crush the ideals which had impelled the Jewish proletarians of Poland into the ranks of the revolutionary movement. The Jewish Trotskyists who emblazoned under the masthead of their Ghetto publication, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!", expressed the proletarian-internationalist program which alone could put an end to the barbarism unleashed by capitalism in its decay. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, *Czervony Sztandar* (July 1941) declared:

> "The first workers state is fighting for its existence. The fate of the Russian Revolution and, in the most immediate sense, the fate of the international revolution weigh in the balance. The workers of the whole world follow with bated breath the course of the greatest class war in the world, and their hearts and souls are with the Red Army....
>
> "The war of the Soviet Union against Hitler is the war of the international proletariat: it is our war."

They concluded: "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Russian Revolution! Long live the international revolution!"

Stalin's nationalist crimes notwithstanding, the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Nazi Germany excited and inspired the masses of the Warsaw Ghetto, whose most militant elements even ceased working in Nazi slave labor factories inside the Ghetto, to express their solidarity with the Soviet war effort. The 7 June 1942 issue of Hashomer Hatzair's Ghetto journal, *Der Oifbroi* (Ferment), stated:

> "The heroic struggle of the Red Army is inspiring all the peoples oppressed by the Nazis in their struggle for liberation.... The Jewish masses have not yet rid themselves of their distrust of their own fighting capabilities and given up the hope of salvation coming from outside. Such a state of mind must not last at a time when from the fjords of Norway to the suburbs of Paris, from the mountains of Serbia to the factories of Czechoslovakia, the liberation army is consolidating and growing. Within the limited possibilities of the ghettoes we must prepare the ground for a revolutionary Jewish deed. From Jewish pain and sufferings there must grow up the strength that together with all the revolutionary forces in Europe and the backing of the Red Army will rise to fight against Nazi slavery."

The Red Army did liberate Poland from Nazi slavery—as well as from the native pogromists whom Solidarność idolizes—and 600,000 Soviet soldiers died for that cause. Today Poland is still a workers state, albeit so bureaucratically deformed that the Stalinist regime drove the mass of the Polish proletariat into the arms of clericalist reaction more than 30 years after the liquidation of capitalism. Only in a revolutionary-internationalist Poland will the heroic martyrs of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt receive the honor due them. ■


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## As Soviets Pull Out, Islamic Fanatics Threaten Bloodbath

# Afghan Women Fight for Their Lives

On May 15, Soviet troops are scheduled to begin their withdrawal from Afghanistan. The fanatical Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* have wasted no time in giving a taste of the bloodbath they intend to unleash upon the Afghan population once the Red Army is no longer there to defend elementary social progress. On April 27, a truck loaded with explosives blew up in a crowded street in Kabul, killing a 12-year-old girl and five other people. The bomb was situated to strike people returning from a youth festival in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the "April revolution" which installed the Afghan reform regime. On April 10, several days before the signing of the withdrawal agreement, a passenger plane was shot down by a U.S.-supplied missile, killing all 29 aboard, including eight women and two children. Rebel leader Gulhaddin Hekmatyar, described even by his American sponsors as a "scary fascist," seized this moment to announce they would "show the world that without the consent of the *mujaheddin*, no agreement can be consummated."

These CIA-backed "freedom fighters" will not be satisfied until they have extinguished the last remnants of the short-lived freedoms the Afghan peoples have enjoyed. And their prime target will certainly be the hundreds of thousands of women who under the protection of the Red Army liberated themselves to some extent from fundamentalist slavery. A recent article by Marc Kaufman in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (26 April), piercing the American bourgeoisie's veil of lies over what an anti-Communist victory will mean, described how "the specter of a *mujaheddin* reign of terror against women" is widely perceived in Kabul.

Reuters

**Afghan women armed with Soviet AK-47s march on tenth anniversary of "April Revolution" in Kabul.**

From the start this war has posed not only defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against U.S. imperialism but the defense of the most basic rights of women. As Kaufman noted:

> "When asked why they had left Afghanistan for the refugee camps, many Afghans in Pakistan don't talk about the bombing or land reform, or even the suppression of Islam.
>
> "What they did not like, those Afghans said recently, was that the communists in Kabul wanted to send their daughters to school."

And those young women who did seize the opportunity for an education are now, in the most literal sense, faced with a fight for their lives. One such woman interviewed explained:

> "'Without the revolution, what would I be?' said the handsome young woman, who has a college degree from Bulgaria, a good job with the Red Crescent, and the freedom to wear lipstick, a skirt and even high heels.
>
> "'I would be staying at home, and maybe only going out with the veil—like my mother did,' she said. 'And for marriage, I could be bought like so much property.
>
> "'This is why so many Afghan women are with this revolution, and why we will fight so hard to defend it' . .
>
> "'They will try to put us back in *chaderie* [the head-to-toe veil]—we know this,' Mina Fahim said of the *mujaheddin*.
>
> "'Like in Iran with Khomeini but maybe worse, because we would resist. For us, *chaderie* is impossible,' she said with a shudder."

Afghan women will resist, arms in hand. Among the contingents in the April 27 demonstrations was one of determined-looking women armed with AK-47s. Now they are about to be abandoned by the Red Army, in which they saw their salvation. Gorbachev's vain attempt to conciliate U.S. imperialism consigns Afghan women to a horrible bloodbath, and it will only embolden the murderous *mujahedin* to launch attacks across the Soviet border. Defense of the Soviet Union and elementary human decency require that the Red Army mop up the mullah-led reactionaries. ■

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## Refuting Assassins' Slanders

# Honor Ignace Reiss

We print below a letter to the editor of the *New York Times Book Review* responding to a scurrilous slander of Ignace Reiss, a Communist murdered by Stalin's NKVD in 1937. Similarly, a recent piece on Trotsky in the *Times* (16 November 1987) echoed the Stalinist Big Lie with the disingenuous claim that "it was never proved that Stalin ordered Trotsky's assassination."

As the flagship organ of U.S. imperialism, the *New York Times* has a long record of retailing anti-communist "disinformation," going right back to the hoary slander that Lenin and Trotsky were German agents (see illustration). During the infamous Moscow Trials in the late 1930s, its Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty dutifully parroted Stalin's deadly lies that the Old Bolsheviks were a pack of Nazi spies. Whether drawn from tsarist or Stalinist arsenals, for the *Times* any anti-Bolshevik lie is deemed "fit to print."

Readers are also referred to Theodore Draper's informative article in the 14 April *New York Review of Books*.

15 September 1918

The New York Times

**DOCUMENTS PROVE LENINE AND TROTZKY HIRED BY GERMANS**

Communications Between Berlin and Bolshevist Government Given Out by Creel.

SPARTACIST PUBLISHING COMPANY

28 March 1988

*New York Times Book Review*

To the Editor:

Your recent exchange on "Stalin's Killerati" (March 6) contains a gross historical falsehood that must not remain unanswered. A letter by Vadim Kondratiev described Ignace Reiss as "a K.G.B. defector who was selling important military intelligence in 1938 to the highest bidder, which happened to be Nazi Germany." In slandering Reiss as a Nazi spy, Kondratiev is retailing in a new form the universally discredited Stalinist lie that Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition (as well as the entire generation of Old Bolsheviks) were all agents of Hitler and the Mikado.

Contrary to the utterly unsupported claim of Vadim Kondratiev, the son of one of the NKVD assassins of Reiss, Ignace Reiss lived and died fighting for communism and to defend the Soviet Union. For a truthful account of the life and struggle of Ignace Reiss, see the memoirs of his widow, Elisabeth Poretsky, *Our Own People* (University of Michigan Press, 1970). He personified that tendency within the Soviet apparatus which sought to restore the authentic traditions of the October Revolution, traditions betrayed by the usurping Stalinist burcaucracy.

Vladimir Kibalchich

**Stalin murdered Ignace Reiss, heroic Soviet spy who embraced Trotsky's Fourth International.**

A Galician communist won to Bolshevism in 1919, Ignace Reiss joined Soviet intelligence in 1922. He was finally driven to break with Stalinism and to join with Trotsky when the frame-ups of the first Moscow Trial and the execution of the Old Bolsheviks, together with the Kremlin's strangling of proletarian revolution in Spain, convinced him that Stalin's counterrevolutionary policy threatened the survival of the USSR. For this Reiss was assassinated by the NKVD near Lausanne, Switzerland on 4 September 1937 (despite Kondratiev's claim he was selling secrets to the Nazis in *1938*).

It was not Reiss and the courageous Russian Left Oppositionists who aided Hitler's cause and endangered the gains of the October Revolution of 1917—centrally the collectivized property forms. It was Stalin who beheaded the Red Army, murdering Marshal Tukhachevsky and the cream of the Soviet officer corps on the eve of Hitler's invasion (they too were falsely accused of being German spies). Ignace Reiss eloquently expressed his views in an open letter "To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.," dated 17 July 1937, written a few weeks before his execution by Stalin's assassins:

> "The working class must defeat Stalin and Stalinism so that the U.S.S.R. and the international workers' movement do not succumb to fascism and counter-revolution....
>
> "I intend to devote my feeble forces to the cause of Lenin. I want to continue the fight, for only our victory—that of the proletarian revolution—will free humanity of capitalism and the U.S.S.R. of Stalinism.
>
> "Forward to new struggles! For the Fourth International!"

Historical justice to the memory of this devoted communist demands this correction

Very truly yours,
James Robertson
President

cc: Leon Trotsky Museum, Coyoacán, Mexico
Institute for Social History, Amsterdam
Prometheus Research Library, New York
Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow
*Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, Paris
*Revolutionary History*, London

# France...

*(continued from page 1)*

military haircuts, former paratroopers and lumpen elements, the mass of the ranks was made up of provincial shopkeepers. Yet the fact that it could take place on the international proletarian holiday is an outrage only possible due to the treachery of the PCF/PS misleaders who dissipated the anti-fascist anger instead of sweeping away Le Pen's provocation.

The traditional May Day march of trade unionists and immigrants—which took place in two contingents, one under the banner of the Communist-led CGT labor federation and the other called by the social-democratic CFDT and FEN (teachers union)—was considerably more important, both numerically and socially. But the reformist bureaucrats deliberately held a passive protest march. If a solidly organized united-front mobilization of the same 70,000 or 100,000 workers had been called for the same place as the National Front demonstration, the fascist parade would not have come off. A massive and disciplined squad of marshals (and the CGT knows how to organize one) would have stopped the fascists cold. The pro-Le Pen shopkeeper getting off his bus would have decided to go see the Eiffel Tower or the Folies Bergères instead!

bourgeois layers to forge ahead in his strategic plan of organizing his heterogeneous voters into assault troops against the workers organizations and immigrants. His voters, Le Pen told the May Day crowd, are "a vanguard that must now be organized." This is an open call for brownshirts. Le Pen's election meeting in Marseille before the first round featured a precision jump by five paratroopers into the middle of the stadium to kick off the meeting. French paratrooper units have long been noted as the shock troops of the extreme right wing, ever since the abortive generals' coup against de Gaulle in 1961 which aimed at preventing the "loss" of Algeria.

With the exception of Le Pen's campaign, it had been one of the most vacuous presidential campaigns in French historical memory. There was nothing to debate: Mitterrand's campaign has not a trace of "socialism," and Mitterrand/Chirac/Barre are united around an anti-Soviet, anti-working-class, anti-immigrant consensus. Mitterrand's record of savage capitalist austerity and his role as Reagan's Cold War European lieutenant during the 1981-86 popular front, and the ensuing two years of "cohabitation" with Chirac, disarmed his rightist opponents. The Communist Party, meanwhile, has abdicated any pretense of organizing working-class opposition to the massive unemployment and anti-union offensive that have

Le Bolchévik

**Ligue Trotskyste/Tribune Communiste contingent at January 27 protest in Paris against Le Pen. Banner reads: "Le Pen—Enough is Enough! For Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Crush the Fascists! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"**

In the face of Le Pen's May Day provocation, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France issued an urgent appeal for a united-front worker/immigrant mobilization to stop the fascists. The 27 April LTF leaflet declared:

> "The working class has the social power to prevent the fascists from demonstrating on May 1st and to crush them. Hundreds of thousands of workers are needed, solidly organized to occupy the terrain where the fascists plan to parade. But there's not a moment to lose. Already on January 27, united-front demonstrations took place at the call of the PCF (which, however, buried this initiative soon after) in which the Ligue Trotskyste participated; tens of thousands of workers and anti-fascists rallied across France to cry out 'Le Pen. Enough!' Today we must go to a higher level. Working-class and democratic organizations, both political and trade-union, have the duty to organize, starting now, a determined and massive united-front action, rallying youth, women, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals, etc. in the streets on this day around the workers battalions, mainly organized by the CGT, *to stop the fascists*."

What's needed is "an agreement for combat, not a so-called 'action' of parliamentary pressure in order to re-elect Mitterrand 'against the right and far right'." The felt need for united anti-fascist action must not be prostituted in the service of a new popular front!

### Crush the Fascist Threat!

Unfortunately, the impunity Le Pen enjoyed on May 1st can only embolden this leader of reactionary petty-bourgeois layers to forge ahead in his strategic plan of organizing his heterogeneous voters into assault troops against the workers organizations and immigrants. His voters, Le Pen told the May Day crowd, are "a vanguard that must now be organized." This is an open call for brownshirts. Le Pen's election meeting in Marseille before the first round featured a precision jump by five paratroopers into the middle of the stadium to kick off the meeting. French paratrooper units have long been noted as the shock troops of the extreme right wing, ever since the abortive generals' coup against de Gaulle in 1961 which aimed at preventing the "loss" of Algeria.

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Bourgeois commentators have concluded that the National Front has replaced the PCF as the party of the disgruntled elements in French society. It is true that the poison of racism has seeped into backward sections of the working class, rendered desperate by massive unemployment—Le Pen's score in Lorraine, where the coal and steel industries have been gutted by the capitalist crisis, and his victory over the PCF in

Patrick Artinian

**Flag-waving chauvinist mob cheers fascist Le Pen's electoral success.**

many of the "red belt" workers suburbs around Paris, attest to that. But the electoral house of mirrors is no true gauge of the potential for class struggle. In the winter of 1986-87 student protests, more than a million strong, with a heavy anti-racist component, turned back the government's attempt at accentuating the class bias of the university system. This victory was followed by a hard-fought wildcat strike of railway workers, which posed the necessity of a general strike.

But without revolutionary leadership, the militant French workers' will to fight was criminally frittered away. The history of the past two decades—from 1968 on—has been one of derailing, sabotaging and suppressing class struggle in the service of class collaboration. In contrast to the reformists and their fake-Trotskyist tails, the Ligue Trotskyste de France has stood out for its proletarian opposition to popular-frontism. In a long article on the Le Pen campaign, the Munich *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (20 April) noted the LTF's stand: "Left-wing extremists distributed their newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*. You can't fight unemployment, racism and fascism with Mitterrand and [PCF candidate] Lajoinie, the headline read, 'they're the ones that got us into this shit.' And in passing *Le Bolchévik* accuses Gorbachev of squandering Afghanistan." The article referred to from the LTF newspaper declared:

> "It is the governments of class collaboration, the anti-worker, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet popular front in which they participated and which they supported since 1981, which paved the way for the right bent on revenge and for the fascists. . . And if today these same leaders are blocking the mass workers mobilizations urgently needed to drive Le Pen's scum back into their rat holes, if they display such shameful prostration and passivity in the face of fascist provocations, it's because their one and only objective is to replay '81."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik* No. 82, April 1988

As a result of the Mitterrand popular front, which put the cost of the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the workers, France has become the European country with a mass fascist movement. And the fight to crush the National Front has an importance extending beyond the borders of France. Le Pen's success emboldens fascist rats to crawl out of their holes elsewhere. In West Germany, for example, the neo-Nazi FAP announced plans to hold a May Day rally outside Rheinhausen, where the threatened closure of the Krupp steel plant has sparked massive workers' protests throughout the Ruhr region. Yet while the fascists mount provocations from West Berlin to Bremen to the Ruhr, the reformist Social Democracy does its best to turn May Day rallies into apolitical beer festivals.

### Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Le Pen's results inspire a real fear, but for a number of left and labor organizations this fear is transformed into panic. And this panic is used to "justify" their call for workers to vote for Mitterrand on the second round. The Communist Party leadership exhorts all those who are "anti-Chirac and anti-Le Pen to block their path on May 8." Former PCF leader and pro-Mitterrand "renovator" Pierre Juquin, now supported by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), says "don't do the work of ChiPen-LeRac." Arlette Laguiller, perennial candidate of Lutte Ouvrière (LO), is competing with the fascists for votes on a program of populist anti-Sovietism. Le Pen & Co. are trying to "push politics in a reactionary direction," so "we need another vote, a vote which is a counterweight" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 26 March).

All these reformists who are urging workers to fall in behind Mitterrand "forget" rather conveniently that after the 1936 Popular Front came the bonapartist dictator Pétain; after Allende, Pinochet. So too the anti-working-class, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet policy of the 1981 popular front paved the way

Boccon-Gibod/Keystone

Cochin/Keystone

**On the barricades: struggles by militant workers (above) and students against Mitterrand/Chirac's racist austerity and anti-immigrant attacks.**

for the fascists. To want to repeat 1981—while an anti-immigrant consensus unites the social democrats and bourgeois politicians and the fascists draw strength from the instability of the regime—is criminally to lead the workers to a much more serious defeat than the electoral victory of the right in March 1986. In contrast to the LO/LCR pseudo-Trotskyists, the Ligue Trotskyste proclaimed: "We didn't call for a vote to Mitterrand in '81, and we won't do it in '88 either."

Authentic Trotskyism may get a hearing from Communist militants fed up with their party's criminal passivity. The PCF says it "harbors no illusions" (*L'Humanité*, 28 April) that a Mitterrand victory will benefit the working class ("on the contrary," Marchais adds cynically), while it calls for voting Mitterrand to stop the right. But many of its ranks may not follow this road to defeat. On May Day, as they marched past a local PS headquarters, CGT militants chanted, "Mitterrand, betrayal." PCF supporters who seek to break from the infernal cycle of popular fronts alternating with open reaction should study the example of Tribune Communiste, a group which came out of the pro-Soviet "anti-opportunist" milieu in and around the PCF, and fused with the Ligue Trotskyste this February.

An important step in Tribune Communiste's evolution toward genuine Leninism was taken when they refused to vote for the PCF in the legislative elections of June 1981, opposing the Communist Party's entry into the Mitterrand popular front. And in their resolution this year which served as a basis for the fusion with the Ligue Trotskyste, Tribune Communiste wrote:

> "In 1988 it is not possible to back Lajoinie's candidacy with a vote, since he is running, all by himself, as the candidate of a popular front that the PS is in no hurry to form—waiting for the PCF leadership to come over once more."
>
> —"From the Illusory Transformation of the PCF to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky," *Le Bolchévik* No. 81, March 1988

On the eve of the fusion, Tribune Communiste participated together with the LTF in the anti-fascist demonstration called by the PCF on January 27. The joint contingent marched under the slogans of "Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists" and "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants."

As Leon Trotsky underlined in his famous pamphlet *Whither France?* written after the fascist-bonapartist-royalist march in February 1934, the key to crushing the fascists is "Not a Program of Passivity But a Program of Revolution":

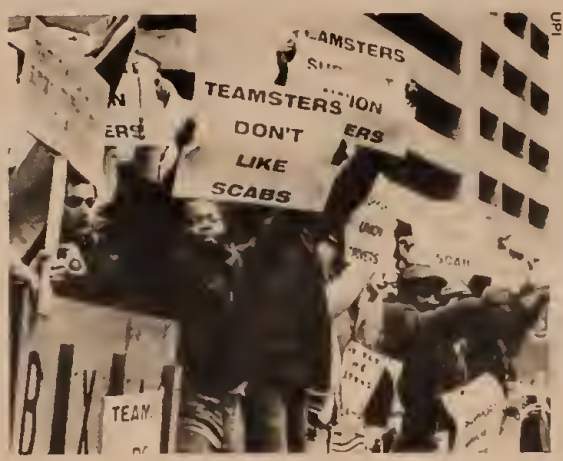
> "...if opposition to further aggravation of the situation of the masses under capitalism is still possible, no real improvement of their situation is conceivable without a revolutionary invasion of the right of capitalist property....
>
> "The social crisis in its political expression is the crisis of power. The old master of society is bankrupt. A new master is needed.
>
> "If the revolutionary proletariat does not take power, Fascism will inevitably take it!"

Only by accomplishing its historic mission, by taking state power with a workers government which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and undertake the socialist reconstruction of society, can the proletariat crush the fascist scum once and for all. And for that, as in all working-class struggles, the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party is indispensable. Such a party must be a tribune of the people, championing the cause of all the oppressed. It must also squarely oppose the anti-Soviet war drive and uphold the banner of unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states. This party will be the section of a reforged Fourth International, regrouping genuine communists behind the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world socialist revolution. ■

# Teamster Revolt Over Contract

## Feds Hands Off the Union!

Workers in the largest and most powerful union in America, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), are rebelling against the IBT tops' proposed national contract. Nearly 200,000 Teamsters are currently voting by mail ballot on the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA), which will set standards for an additional 300,000 workers in the 1.7-million-strong IBT. Truck drivers and warehouse workers, embittered by years of givebacks, are being joined by scores of local and regional officials, riled over the International union tops' concessions and their deals gutting "supplementals" covering local working conditions. The IBT ranks must tear up this giveback deal and reverse the capitalist onslaught through hard labor struggle. And that means taking head-on the bosses' government, with its strikebreaking injunctions and union-busting "trusteeships." *For an industrywide trucking strike!*




**Teamster power: supporters of Greyhound strike on flatbed trucks, Philadelphia, 1983.**

When the contract was presented to a gathering of 277 local union leaders in Chicago on April 7, it provoked a 40 percent "no" vote from this usually obedient crowd. At membership meetings across the country the following week, scores of locals came out against the agreement. Twelve hundred members of Local 299 in Detroit unanimously gave it the "thumbs down," and Local 728 members in Atlanta shouted down the son of the International secretary-treasurer (*Labor Notes*, May 1988). On April 18, a thousand Teamsters, members of Local 707 in New York and New Jersey, reported to union halls instead of freight terminals in a job action to protest the contract. Under the straitjacket of the IBT bureaucracy, a two-thirds majority is required to defeat the contract.

The three-year deal offers a paltry 35 cents per hour (2 percent) yearly raise, while continuing all the concessions wrenched from the Teamster ranks in previous agreements (elimination of COLA, a two-tier pay scale, and the use of low-wage part-time "casual" workers—now about 10 percent of the workforce). Fed up with the bankruptcies and massive layoffs in the decade since trucking deregulation, Teamsters want to defend their jobs. But under the proposed NMFA, the companies will have a free hand to continue "double breasting"—setting up non-union subsidiaries—which has bled the union of 120,000 jobs.

All hell is breaking loose in the Teamsters over this freight contract because the bureaucratic cement is cracking at the top. The corrupt gang at Ed Meese's "Justice" Department is trying to dismantle this powerful union using the blatantly unconstitutional Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act. IBT International president Jackie Presser is under indictment by the feds for payroll padding. His defense is that he did it on the FBI's instructions while he was their informer! Presser, on the ropes and dying of cancer, has lost his grip, and the union is in danger of returning to the federation of local and regional fiefdoms that existed before Jimmy Hoffa welded together the union's power through the first national over-the-road contract.

The capitalist state launched its 30-year vendetta against Hoffa and the Teamsters not because of bureaucratic corruption, of course, but in order to break the power of this national transportation union at the core of American labor. The feds' war on the Teamsters has gotten plenty of help from careerists seeking to ride RICO indictments and court suits into union office. The opposition Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) beat Reagan and Meese to the draw by filing their own RICO suit against the union in December 1986! The TDU, which doesn't even call for a strike, works hand in glove with Reagan and Meese's Justice Department to *increase* the subordination of the labor movement to the capitalist state. The labor movement must demand: *Government hands off the Teamsters!*

The Reagan regime is discredited, its loser contras on the ropes, its anti-Soviet provocateurs facing multiple indictments and endless investigations. This necessarily affects their war on labor and blacks at home, providing openings for the Teamsters to strike back at the exploiters who are out to squeeze even more of workers' blood in concessions. Teamster ranks see the IBT tops in disarray, and less able to police the union for the trucking magnates. Here's a chance to fight back, to take back the givebacks and break the government's plot to put the union in chains. The NMFA must remain intact. A solid national strike must necessarily be a strike to organize the non-union terminals and warehouses!

To win, the working class must base itself squarely on its own power, independent of the capitalist agencies and courts and their front men in the labor movement. Having endorsed the Republicans in 1980 and 1984, Presser & Co. have few friends left in Washington now that Reagan/Meese have jilted them. So the Teamsters rejoin the AFL-CIO, whose bureaucrats and their "militant" hangers-on preach trust in the "friend of labor" Democrats—whether Dukakis or Jackson—in order to throttle class struggle. Teamsters: don't forget it was the Kennedy boys who railroaded Hoffa in order to break the national contract. *Both* the partner parties of capitalism are out to gut the unions with the Landrum-Griffith and Taft-Hartley slave labor laws. To win, Teamsters must break the straitjacket of these anti-labor laws and use the class-struggle tactics that built the unions: mass picket lines and secondary boycotts (hot-cargoing). As we wrote in the special *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" (*WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984):

> "But 'secondary boycotts' are 'illegal,' say the union tops from coast to coast. Unions themselves were once branded as 'illegal criminal conspiracies.' The entire history of the American labor movement is one long string of laws broken and court injunctions defied. Otherwise there would be no labor movement."

These are the lessons of the victorious, hard-fought Minneapolis Teamsters general strike of 1934, which was led by the revolutionary Trotskyists and laid the basis for the over-the-road organizing drives which transformed the IBT into a powerful industrial union. To win, this is the kind of a class-struggle leadership that must be forged, to lead labor and all the oppressed in a fight for a workers government that will end the boom-bust cycle of the capitalist profit system for good. ■


**SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY**

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

**Detroit**
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

**Los Angeles**
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Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D C 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

# Nicaragua...

*(continued from page 1)*

fracturing. During the negotiations longtime CIA operative Adolfo Calero and former Somozaist National Guard colonel Enrique Bermúdez have fallen out. Bermúdez fired the contra commanders who signed the Sapoá agreement, whereupon Calero tried to pull a coup to oust the military chief. The cease-fire poses a big problem for the contra tops: their mercenary peasant army could dissolve without the pressure of war and the promise of endless dollars. One contra official said, "Who knows how long we can hold together and keep up the morale of our troops" (*New York Times*, 26 April). As Sandinista troops in the field began meeting with nearby contra units, orders went out from contra HQ in Tegucigalpa to stop the fraternization. But in several cases the meetings have continued.

While the Sandinista leadership rolled out the red carpet for the contras, the Nicaraguan masses were in the streets. Dozens of demonstrations assembled to call for unconditional surrender by the contra killers. While the imperialist media have been bellowing about "censorship" of the voice of the internal contras, *La Prensa*, because it wants more (Soviet-supplied) newsprint, and the government caved in by supplying it, Sandinista youth gathered outside the CIA mouthpiece chanting, "Give back to the people the paper you used to defame the people" (*La Repubblica* [Rome], 17 April). Pressured by the Sandinista ranks, Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega vowed to a crowd of 20,000 that if peace talks fail, "we shall continue fighting until we totally annihilate the Contras." And on May Day, Ortega declared:

> "What we are discussing is how the mercenary forces, who are already defeated, can lay down their weapons.
> "They should be grateful that we are not offering them the guillotine or the firing squad, which is what they deserve."
> —*New York Times*, 2 May

Militant declarations notwithstanding, in negotiating a treacherous "peace" fraud the Sandinistas are paving the way for counterrevolution.

New York Times

Reuters

**March 3—Nicaraguan masses demonstrate against La Prensa, mouthpiece for capitalist reaction. Contra kingpin Calero (center) whoops it up with La Prensa publisher Violeta Chamorro.**

## Showdown Over Strikes

Despite all the vituperation from the Reagan White House against "Sandino-Communism," the Sandinistas have never sought to establish a collectivized economy, the basis of a workers state. While the FSLN smashed the capitalist state of the Somoza dynasty installed by the U.S. Marines, the guerrillas in power vowed to follow a utopian pipe dream of "mixed economy, political pluralism and nonalignment." But this didn't placate the Reaganauts, who wanted an easy "win" in Central America for their anti-Soviet war drive. For more than eight years, the fate of the Nicaraguan Revolution has hung in the balance. Now with the defeat of Washington's contra terrorists, we have warned that the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN regime, rather than following the "Cuban road" to a bureaucratically deformed workers state, is moving toward reconsolidating a capitalist state (see "Sandinista-Contra Pact: Revolution in Grave Danger," *WV* No. 450, 8 April).

In recent weeks the FSLN has made one concession after another to the bourgeoisie while forcing the working class to the wall. The current labor battles are the result of a sweeping pro-capitalist economic "shock treatment" launched by Ortega on February 14. Overnight the Nicaraguan currency, the córdoba, was devalued by 3,000 percent; the government exchanged old córdobas for new ones at the rate of 1,000 to one. Given the astronomical inflation, monetary reform was inevitable. But along with it, Ortega decreed a series of measures favoring businessmen and gutting Nicaraguan workers' budgets. Almost all subsidies for food and basic goods were eliminated, government spending was cut by 10 percent, wage differentials were increased for higher-paid professional employees ...and capitalists' export earnings will now be paid at international market rates! One U.S.-educated "technocrat" who helped design the program said:

> "This is a reaffirmation of the view that socialist central planning is not viable in this country. The logic of these measures is a greater reliance on market signals."
> —*Washington Post*, 5 March

The impact on the Nicaraguan masses has been devastating. While wages were increased, prices have risen faster. Mainstays of the Nicaraguan diet like rice, beans and corn have virtually disappeared from the markets as producers and speculators hold on to them rather than sell them at government-controlled prices. The working class faces an impossible situation. An auto mechanic, a skilled worker toward the upper end of the new 15-step wage scale, makes 1,700 córdobas per month (about US$45 currently). Yet even according to government estimates it takes at least 2,300 córdobas (and more likely double that) just to feed a family of four. Unskilled workers may earn as little as 500 córdobas per month! Simply to survive workers must find some *bisnes* in the black market, which continues to flourish despite government efforts to suppress it.

The catastrophic collapse of the workers' standard of living resulting from the economic reform soon touched off strikes by 3,000 construction workers and 1,200 auto mechanics, as well as (more briefly) by restaurant workers, truck drivers and sugar plantation workers. The striking construction workers are demanding 200 percent wage increases and the limitation of the workday to eight hours. The Sandinistas responded by declaring the strikes illegal and firing the workers, while the pro-government CST labor federation has organized scabs to take their places. Tensions have run high as Sandinista militants and unionists have squared off in street confrontations. Last week 38 construction workers went on a hunger strike to press for their demands. And then the right-wing opposition walked out of the "national reconciliation" talks, protesting Sandinista "intransigence" in resolving the strikes.

On May Day, Daniel Ortega denounced the strikers, saying, "These workers are fighting against the revolution instead of the imperialism of the United States and the contras." "They are led," he said, "by people who have a counterrevolutionary program... pseudo-leaders who receive money from the C.I.A." A relative of a striker countered, "They say this is a political strike, but the real cause is that we can't live on what they want to pay." With these totally counterposed accounts, what is the truth? And what should be the policy of proletarian revolutionaries?

The strike clearly began as an economic struggle, forced by the FSLN's drastic anti-worker economic policies. When the strikes broke out in late February, the government made no attempt to bargain and simply fired everyone. And the wages are truly impossible. A *New York Times* (14 April) article reported the comments of a construction assistant who earns 26 córdobas a day (while a worker's lunch costs 30 córdobas, a pack of cigarettes costs 39 and an inexpensive pair of shoes goes for at least 400): "It's a question of starving on strike or starving on the job. You absolutely cannot live on that salary." There have also been walkouts in workplaces controlled by Sandinista unions: eight in January alone.

On the other hand, the union leaders *are* cooperating with right-wing reaction. The strikers are organized in the SCAAS construction workers union, affiliated with the pro-Moscow Socialists (PSN), and the CAUS union of the Communist Party (PCN). SCAAS and CAUS, in turn, are part of an opposition labor umbrella group which includes the CUS union that is indeed on the Washington payroll, via the American Institute for Free Labor Development, a "labor" front for the CIA set up by the AFL-CIO and U.S. businessmen. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (31 December 1985), "AIFLD funnels about $60,000 a year to the CUS from funds it receives from the National Endowment for Democracy," set up to launder U.S. government dollars. And both PCN and PSN are part of a 14-party alliance opposed to the Sandinistas which includes all the right-wing parties.

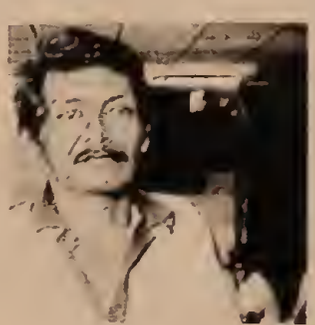
Yet the strikers certainly do not see themselves as counterrevolutionaries. Indeed, as the *New York Times* (14 April) reported: "The construction workers' union hall is decorated by portraits of Lenin and other Marxist heros," and both unions sport the traditional communist symbol, the hammer and sickle. SCAAS is known for leading a hard-fought building workers strike against Somoza following the 1972 earthquake, while CAUS once led the largest and most militant factory in the country, now called FABRITEX, where they continue to have support and which has one of the highest percentages of workers who have joined the militias and fought the contras at the front. In fact, *most* of Managua's industries have a strong presence of ostensibly socialist opposition unions.

## Lessons of October: Bolshevik Party Is Key

Sandinista Nicaragua has been brutally battered by years of Yankee imperialist aggression, both by the bloody contra terrorists who have killed tens of thousands and by Reagan's trade embargo which has sought to strangle the economy. Having endured so much, so long, it is natural that war-weariness has spread in Nicaragua. This can drive backward workers into the arms of reaction. We have recalled the example of Kronstadt, where sailors mutinied in 1921 against the Soviet regime (see "Finish Off the Contras—Complete the Revolution!" *WV* No. 445, 29 January). At that time also, hard-pressed urban workers led by the Mensheviks were striking for basic economic necessities. Lenin, Trotsky and the rest of the Bolshevik leadership tried to negotiate with the sailors, but finally the mutiny had to be put down by the Red Army.

The PSN and PCN are politically similar in many ways to the Russian Mensheviks. They are hardline reformists, ardent believers in "two-stage" revolution who *opposed* as "adventuristic" the 1979 insurrection which toppled Somoza. The Mensheviks, too, led sections of the working class, such as the railway workers who opposed the October Revolution and sabotaged its defense. *But the Sandinistas are no Bolsheviks*—far from it. The Kronstadt sailors, many of whom came from rural backgrounds, objected to the Bolsheviks' policies of War Communism, seeking free markets for peasant producers. "War Sandinism," in contrast, has been marked by hefty dollar subsidies for "patriotic" capitalists and increasingly impossible conditions for the workers. And now the Sandinistas have decreed a "free market" austerity rivaling anything the IMF bankers' cartel has ordered, as they prepare to bring back the contra capitalists.

The current Nicaraguan strikes are not Kronstadt but closer to the El Teniente strike in Allende's Chile. In May-June of 1973, workers at the country's largest mine fought against the "Popular Unity" government to retain their sliding scale of wages, a protection against inflation. Allende, like Ortega, accused the strikers of being "economistic." Yet while the popular-front left denounced the El Teniente strikers, we Trotskyists called to defend their strike. Eventually, however, as Allende's "pop-



SIN-TV/WV Photos

**Construction workers and mechanics on hunger strike for a living wage at union hall in Managua. Reformist union leaders display the hammer and sickle, but ally with the bourgeoisie.**

ular" government drove the strikers into the abyss, the CIA's coup plotters seized the opportunity. A miners' march on Santiago was taken over by the ultra-rightist National Party and turned into a counterrevolutionary political mobilization. (For more about the El Teniente strike, see "Defend Chilean Miners' Strike," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973; and "How *The Battle of Chile* Disarms the Workers," *WV* No. 202, 21 April 1978.)

In Nicaragua today, Ortega has denounced the strikers as having "no class consciousness" for struggling to feed and clothe their children while the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie receives subsidies and the Sandinista comandantes shop at Managua's "dollar stores." The workers have sacrificed plenty, but where's the social revolution? The workers' demands are a legitimate defense against the FSLN's economic "reforms" which are aimed at securing *capitalist* property relations. The right-wing opposition, which seeks untrammeled capitalist exploitation, has seized upon the strikes as a club against the Sandinistas. A genuine communist leadership would seek to take control of the struggle away from the reformist traitors who are leading the workers into the arms of Reagan's contras.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party would fight for workers control of the factories, for *expropriation* of the bourgeoisie, for a workers and peasants government—and oppose the sellout of the revolution in the phony "peace" talks with the contras. It would fight to *defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!*

Located in an area considered by the Yankee imperialists to be their "backyard," Sandinista Nicaragua has been battered by an unrelenting onslaught from the colossus to the north, combining bloody contra terror and economic strangulation. Reagan wouldn't leave them alone yet Washington feared to send the 82nd Airborne into another Third World military adventure. So the Nicaraguan Revolution has been stuck in midstream—it is now becoming unstuck. As decisive days approach in Managua, the experience of the Russian October Revolution becomes all the more vital. In September 1917, following the defeat of Kornilov's attempted counterrevolutionary putsch and as economic collapse threatened, Lenin wrote his famous pamphlet, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*:

> "Control, supervision and accounting are the prime requisites for combating catastrophe and famine. This is indisputable and universally recognised. And it is just what *is not being done* from fear of encroaching on the supremacy of the landowners and capitalists....
>
> "In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, i.e., which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Russia, with the help of the 'authorised bodies' of supposedly revolutionary democracy, it is the landowners and capitalists who are still recognised to be, and still are, the controllers. The inevitable result is the capitalist robbery that arouses universal indignation among the people, and the economic chaos that is being artificially kept up by the capitalists. We must resolutely and irrevocably, not fearing to break with the old, not fearing boldly to build the new, pass to control *over* the landowners and capitalists *by* the workers and peasants."

How this was to be done was spelled out in an article he wrote that same day, which concludes: "Power to the Soviets means the complete transfer of the country's administration and economic control into the hands of the workers and peasants, to whom *nobody* would dare offer resistance and who, through practice, through their own experience, *would soon learn* how to distribute the land, products and grain properly" ("One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution," September 1917). That step was taken with the October Revolution, whose program remains today the guiding light for proletarian revolution throughout the world. ■

# Abortion Rights...

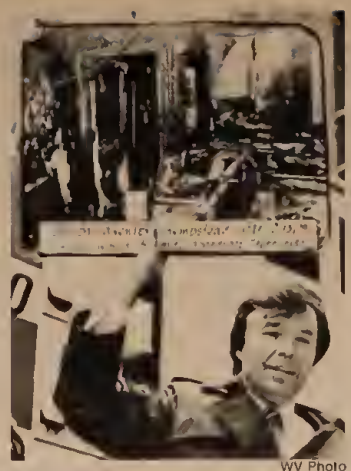
*(continued from page 12)*

the cops were following the lead they got straight from the White House. What's needed to keep the clinics open is a massive mobilization of labor, together with women and minorities, to run these bible-thumping bigots out of town.

Death is written all over the "right to life" crusaders. They seek to drive working-class and poor women back to the rusty coat hangers and back alleys. In December 1986, a bomb so powerful it would have blown away the Margaret Sanger clinic in midtown Manhattan was defused at the last moment. While the fundamentalist fanatics look to Reagan, the liberal feminist groups are bound up with the Democratic Party. But it was Jimmy Carter who passed the Hyde Amendment that wiped out abortions for poor women.

The attack on abortion rights is the spearhead of the Reaganites' all-sided onslaught against democratic rights, from the Supreme Court bigots in their black robes with their anti-"sodomy" laws, to the racist terrorists in blue uniforms or white sheets. Spartacist placards at the April 29 march called for "Government Out of the Bedrooms!" "Down with All Laws Against Pornography, Sodomy, Drugs!" "Reagan/Democrats Target Gays, Immigrants, Blacks—Down with the AIDS Witchhunt," and "For the Separation of Church and State." Warning of the terrible bloodbath now looming in Afghanistan, a sign read, "Afghan Women Fight for Their Lives Against CIA-Backed Mullah Reaction!"

The "Pro-Choice" activists and city councilmen are calling for stepped-up police protection for the clinics. That the rampaging racists of the NYPD will not protect women was shown by their aid to the clinic blockaders—just the week before, the cops shot two Hispanic women in Upper Manhattan!



WV Photo

**Bill Baird addresses April 29 rally with photo of 1979 firebomb attack by "right to life" terrorists on his Hempstead, Long Island clinic.**

Long Island clinic owner and courageous longtime abortion rights activist Bill Baird recalled what happened in December 1985 when "right to life" bigots led by Nassau County D.A. Dennis Dillon and Bishop McCann massed outside his clinic. After a bomb threat was reported, cops with police dogs walked in on his patients, terrorizing women in the recovery rooms. Yet Baird is calling for federal marshals to escort women into the clinics!

Baird makes the analogy to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, claiming that "When blacks were deprived of their constitutional and civil rights to enter school buildings, the United States government recognized their responsibility and escorted...people inside these buildings." Actually, FBI agents rode along while KKK killers gunned down Viola Liuzzo, and KKK church-bombers who killed four little black girls in Birmingham were aided by FBI "informants." And to call today on Ed Meese—the sworn enemy of blacks, women, labor—to protect the clinics is grotesque. As the Spartacist contingent at the demonstration chanted, "Down with Reagan! Down with Meese! Down with government sex police!"

At a press briefing at Planned Parenthood April 26, clinic operators announced that they have been checking to make sure that "we have whatever materials and tools would be necessary to thwart attempts to blockade our doors and windows." "Project Defend" has been training escorts in "non-confrontational tactics" to guide clinic patients through the mobs. "Refuse and Resist" is calling to "UnWelcome 'Operation Rescue' at Their Hotels!" All of this misses the point: what's needed is to bring out real social power capable of driving out the bigots and backing down the state.

Labor must be mobilized to defend abortion rights. During the Reagan years, the Spartacist League has become known for our fight to mobilize the muscle of the workers movement to champion the cause of blacks, women and all the oppressed against this murderous capitalist reaction. Labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to stop racist terror are urgently needed in Reagan's America and Koch's New York. As the Spartacist banner at the April 29 demonstration proclaimed: "For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■

# NYPD...

*(continued from page 12)*

in El Barrio, so now she is dead.

Just after noon that same day, four plainclothes cops (with ten more outside in uniform) stormed an apartment in the Inwood section of Manhattan. They said they had a tip they would find two kilos of cocaine inside. What they found was Mercedes Pérez, 22 years old and pregnant. After she fled terrified into her bedroom, the cops said she reached for her gun. Five shots were fired and police sergeant John McCormick died. Mercedes was shot twice in the stomach and arm. She gave birth by Caesarean section while being treated at the hospital for her wounds. The police immediately labeled Pérez a "cop killer" and screamed for blood.

Koch's black police commissioner Benjamin Ward raved, "She shot a cop. She should be taken out and executed. Kill them all and let God sort them out." And those were *orders*. The mayor called for the death penalty. Not until almost 24 hours later was it announced that the cop was killed by a bullet from a .38 calibre Smith & Wesson police pistol. But when it turned out the cop-killer was a cop, Koch demanded Mercedes Pérez be charged with murder anyway, under a law which states that if a killing takes place during a criminal act, the criminal can be charged with murder. Just what was that criminal act, exactly? Going for a gun after strange men break down the door? As for drugs, no "controlled substances" were found in the apartment.

No matter to the arrogant racist pig Koch who as the enforcer of capitalist "law and order" proclaims his "right" to kill—he wants his cops to pull the trigger and his courts to pull the switch. Koch and Ward have had their problems lately after the mayor's virulently racist outbursts against Jesse Jackson made life uncomfortable for the black police commissioner (who says his wife is a Jackson supporter). So now they patch things up by gunning people down. Mercedes Pérez, Juan Rodriguez, Eleanor Bumpurs—the list of black and Hispanic New Yorkers gunned down in their homes by the police goes on. And the shooting of Lydia Ferraro chillingly recalls last year's killing of black Muslim street vendor Nicolas Bartlett, surrounded by cops and shot down on the busiest street in Harlem. This racist NYPD murder rampage must be stopped!

"Twenty years after" the '68 ghetto riots, professors and pundits solemnly declare what everybody knows—that racist cop terror still stalks black America. And the green light comes straight from the top. In Britain, "Iron Lady" Maggie Thatcher gets re-elected by running a dirty little war in the Falkland/Malvinas islands. "Rambo" Reagan props up his polls by invading the tiny black island of Grenada. Now Ed Koch wants to get a fifth term by unleashing a racist war against the black and Latin population of New York. He figures he can neutralize the black politicians by calling it a "war on drugs."

Across the country, speedup on death row, cop executions on the streets: blacks and Latins in America are under siege. That siege is carried out by the black overseers of the inner cities like Ben Ward. And Jesse Jackson longs to be Washington's drug czar, carrying out Nancy Reagan's witchhunt and channeling black anger to the voting booth to pull the lever for the racist Democratic Party. Desperately needed is a revolutionary workers party which champions the struggles of the oppressed populations, mobilizing the power of the workers movement in a struggle for socialist revolution—the only road to black emancipation. ■

# Madison...

*(continued from page 4)*

black Democrat Jesse Jackson who has made whistle stops at black student protests, like last fall's building takeover in Ann Arbor, *to defuse them*. From busing for school desegregation to self-defense against racist attacks, to repealing the death penalty, Jackson has deep-sixed or opposed every effort at black struggle. Jackson tells black students: "You cannot serve the age of those that sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses..." But you can vote Democrat—and as Malcolm X said: A vote for the Democrats is a vote for the Dixiecrats.

The rising tide of racist attacks against blacks, Hispanics, gays and Jews on campuses across the country is a direct result of government policy of a Klan-endorsed President and the contra Congress. Democrats and Republicans alike carry out war against labor and blacks in this country as the domestic counterpart to their anti-Soviet war drive. The sanctimonious drug witchhunt by the ruling class which runs the contras who run the world drug trade has turned the already miserable ghettos and barrios of this country into "occupied territories" held by the racist cops. The twin parties of capital have launched an all-out assault on union rights and every social gain won since the Civil War and civil rights movement. How is this reflected on the campuses? Sections of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie who've been force-fed "Rambomania" lash out against minorities on the "home front"—as scapegoats for the rot of American capitalism which threatens their own economic position.

The source of racist attacks is the system that keeps black people permanently segregated at the bottom of the economy and exploits all the working people through wage slavery. The Spartacus Youth Club fights to link students to the power of the integrated, organized working class, to build a multiracial vanguard party to fight for a workers government that will open the road to black freedom. *Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## NYC Abortion Clinics Under Siege

# Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!

Fanatical Moral Majority bigots have invaded New York City, "the abortion capital of the eastern United States," in a weeklong campaign to blockade the clinics and intimidate, harass and terrorize women. Having failed to make abortion illegal and with Reagan on the way out, "Operation Rescue" reflects the increasing desperation of the religious ultraright. In response, on Friday, April 29, a demonstration of 1,000 people to "Defend Women's Right to Abortion" and "Stop Terrorist Attacks!" marched down Fifth Avenue from St. Patrick's Cathedral (pulpit of the anti-abortion bully Cardinal O'Connor) to the "Right to Life" office. A Spartacist contingent, the largest and most dynamic in the march, attracted support with signs saying "Labor Must Defend Abortion Clinics" and chants of "Defend the Clinics, Take a Stand, Free Abortion on Demand!"

But on the first two days of their campaign, 500-600 of these fundamentalist bigots have succeeded in closing down two abortion facilities, in Manhattan and Queens, a defeat for defenders of women's rights. On Monday, May 2, the bigots massed in front of the office of Dr. Herbert Schwarz, a private practitioner on the Upper East Side. On Tuesday, the Queens Women's Medical Office in Elmhurst was shut down, as hundreds of anti-abortion fanatics were permitted to sit in, blockading the entrance, while the tiny group of abortion rights activists was sealed off by the cops behind police barricades. The reactionaries have been aided and abetted by the NYC police, who removed handfuls of pro-abortion demonstrators defending the clinic doorways and installed the blockaders in their place. Unlike the cops' normal M.O., the anti-abortionists are gently carried out on stretchers one by one in an operation calculated to ensure the clinics remain blockaded for hours.

While spokesmen for the Pro-Choice Coalition complained that the police were not respecting a court injunction,

*continued on page 11*

WV Photo

**Spartacist League contingent in April 29 protest against attacks on abortion clinics.**

# Racist NYPD Guns Down Women

## Koch, Ward Whip Up Killer Cops

They really are Koch's killer cops. The New York police are a murder machine that takes its orders from City Hall.

Month after month Ed Koch has been whipping up a racist frenzy that gets expressed in deadly attacks on minorities from Howard Beach to Bensonhurst. The mayor's latest tirades against Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign were an incitement to racist terror in this city on edge. So in short order, on Wednesday, April 27 the New York police shot down two Hispanic women. Lydia Ferraro died in a hail of bullets, trapped in her car surrounded by cops. Mercedes Pérez was shot twice in her own home by a squad of narcs, forcing her to give birth to a baby two months prematurely. She now faces the prospect of life in jail, or if Koch had his way, the state would kill her, finishing the job the killer cops began.

It was 1:40 a.m. in El Barrio (Spanish Harlem) when the cops said Lydia Ferraro ran a red light. The cops got on the radio, and within moments *nine squad cars—18 cops*—were chasing her through the streets. They hemmed her in near the Metro-North railroad overpass at 124th and Park and encircled the car. "Watch out, she's reaching for it," one cop said, and they pumped 13 bullets into the car. A witness told the *Daily News* (30 April) he saw the cops handcuff Ferraro as she lay bleeding in the car and "dragged her out a door until her body slammed on the ground":

> "'I saw the woman drive around the block with the cops behind her. She looked terrified. She was riding around on three flat tires (shot out by cops).
> "'They pulled the car over.... One cop shot. Boom. She panicked. It looked like she tried to lay down. Then she sat up. Everybody started shooting. One cop stood on the hood of a patrol car and fired twice through her windshield.' 'The man said cops threw open the car doors and handcuffed Ferraro. 'One cop yelled, "Drag that bitch out of the car." Another cop looked under the seat and said, "No gun"'"

It was a cop execution on the streets of New York. After the killing comes the lies. There were "questions"—like "what Mrs. Ferraro was doing in East Harlem between 1 and 2 a.m." For the cops, the only reason a light-skinned woman could be in Harlem at night was to buy drugs. But there were no drugs in the car, either. Her husband said she was visiting friends, whom she saw frequently. Lydia Ferraro, 32, born in Venezuela, lived with her husband and 11-year-old daughter in New Jersey. She had friends

*continued on page 11*

Florescu/Newsday

Newsday

**Lydia Ferraro was executed in her car by NYPD for running a red light in East Harlem.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 453 | 20 May 1988


# U.S. "Drug War": License for Global Terror

In the name of waging "war on drugs," the Democratic Congress and Republican White House are declaring war on the world, including the American people.

In early May the House approved a measure, with only 23 votes opposed, which would allow the Secretary of Defense to "seal off" U.S. borders and permit the military to engage in "hot pursuit" and arrest of suspects *inside American territory*. Then, on May 13, the Senate voted overwhelmingly to authorize the president to deploy the military "to detect, locate, pursue, search and seize" vessels and aircraft in international waters and airspace and to urge governors to mobilize the National Guard for domestic drug patrols.

The Democrats posed as devotees of constitutional government over Ollie North and the "cabal" running out of the White House basement. But here is Congress trying to bolster its "tough on drugs" image for the '88 elections by legislating military police powers at home and blatant piracy and kidnapping abroad. What's next—MP roadblocks on the streets? Boarding Soviet freighters on the high seas to search for joints?

America's rulers are out to reassert, literally, their supposed right to be "cops of the world." In the wake of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese peasants and workers, Washington sought to bury the "Vietnam syndrome" through military buildup and bluster. Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade culminated in his declaration of Cold War II over Afghanistan. Reagan used his "war on terrorism" line to invade Lebanon and Grenada, to bomb Tripoli and to set the Sixth Fleet adrift in the Persian Gulf.

Now it's the "war on drugs," particularly intended at re-establishing American "manifest destiny" over Latin America. So where Carter's national security adviser Brzezinski made a pilgrimage to the Khyber Pass to pose with a Soviet AK-47, the world's most reliable assault rifle, Reagan's top cop Ed Meese (facing multiple indictments at home) went to the Bolivian jungle decked out in safari suit and DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) cap to inspect a WW II-surplus bolt-action rifle.

The "war on drugs" already meant a small-scale invasion of Bolivia in 1986, which was met by a massive popular outcry and general strike against U.S. troops and IMF austerity policies. A year later, when thousands of U.S. National Guardsmen were sent to

*continued on page 10*

## CIA Is World's Biggest Drug-Runner

U.S. top cop Edwin Meese unleashes narcs on Bolivian peasants. AP/Wide World

## What Do Nancy, Hitler and the Tsarina Have in Common?

# Reagan's Star Wars

Is this the Age of Aquarius after all? Reagan's Jupiter may align with Mars if the moon's in the seventh house, but it sure isn't love that's steering the stars in the White House these days. Salvos of devastating revelations have already been fired by ex-courtiers, scribbling their memoirs while scrambling to avoid indictments: David Stockman told how they always knew "supply-side economics" was a scam designed to enrich the rich; Michael Deaver said Reagan had to be kept on his feet to stay alert, lest he doze off into total *non compos mentis* in the midst of press conferences; Larry Speakes revealed that he made up whole presidential quotes without bothering to have the First Actor read them off cue cards. Now embittered ex-chamberlain Donald T. Regan's *For the Record* has dropped the latest bombshell on the White House:

> "Virtually every major move or decision the Reagans made during my time as White House chief of staff was cleared in advance with a woman in San Francisco who drew up horoscopes to make certain that the planets were in a favorable alignment for the enterprise."

The astrologer's influence included casting star charts to determine when Reagan should sign agreements with Gorbachev. She even set the timing of the upcoming Moscow summit! According to Don Regan, her warnings of "bad days" for public activity were what made the president clam up for months after the first Iran/Contragate revelations hit the news.

"At least this astrologer isn't as kooky as the last one," Deaver explained to Regan when he took over trying to schedule presidential activities in line with the planets. But it wasn't easy for the poor astrologer, either. Nancy Reagan testily complained to Don Regan about revisions in the president's schedule, "I wish you'd make up your mind. It's costing me a lot of money, calling up my Friend with all these changes." As somebody wrote the *New York Times*, the whole thing is giving astrology a bad name.

Revelations that America's imperial first family are a couple of zanies, vicious and vindictive stargazers, suckers for any free-floating superstitions around, have made the already deeply discredited Reagan presidency a laughingstock around the world. The day after the "zodiac factor" hit the news, Reagan made a speech in Chicago mentioning space invaders, saying: "I've often

*continued on page 10*

First Lady of Horrorscope. Der Spiegel

# BT Protests Too Much

*We print below excerpts of a letter by the "Bolshevik Tendency" (ex-External Tendency) in response to our article, "BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" (see* WV *No. 449, 25 March).*

Toronto, Canada
8 April 1988

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Comrades:

No one reading your piece would have any idea that what you are polemicizing against is our decision to adopt the slogan "Military Victory to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan" in place of "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan." Your polemic is deliberately intended to convey the impression that we are changing sides in Afghan conflict—rather than changing the formulation expressing our military support to the Soviets and their allies.

As cde. Riley pointed out, "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state" because doing so obscures the treacherous and anti-revolutionary character of Stalinism. The intervention of the Soviet army in Afghanistan was historically progressive inasmuch as it contributed to the defense of the USSR. It also represented a possibility of significant social progress for the Afghan masses—particularly women. Trotskyists are not indifferent to this. The reason that it was a mistake to "hail" Brezhnev's army in Afghanistan—while at the same time necessary to defend it militarily—is because it possessed at every moment the capacity to betray the Afghan women, workers and leftists who placed their faith in it.

You rhetorically ask whether the Soviet army's struggle against the Nazis was "just 'Stalinist treachery'." Perhaps you think that the Trotskyists should have been "hailing" the Stalinist apparatus in that struggle as well?... Far from "hailing" the Stalinist military apparatus, as you propose, Trotsky advocated combining military defense of the property forms with preparations for the political revolution *against* the bureaucracy. This is how Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union.

Fraternally,
Cathy Nason
for the Bolshevik Tendency

*WV replies:* So you say you're for "Military Victory to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan." You're even "not indifferent" to the fact that the Soviet Army intervention meant social progress to Afghan women—like literacy and removing the veil. How very big of you, especially since for the last six years you've remained conspicuously close-mouthed on Afghanistan. But what does it mean to call for "military victory" now, precisely when Gorbachev & Co. are pulling the Soviet troops out? It's an empty statement to try to cover the fact that you're openly renouncing the Spartacist slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

We always said if the BT/ET were honest, they'd admit they hated that forthright stand, which was reviled in the rad-lib milieu caught up in Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, the "moral rearmament" phase of the post-Vietnam anti-Soviet war drive. So now the BT has finally come out with it, but they're still trying to weasel. As we pointed out in *WV* 449, they're paying the admission price to crawl into the all-Canada popular front: no "soft-on-Russia" pinkos allowed.

But the BT's letter does have the virtue of putting it baldly. "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state," they say, "because doing so obscures the treacherous and anti-revolutionary character of Stalinism." And they wonder why we say their real position is Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through! What is this "Stalinist state" (shades of Shachtman!)? This completely wipes out the fundamental Trotskyist understanding of the dual character of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which seeks to conciliate imperialism while resting on (and at times forced to defend) the proletarian property forms which issued from the October Revolution. Their statement wipes out the whole basis for Soviet defensism, which is the foundation of the Trotskyist call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinists.

The bottom line is, *it isn't their state!* The Soviet Union belongs to all the workers of the world. The Stalinists' nationalism undermines the USSR, internationalist in its very foundations; their attempts to seal deals with imperialism (like over Afghanistan) jeopardize its defense. As Trotsky wrote in 1932, "We accept the workers' state as it is and we assert, 'This is our state.' Despite its heritage of backwardness, despite starvation and sluggishness, despite the bureaucratic mistakes and even abominations, the workers of the entire world must defend tooth and nail their future socialist fatherland which this state represents."

This passage was quoted in July 1941 by *Czervony Sztandar* (Red Flag), the paper of the Trotskyists in the Warsaw Ghetto, in a statement on Hitler's invasion of the USSR. "The first workers state is fighting for its existence," they wrote. "The war of the Soviet Union against Hitler is the war of the international proletariat; it is our war." No sir, BT, you won't even hail the Red Army's fight to smash Nazi barbarism. But the Trotskyists of the Warsaw Ghetto did. They end their declaration proclaiming: "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Russian Revolution! Long live the international revolution!"

Our readers might also take a look at the front page of the American Trotskyists' *Young Spartacus* (November 1932) on the anniversary of the October Revolution, headlined "Hail Red Russia!" ■

CLARITY! ACTION!
YOUNG SPARTACUS
WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
SCOTTSBORO BIG VICTORY
Hail Red Russia!
Workers Celebrate Fifteenth Anniversary of Soviet Rule

**November 1932 issue of American Trotskyist youth paper on fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.**

## The End of Empires

TROTSKY

LENIN

*It is a far cry from the secular humanism of the bourgeois-revolutionary Enlightenment which inspired the first leaders of the early American republic to the cynicism and mysticism of the gang lodged in the White House in the twilight years of the American empire. The decadence and decline of the Russian autocracy, swept away by the revolutions of 1917, was similarly mirrored in the personal qualities of the last autocrat, Tsar Nicholas II. In his* History of the Russian Revolution, *Leon Trotsky observed as a general historical rule that social orders which have outlived their reason for existence reflect this irrationality in the individuals chosen to lead them.*

Historians and biographers of the psychological tendency not infrequently seek and find something purely personal and accidental where great historical forces are refracted through a personality. This is the same fault of vision as that of the courtiers who considered the last Russian tzar born "unlucky." He himself believed that he was born under an unlucky star. In reality his ill-luck flowed from the contradictions between those old aims which he inherited from his ancestors and the new historic conditions in which he was placed. When the ancients said that Jupiter first makes mad those whom he wishes to destroy, they summed up in superstitious form a profound historic observation. In the saying of Goethe about reason becoming nonsense—*"Vernunft wird Unsinn"*—this same thought is expressed about the impersonal Jupiter of the historical dialectic, which withdraws "reason" from historic institutions that have outlived themselves and condemns their defenders to failure....

Even the most despotic of autocrats is but little similar to a "free" individuality laying its arbitrary imprint upon events. He is always the crowned agent of the privileged classes which are forming society in their own image. When these classes have not yet fulfilled their mission, then the monarchy is strong and self-confident.... It is quite otherwise when the sun of the old society is finally declining to the west. The privileged classes are now changed from organizers of the national life into a parasitic growth; having lost their guiding function, they lose the consciousness of their mission and all confidence in their powers.

—Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 453** **20 May 1988**



## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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## Solidarność Revival Fizzles

# What's Behind Polish Strikes

AP/Wide World

**Strike at Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, birthplace of Solidarność, collapsed within a week.**

Massive price hikes ordered by the Polish government in everything from food to rent sparked the strike wave. Transport workers wildcatted, steel and munitions workers shut down their plants demanding catch-up wage increases. The leaders of Solidarność rushed to place themselves at the head of this spontaneous strike wave. "I can mobilize the whole country," bragged Lech Walesa on May 4 as he once again led a strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarność. A week later Walesa led a few hundred dispirited followers out of the shipyard gates as the recent strike wave in Poland collapsed. That night he and his wife Danuta attended Catholic mass. Afterward Walesa proclaimed to reporters, "There is no freedom without Solidarity." His wife, visibly bitter, said, "There is no Solidarity."

For a few weeks everyone in Poland and in the world was asking: would it happen again? Would Solidarność again challenge the Warsaw regime on behalf of open anti-Communist clerical-nationalism? As in 1980 the current strike wave was triggered by an austerity program dictated to Poland by Western bankers. The *New York Times* (28 April) noted, "the Government is seeking to demonstrate to international lenders, such as the International Monetary Fund, from whom it seeks fresh credit, that it means business in cleaning up the economy." Since February the price of food has jumped 40 percent, public transport by 70 percent, heating by 100 percent and rents by 200 percent. Everyone expected trouble, and in late April trouble came.

It began with a wildcat strike of transport workers in the northern city of Bydgoszcz. This ended almost immediately when the regime came up with a 60 percent wage increase. The next day the largest industrial enterprise in the country, the Lenin Steel Works at Nowa Huta near Krakow, was shut down and right after that another big metalworking and arms-producing complex in Stalowa Wola. The Nowa Huta strikers were not only demanding a 50 percent wage hike for themselves but big pay raises for all state employees in Poland.

While the main thrust of the steel strikes was more money, they also had a political edge. The Nowa Huta strike committee demanded the reinstatement of Solidarność activists fired years before, while Stalowa Wola's demanded the legalization of Solidarność. The latter strike was settled in a few days for a hefty wage hike, but the Nowa Huta strike continued. Then on May 2 strikers occupied the Gdansk shipyards. Now Walesa was once more on the forefront of the Polish stage. Here the demand to re-establish Solidarność was first and foremost, wage concerns were secondary.

Solidarność' masters and paymasters in Washington (this "free trade union" has received millions from the CIA, and the U.S. Congress last year openly voted $1 million for it) and the Vatican immediately launched a campaign on its behalf. U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman lectured the Jaruzelski regime: "The current strikes in Poland demonstrate more clearly than ever that successful economic reform and recovery require genuine dialogue between the government and society" (*Washington Post*, 3 May). By "society" the Reagan gang means Walesa & Co. On his way to visit Paraguayan dictator Stroessner, Pope John Paul Wojtyla (originally of Krakow) declared that the Solidarność leaders "deserve unconditional support and encouragement."

This time the best efforts of President and Pope to subvert Poland fell flat. On May 5 a police raid broke the Nowa Huta strike, while police cordoned off the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Immediately the mass of strikers went home, leaving Walesa with about 500 raw youth. From Warsaw the Solidarność leadership appealed to workers throughout Poland for "actions of solidarity" on behalf of Walesa and his holdouts. But Polish workers did not answer this appeal. History did not repeat itself.

[London] Guardian

**Flanked by cross, Solidarność leader Walesa (second from left) leads small band out of Gdansk shipyard in defeat, May 10.**

### The Rise and Fall of Solidarność

During the 1970s the Stalinist regime of Eduard Gierek, grossly corrupt and incompetent, mortgaged Poland to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. When in 1980 the Western bankers turned the screws, the Warsaw government cut living standards by sharply raising prices, thus setting off a strike wave which gave rise to Solidarność. The legitimate grievances of Polish workers against the economically and politically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy were channeled into a clerical-nationalist movement tied to the apron strings of Washington and the Vatican.

At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program of "Western-style democracy" with Walesa praising Japan and the United States as economic and political models for Poland. At that point the international Spartacist tendency, almost unique on the left, raised the cry: Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution! Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarność' bid for power was spiked at the last minute by the (near-bloodless) counter-coup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski in December 1981.

Since then the Solidarność leaders have been completely unashamed in their support to "free world" capitalism and anti-Soviet militarism. They have denounced the social-democratic "peace" movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. In 1985 the Solidarność Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) adopted a program calling for a thoroughgoing market economy in Poland complete with private ownership in industry and a stock market to boot. Even some of its ardent supporters in the Western left conceded that Solidarność now had a pro-capitalist program (see "Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland," *WV* No. 406, 20 June 1986).

At the same time, Solidarność was becoming moribund within Poland, reduced to small groups of intellectuals with clandestine printing presses. Last year the conservative London *Economist* (25 April 1987) reported: "Working-class support for Solidarity has dwindled rapidly, as polls conducted even by pro-Solidarity sociologists show." And Jacek Kuron, a leading intellectual figure in the movement, admitted, "Even the strongest optimists acknowledge that the influence of Solidarity activists on the silent majority of society has been radically diminished." Moreover, the Solidarność leadership disintegrated into competing factions and cliques.

Solidarność' godfathers in Washington and the Vatican were naturally distraught over the sorry state of the organization and made some effort to revive it. Last June John Paul Wojtyla visited Poland and prayed for "the special great heritage of Polish Solidarity." A few months later Reagan's man, former CIA chief George Bush, made his pitch. On a pilgrimage to a Warsaw church along with Mr. Solidarność,

*continued on page 9*


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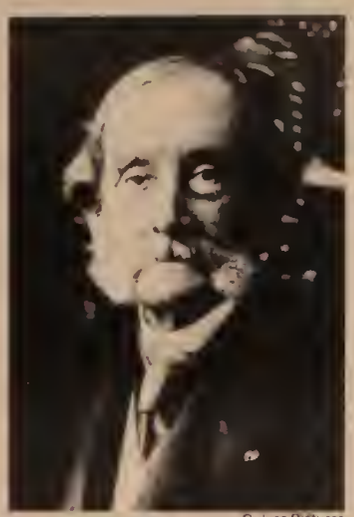
Young Spartacus

# Confederate Soldiers in Harvard Yard?

## All Honor to the Union Dead—Finish the Civil War!

Women and Revolution



Culver Pictures

**Harvard graduates who led black Union soldiers in Civil War: monument to Robert Gould Shaw, commander of 54th Massachusetts; Thomas Wentworth Higginson (right), leader of 1st South Carolina Volunteers.**

Under the dark arches of Memorial Hall, one can barely see the marble tablets where the names of Harvard's Union dead are carved. Yet the controversy sparked by a group of professors and alumni who propose to honor Harvard's Confederate soldiers illuminates the unfinished business of the Civil War in racist America. The campaign to commemorate yesterday's fighters for white supremacy is a cover and encouragement for today's racists who are violently lashing out against black students and other minorities on campuses across the country—especially the smug, effete institutions like Harvard. In 1986 Harvard hoisted the Confederate flag over the Yard to flaunt 350 years of race and class privilege. This flag, which rallied those slaveholding sons of Harvard to keep blacks in chains, is raised today as the banner of Klan lynch mobs in Forsyth County and race-haters in Howard Beach and Boston.

Memorial Hall was built specifically to honor Harvard students who fought in the Union Army against the slavocracy. Now Harvard Rev. Peter Gomes "justifies" a memorial to Confederate soldiers by pointing out that even German World War I and World War II veterans are commemorated in Memorial Church. This is a false equation. International working-class fighters rallied behind and joined the Union Army in a tremendous social struggle which, through blood and iron, purged this land of chattel slavery. In contrast, in the interimperialist conflicts of World Wars I and II the workers' interest was to struggle against their own rapacious bourgeoisies. As the German Marxist Karl Liebknecht said, "*The main enemy is at home.*"

In World War II, the class interest of workers of all nationalities was to defend the Soviet Union, homeland of the 1917 October Revolution, and it was the Soviet Red Army which crushed Nazi Germany. The American ruling class tried to sucker working people into supporting the bosses' aims with talk of waging "war against fascism." Harvard itself had more than a few ties to the Third Reich. Ernst "Putzi" Hanfstaengl ('09) turned a Harvard fight song into a Nazi march that Hitler's brownshirts played on the day they took power in Germany ("rah, rah, rah" was changed to "Sieg Heil"). And just as Reagan laid a wreath in homage to the kill-crazy sadists of Hitler's SS at Bitburg, Harvard now proposes to praise black chattel slavery by honoring those who fought to perpetuate it. As the premier think tank for U.S. imperialism, Harvard is a Valhalla of counterrevolutionary terror.

As communists who fight to *finish the Civil War*, to end the systematic oppression of black people under capitalism, we will fight any move to enshrine, glorify, or apologize for the racist Confederacy. Fighters for black freedom today honor the courageous Union soldiers—particularly the 200,000 black troops who, fighting for their own liberation and the destruction of the hideous slave system, turned the tide of the Civil War. Among the names inscribed in Memorial Hall is that of Robert Gould Shaw, a former Harvard student who became the commanding officer of the heroic black regiment, the Massachusetts 54th.

Another former Harvard student, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, dedicated his life to fighting every form of social injustice braintrusted by this priggish ruling-class institution. He led a charge of men with a battering ram and broke down the door of the Boston State House to free fugitive slave Anthony Burns. He was a close associate of John Brown, as well as a fighter for women's rights, an early opponent of U.S. imperialism, and the commanding officer of the black regiment, the First South Carolina Volunteers. Unlike his Confederate classmates, who Higginson noted were schooled in all the social graces but could neither read nor write, Higginson broke the "Harvard mold" and became a fighter for the oppressed. His actions should inspire opponents of the campaign to honor racist trash at Harvard today.

Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

## Racist Roundup Seizes Thousands of Black, Latino Youths

# LAPD—The Deadliest Gang in Blue

Pizac/AP

**Los Angeles—More than 8,000 minority youths have been victimized by the racist cops.**

LOS ANGELES—It was Easter weekend and the Los Angeles Coliseum was bathed in spotlights as hundreds gathered in its vast parking lots. This was no sporting event or concert, however, but one of the several command posts set up by an army of cops during their six-week-long invasion of South Central L.A. and other neighborhoods under the guise of "cracking down" on gang violence and drug dealing. A continuous stream of black and Hispanic youth in handcuffs are marshaled through a mobile booking unit to expedite processing the enormous number of arrests: a total of *1,500* in one weekend alone. The eerie scene conjures up images of Pinochet's Chile—and indeed, since the end of February minority sections of Los Angeles County have been under siege by the L.A. Police Department.

The LAPD's racist offensive was sparked by the senseless January 30 killing of Karen Toshima, who was caught in the crossfire during a rival gang shoot-out while shopping in Westwood, an upscale entertainment and dining community adjacent to UCLA. Responding to the mainly white citizenry's outrage that the gangs were invading their turf, the cops began a mobilization which targeted black youth entering the area. The obviously racist character of this police sweep prompted an off-duty Hawthorne Police Department officer to mount a "sting" operation exposing cop harassment of black youth. Sergeant Don Jackson took a group of black teens to Westwood where they were almost immediately stopped, interrogated, thrown up against the wall and frisked. Jackson himself was arrested on "suspicion of obstructing justice" for protesting this apartheid-style mass bust.

The black and Hispanic communities were irate over the racist double standard that a single killing in white Westwood garnered such attention

# Longshoremen Read WV, Stalinist Hacks Fume

# Glasnost on the Waterfront?

The Spartacist League's fight to forge a revolutionary workers party stands sharply counterposed to the reformist "left" tails on the Democratic Party donkey. Fnr the first time since 1964, when they went "all the way with LBJ," the Communist Party (CP) is not even running a token presidential campaign. On the West Coast, the CP has been stung by the strong sales of *Workers Vanguard* to International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) members in the Bay Area. When the SL flyer, excerpted below, was distributed at the SF union hall, it sent the CP's mouth on the waterfront, Archie Brown, into paroxysms of CIA-baiting.

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A few weeks ago, Communist Party supporters handed out a leaflet at the SF longshore paylines in which "Waterfront Friends of the Peoples Daily World" urged workers to support the CP paper, "Don't confuse the PDW with other so-called publications—who are part of the phony left," it rants. "We don't cause confusion and disruption." The opponent the CP won't name? *Workers Vanguard* (published by the Spartacist League), the only other paper sold regularly at the paylines. And the hearing *WV* has won on the waterfront as a class-struggle, Trotskyist paper has got the CP's goat.

*WV* tells the truth: Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party are *enemies* of workers and blacks. And *WV* is the only leftist paper around that openly fights for defense of the USSR against imperialism. On the other hand, the *PDW*, says their leaflet:

> "...welcomes Jessie [sic] Jackson's campaign as the biggest contribution in years in helping to build labor's independent political action [!!] and as a base for a united peoples front against monopoly capitalism.
> "Senators Helms and Gore attack Jessie Jackson from the 'right'.... They are joined by a phony left here on the waterfront and elsewhere who also attack Jesse Jackson." And: "The PDW... helps counteract the anti-Soviet propaganda whether they are lies from the right or the so-called left, who attack the Soviet Union from a radical position."

*Workers Vanguard* and the *People's Daily World* represent counterposed political programs and perspectives.

WV Photo

**Wide readership of Trotskyist press among Bay Area longshoremen makes CP Stalinists see red.**

*WV* says that the partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The working class needs its own revolutionary party to fight for its own interests and to struggle for state power. *WV* says that "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win" and that therefore it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions against the treacherous pro-capitalist labor misleaders who sell out workers' struggles and tie them to the Democratic Party.

The *PDW* supports Jackson—who opposes independent labor or black struggle—because they support the racist, strikebreaking, imperialist Democratic Party that Jackson fronts for as a "lesser evil" to the racist, strikebreaking, imperialist Republican Party. And [they] support "progressive" labor traitors like ILWU president James Herman, the godfather to SF's new "liberal" mayor Art Agnos who threatens thousands of city workers with layoffs and apologizes for racist killer cops. *PDW* and the CP say capitalism can be reformed by the hallot box. *WV* says, no way! The working people have to get rid of capitalism by revolutionary class struggle.

*PDW* is a "communist" newspaper that won't even come out and say that workers have to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks or capitalist restoration from within. They push "détente," the dangernus illusinn that the land of the 1917 workers revolution can rely on the good will of U.S. imperialism, who—Republicans and Democrats alike—have the aim of *smashing* the gains of the Russian Revolution and restoring capitalism to power. In contrast, *WV* opposes the *betrayal* of Afghanistan (and Soviet defense) by Gorbachev's impending pullout of the heroic Red Army.

No one has any trouble telling *PDW* apart from *Workers Vanguard*, which exposed Jesse Jackson's shameless pursuit of the arch-segregationist George Wallace or his outrageous statement to embattled black working people in Norfolk, VA struggling to defend busing that "I am not in town marching for desegregation; I am marching for the voter registration boost."

So why the sudden polemic? Jackson is popular, yet a lot of longshoremen are buying *WV* (an average of about 45 per issue from March '87 to March '88). To the CP, that's a crime against nature. But many waterfront workers deeply distrust the racist Democrats and some of them don't like the Reverend hustler from Chicago in particular. The CP really gets bent out of shape when we stand our ground and argue—and time after time, longshoremen buy our paper.

*continued on page 9*

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from the LAPD, along with rewards offered by the L.A. City Council, while hundreds of black and Hispanic youths have died in gang turf fights and feuds over the past year. But outrageously, on February 16, the middle-class-led South Central Organizing Committee and the United Neighborhoods Organization called on police chief Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates to bring his killer cops and "war on gangs" to black and Hispanic L.A. And they didn't have long to wait. Given a green light by the so-called neighborhood leadership and a city council which had even debated petitioning the governor to send in the National Guard, Gates simply waited for the next incident. When gunfire erupted on a city bus between rival gang members, injuring four people, it was only a matter of hours before hundreds of cops descended on South Central L.A.

Over the next weeks, in what Chief Gates calls "Operation Hammer," more than 8,000 youths have been arrested, overwhelmingly black as well as Latino. Alexander Cockburn reports that "not a single white person has been picked up so far" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 May). On Easter weekend alone, an army of 1,000 cops swept through L.A. County. Anyone fitting the LAPD's definition of a gang member by wearing red or blue (the colors, respectively, of the Bloods and the Crips, two of the biggest black gangs), low-slung pants, plain white T-shirts, a baseball cap sideways, or making certain gestures—in short, practically any black or Hispanic teenager—became a target for the self-described "Fly the Flag" Task Force.

The real aim of this campaign is to terrorize minorities in the city and further reinforce the bonapartist cops' control over the black and Latino populations. Gates became infamous when his cops killed 16 people, 12 of them black, using the murderous choke hold, and he "explained" this racist murder saying that blacks were not like "normal people." Now it's "shoot to kill" for this racist pig and his troops. On April 21, 71-year-old L.C. Hadnott became the latest victim, when he was shot and fatally wounded in his own kitchen when police in khakis and ski masks stormed his home. Hadnott's niece, who hid under the kitchen table, denied the police claims that the elderly black man was holding a shotgun. No drugs were found at the home.

Hetzel/Photoreporters

**LAPD chief "Choke Hold" Gates and his drug tank.**

The problems of gang warfare and the drug dealing which frequently sets it off are all too real in Los Angeles and in cities across the country. The film *Colors*, about the gang wars in L.A., has created a furor among police departments (who think the film is nothing more than a recruiting tool for the gangs) and such disparate groups as the Guardian Angels vigilante gang and the NAACP, which see the movie, with its depictions of the desperation of ghetto life, as "racist." But in many L.A. neighborhoods, few people venture from their homes after dusk and many won't even risk sitting on the porch on a hot summer night for fear of the gangs run wild.

But the largest, most well-armed and deadliest gang in blue remains the LAPD. In his drive for bonapartist police power, Chief Gates has long sought to terrorize minority neighborhoods. His last ploy was the drug tank, a six-ton armored vehicle with a 14-foot steel battering ram, which in 1985 smashed through the front room wall of a house in Pacoima, nearly killing two women and three children. And Gates' boss, L.A. mayor (former top cop) Bradley, relies on the cops to keep the ghettos and barrios under control. From Philly mayor Wilson Goode to Atlanta's Andrew Young, the black Democratic Party mayors are overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation.

Now black Democratic presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson is going around the country preaching his "hope, not dope" moral uplift message which blames black youth for the racist oppression of the ghetto. Visiting Los Angeles last week, Jackson spoke at Fremont High School where he exhorted black and Latino kids not to be "a crawling snake" but human beings! Meanwhile, the sinister Louis Farrakhan (who calls Hitler, the biggest racist murderer in history, a "great man") provides his "Fruit of Islam" squads as shock troop vigilantes for the Jackson/Reagan drug crusade to terrorize the ghetto.

It is the social and economic decay of capitalism which provides the backdrop to the proliferation of street gangs. As unemployment skyrockets among black and Hispanic youth—currently at *75 percent* in some Los Angeles minority neighborhoods—many teenagers, thrown on capitalism's scrap heap, see nothing to look forward to and nothing to lose. The answer to street violence bred of hopelessness and despair is not the jackboot of the police, but the ascendancy of an integrated workers party and the fight for a workers revolution to smash this racist system and provide a real future for America's youth. ■


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**LOS ANGELES**

# Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights

In the past month, New York City's "Clean Indoor Air Act" has outlawed smoking in practically every indoor area imaginable, and a total smoking ban on every domestic airline flight of two hours or less (including segments of longer flights) went into effect, courtesy of the feds. "This is going to be one of the best self-enforced laws in the country," crowed New York's hysteria-mongering mayor, Ed Koch. How grotesque—New York City currently leads the U.S. in carbon monoxide pollution and barely escaped a multimillion-dollar cutoff of federal monies last year by the notoriously lax Environmental Protection Agency...and they want to blame the smoker for the rotten air quality in the Big Apple! In keeping with the spirit of social totalitarianism, no sooner did the NYC ban become operative than commuter vigilantes beat up a smoker in a train station.

Then, on May 16, the Surgeon General of the United States issued a report declaring that smoking is an addiction. They're taking aim at cigarette vending machines, talking about licensing tobacco sellers. This is a move to enforce social conformity. Using the pretext of "secondary smoke" harming others, they're going to treat smokers as legal "addicts." Donald McDonald, Reagan's drug adviser, calls tobacco along with alcohol and marijuana "gateway drugs," the first step to heroin and crack. Who's next on their list? Junk food "junkies," chocolate "freaks," coffee drinkers ("caffeine addicts"), everyone who doesn't do the Jane Fonda Low Impact Workout—you name it, you're on it. Now the Supreme Court okays government snoops rifling your trash. How long before they tell you what to read and what to think?

They're trying to stamp out smoking with the jackboot of the state and the snarling zealotry of "live clean or die" puritans. During the debate over California's sweeping ban on smoking on *all* public transportation, which took effect in January, one Republican state senator aptly denounced "health fascists." A spokesman for the Bakery Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union, Ray Scannell (a nonsmoker), said:

> "This is Big Brother. This is Carrie Nation This is good old-fashioned prohibitionism run rampant. It's an attempt to dictate behavior, and Americans are not very good at having behavior dictated to them, especially by self-righteous moralists who have decided it's not good for you to smoke."
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 14 January

"This is it, Figby — throw out the cigarettes and come out with your hands up!"

Ken Alexander/Copley News

(As a matter of fact, during Prohibition nine states banned tobacco as well as booze.) There are powerful interests at work here. Behind Big Brother is Big Business, rubbing its hands in anticipation of a profitable speedup—particularly for the nation's 33 million office workers—backed by the U.S. Surgeon General, the Meese police and yuppie power prudes.

Our coverage of the anti-smoking crusade (see "Smokers Revolt Against 'Health Fascism'," *WV* No. 445, 29 January, and also "Anti-Smoking Witchhunt," *WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987) has sparked controversy among some of our readers, as the letters from S. Colman and Jerry M. illustrate. Our opposition to "smokeout" moralism certainly wasn't popular with the popular-front rad-lib crowd. *Frontline* (20 July 1987) gasped at our references to the "beansprout totalitarians of Santa Barbara and Berkeley." And the *Guardian* (20 January) presented the Spartacist League with a "Jesse Helms Memorial Tobacco Leaf" award for "coming out against laws that restrict areas where smoking is allowed. The Sparts blast the 'new generation of clean-living Yuppies...[who] are running point for a section of the ruling class which has decided it can improve its profit-and-loss figures by tightening up on the workforce, all in the name of "health".'"

### Profits Not Health

Today, volunteer "smokeout" cops are being mobilized around the country for an ideological crusade whose goal is not health but *wholesale regimentation of the workforce*, to increase productivity by any means possible. And these aren't Moral Majority backwoods bigots. You've got the '70s "Me Generation," '80s yuppies and quite a few liberal civil libertarians, who a few years ago were all for legalizing marijuana (we're for it), now in an unholy alliance with the Reagan administration to wipe out the "evil weed," tobacco. Nicotine is being added by the Surgeon General to the list of "addictive drugs." The head of the Federal Office on Smoking and Health said on CBS's *Face the Nation* that smoking should be given "the serious attention that we do for the illicit drugs such as heroin, cocaine, etc." And you know what they do about those.

Train crash, plane crash—forget about the antiquated signal systems, the overloaded air traffic control, they test the workers for drugs and alcohol, and the merest trace will get the bosses off the hook in the media...and out of liability suits. Random urine testing is a great way to cow the workforce, and throw in lie detectors to establish "proper employee morale." Now with the smoking bans, a third of the American population and almost half the industrial proletariat will be turned into "legal addicts." There is a strong class bias to the various anti-smoking laws and regulations—the private office retains its sanctity while those on the shopfloor or in the typing pool have to snuff their butts, or else. And in this racist society, no doubt cigarette bans will feed into discrimination against blacks and Latins, more of whom are smokers.

The bosses' concern is not for our health but for *their balance sheets*. Northwest Airlines, whose ads ballyhoo the great smokeout in the sky as a boon to passengers, is really concerned about "the cost of changing filters and cabin air outlets gummed up by tar and nicotine" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 23 March). The name of the game is "Increasing Productivity Through On-Site Smoking Control," the title of an April 1985 article in *Health Care Strategic Management*, which among other things claims that "approximately 92 nonsmokers can accomplish the same workload as 100 smokers." *Occupational Health and Safety* (July/August 1984) reports that "The American Lung Association puts a price tag of $25 billion annually on lost productivity, lost wages and absenteeism." *Military Medicine* (August 1986) says smokers take 50 percent more sick leave, need more medical care, "waste 6 percent of [their] working hours to the smoking ritual," require expensive ventilation and exact "a high price in employee morale."

Over and over, articles aimed at managers stress that by making workers quit smoking, anywhere from $300 to $1,000 per smoker per year can be added to the till. And, as a nice bonus, corporations get a made-to-order mechanism for all-out repression of the workforce. In true Big Brother fashion, USG Acoustical Products (a defendant in thousands of lawsuits brought by workers who got lung disease through working with asbestos and other fibers) has threatened to use urine tests to detect workers who smoke, *even at home!* Business has never been overly concerned with job-related health risks to workers, from the now notorious asbestos industry to the horrible mutilation of packing-house workers: it's "part of the job." But given a chance to control the private lives of the workforce, the ruling-class killers of tens of thousands of workers scream bloody murder about "liability" for "second-hand" smoke. *Profits*, not health, are the bottom line of the anti-smoking crusade.

The airlines, for instance, are gleefully jumping on the anti-smoking bandwagon. Clean air for the passengers was never their strongest point anyway, but if it seems worse lately that's not because your seatmates are lighting up more often. *WV* spoke to the flight attendants union and several FAA officials who confirmed that the airlines are typically using only part of their air conditioning capacity, in the interests of "fuel efficiency." A Boeing 747 has three air conditioning packs, a 737 has two, but frequently they run on

Guy Carawan

DPA

**Capitalist profit drive means coal miners dying of black lung, industrial pollution poisoning atmosphere.**

one: there are no FAA requirements for minimum ventilation standards. Extra air is routinely pumped to the cockpit to keep the pilot and copilot functioning efficiently and to cool the instruments: "I know that's been an issue for some time, why does the crew get ten times the air as the passengers, and so on," an FAA official told us. So instead of banning cigarettes, how about turning on all the air conditioning units with their filtering capacity?

It's completely within the power of modern technology to adequately ventilate airplanes, offices, wherever. Even in taxis—Jerry M.'s heartfelt point—where you have a really small enclosed space, it's easy enough to completely separate the driver from the passenger, like in the big London taxis, adding greatly to driver safety (as CB radios would also), privacy, and keeping smoke in the appropriate area. But proper ventilation isn't profitable. In new office and institutional construction, heating, ventilation and air conditioning (HVAC in the trade) is the second most expensive component in finishing a building; and since electrical wiring is pretty strictly regulated by codes, and insurance companies inspect closely (because of fire danger), HVAC is a prime target for cost-cutting. You get lousy air quality so the board of directors can breathe easy about their bonuses and stockholder dividends.

In fact, ventilation has been getting *worse*, not because of smokers but because corporate owners decided after the mid-'70s increase in oil prices to become more "energy efficient." Their solution was to cut down—in fact, almost *eliminate*—the intake of fresh air in the ventilation systems of newer construction. This has created the phenomenon of the "sick building," where all the chemicals, molds, viruses and bacteria are simply recirculated through the building, with the result that office workers get sick a lot. In addition to clogged filters, contaminated air ducts, etc., a five-year study of 240 buildings found more than a third had their air intakes completely sealed off (*New York Times*, 8 May). Another found fungi levels "comparable to that in a chicken coop or a swine confinement facility" (*Heating/Piping/Air Conditioning*, February 1986). More and more office workers are crammed into ever smaller workspaces in buildings with *no* windows and minimal outside air, and they blame smokers for fouling it up!

### The Medical Evidence

As Peter Berger, a Boston University sociologist, recently noted (*New York Times*, 24 April), the furor over "passive smoking" is "not because of the weight of the evidence but because of the ideological usefulness of the idea.... What people believe comes from placing faith in a certain authority. People say, 'The Surgeon General said so'." Surgeon General C. Everett Koop gets on TV in his gold-braided admiral's uniform, and everyone is supposed to believe it is true. Koop has won respect for his relatively (by Reagan standards) decent position on AIDS, but people forget that he was put in office as an anti-abortion crusader. And the data this spokesman for the Reagan administration has marshaled to back up his drive against smoking falls far short of proving anything.

Michael Ach

**Last smoke on the LIRR; NYC waitress posts smoking ban.**

AP

S. Colman queries our statement that medical evidence on the effects of "secondary smoke" is "inconclusive." So what is the "proof" cited by proponents of smoking bans? The 1986 U.S. Surgeon General's report on *The Health Consequences of Involuntary Smoking* makes three major assertions: 1) "Involuntary smoking is a cause of disease, including lung cancer, in healthy nonsmokers"; 2) "The children of parents who smoke, compared with the children of nonsmoking parents, have an increased frequency of respiratory infections..."; and 3) "Simple separation of smokers and nonsmokers within the same air space may reduce, but does not eliminate, exposure of nonsmokers to environmental tobacco smoke."

The Surgeon General's report cited 13 major studies, six of which he claims show some statistically significant correlation between "passive smoking" and lung disease, cancer in particular—and not a large correlation at that. Even taken at face value, you have to be wary of spurious correlations. As *Chest* (September 1985), a journal of thoracic medicine, pointed out, "associations may exist that have nothing to do with causation, such as the parallel decline in European birth rates and the stork population," or a recent international study which showed a higher correlation of lung cancer with beer drinking than with cigarettes. Moreover, the studies cited are scientifically highly suspect. Seeking an aura of scientific respectability, the Surgeon General's report even acknowledges many of the criticisms, admitting for example that two studies were "not designed to study the long-term effects of involuntary smoking," or that "the findings of this study were questioned because the diagnosis of cancer was not pathologically confirmed in 35 percent of the cases." But having failed to refute many of these criticisms, the report accepts the validity of the studies!

A 1987 article by West German biostatistician K. Überla in the *International Archives of Occupational and Environmental Health* reviews the available studies, noting: "None of the six case control studies yielding a positive relationship" produced "reasonable and sound evidence which cannot be explained by chance, bias, confounding or misclassification." Even the one study which may show a real correlation, of about 200,000 Japanese women, is tainted: who is or isn't a smoker was determined once, in 1965—if a subject forgot she had smoked previously, didn't report that she smoked or started smoking later and died of lung cancer, she was listed as a non-smoker. There was also no consideration of exposure to other substances in the workplace, outdoor and indoor air pollution, genetics, food, medical care. Überla also points out that if "sidestream smoke" were an important causal factor, smoking pipes would be a much higher risk than it is for lung cancer; non-smoking bartenders should also have a higher incidence, which hasn't been shown. The review concludes:

> "The volume of accumulated data is conflicting and inconclusive. The observations on nonsmokers that have been made so far are compatible with either an increased risk from passive smoking or an absence of risk."

The Surgeon General's second assertion, over the effect on children, has the most emotional impact. Studies indicate it's probably true that infants under one year of age who live with parents who smoke are subject to an increased risk of respiratory infections. This would stand to reason with infants' smaller pulmonary passages and developing immune systems. However, even here, if you take into account parental respiratory symptoms—i.e., baby got bronchitis because

*continued on page 8*

# Smoking Letters

*Workers Vanguard*

To the Editor,

Whenever I'm near a lit cigarette, my lungs sure feel it!

—as I ponder that article last 1-29 about medical evidence re secondary smoking as "inconclusive..."

That article, I'd say—along with the one last year on the same topic—is the ultimate in naivete! True, it's a *problem* when the *capitalist state* does the anti-smoking regulation. But to call it "Health Fascism" is stretching matters (reminiscent of the early-'30s German CP calling Social Democrats "social fascists").

*Some*, not many but *some* measures merit working-class support. Like (as the SL indeed supported) the school busing of last decade.

Or like the anti-smoking ordinances, increasing as they may be. I'd not support illegalizing junk foods, booze or even harmful drugs. If somebody is damn fool enough to indulge these, to wreck his body, that's *his* business. But to wreck other bodies by way of puffing away? Its secondary effects on others? Uh uh! The right to poison the air? Uh uh!

No, I'll not wait until medicos tell me conclusively on the effects of secondary smoking. My lungs, throat are already telling me!

S. Colman

• • •

Dear Editor,

Civil Rights for Smokers! Human Rights for Taxicab Drivers!

...I drive a taxi in New York City. Every week I spend 28 to 36 hours behind the wheel. This is my work space. According to the rules and regulations of the Taxi and Limousine Commission (T.L.C.) I have no power over my work space.... According to the rules and regs I am not allowed to have a C.B. in the car, a matter of simple safety. I am supposed to go wherever the passenger tells me to go, period. According to the rules and regs I am not supposed to defend myself from attack. If this isn't enough, until recently a passenger could light up or tell me to put out a cigarette at will. When I drive I eat exhaust fumes all day long. But I can't smoke a cigarette if I wish. And until recently I couldn't tell the passenger in the back seat to put out a cigarette if it bothered me. This is my work area and I should have control over it....

As long as I am on the subject. Nicotine is addictive and probably more harmful than heroin. This is an argument for the legalization of heroin. But it is also an argument for treating nicotine addiction the way any other addiction would be treated in a rational society; well funded support systems, free medical care and free therapy... state intervention should be fought but self-help networks to break the addiction should be promoted.

I find it curious that you give no attention to the tobacco industry in any of your articles on this issue. For years it sold death as good health. I remember cigarette commercials saying that tobacco was good for the digestive system and was recommended by doctors. The U.S. government has subsidized and supported the tobacco industry in its rapacious destruction of farm lands, expropriation of small farmers and exploitation of workers. It would be good in one of your articles if you would mention the tobacco industry and its lies and extortions, which are no more or less than any other capitalist enterprise, but still deserve some attention.

Finally, your analysis of the cultural significance of the health nut movement is basically correct. But let me point out that it is a movement of despair that is essentially anti-political. People who have no control, over the way they see this society destroying the environment, and despair at ever having control, maintain an obsessive illusion of control by going to the health food store or attacking cigarette smokers. One breath of L.A or N.Y.C. air on a normal day probably damages the lungs more than all the secondary tobacco smoke inhaled over the course of a week in a smoke filled room.

Jerry M.

# Anti-Smoking Crusade...

*(continued from page 7)*

mommy caught the bug first—the evidence of a connection is not so clear. And this tendency disappears altogether among older infants. A review of studies through 1985 reports, "A deleterious effect of passive smoking in older children is unproven" (*Chest*, September 1985). Factors which have been ignored in most studies include use of gas stoves for cooking, low birth weight, the number of siblings, poor nutrition, crowding in inadequately ventilated housing, and lack of medical care. *And these are all the more important as poor and working-class parents are far more likely to smoke.*

As for the Surgeon General's third "conclusion," that it is hard to segregate smokers' air from non-smokers', this is undoubtedly true. But there is something that can be done about it other than discriminating against smokers—namely, improved ventilation. All the report has to say on this, in one short paragraph out of *64 pages* of policy recommendations, is that it "can be prohibitively expensive." Studies have been done to figure the amount of ventilation required to create a comfortable environment; one calculated that two to four times the going rate of fresh air flow in a typical office would remove the irritants of cigarette smoke. However, the researcher noted, "increased ventilation as a measure to protect passive smokers is not recommendable from the energetical point of view" (*Tokai Journal of Experiments in Clinical Medicine* [1985]). For "energetical" read "profits."

Durand/Sipa

**Drug raid in Florida—will smokers be next?**

The starting point for any consideration of the medical effects of "passive smoking" is that the volume of smoke inhaled is tiny compared to that of someone smoking a cigarette. One study shows that an airline stewardess working the smoking section on a 16-hour San Francisco-Tokyo round trip would inhale the amount of nicotine of one cigarette. Japanese researchers testing smoky pubs, cars, etc., found in all-day monitoring that the highest "dose" was equal to one-third of a cigarette. But it's yet to be proven that there is any correlation between such low levels of inhaled smoke and serious pulmonary disease. And there is hardly the evidence which would justify such drastic measures as banning smoking.

The vague conclusions of the Surgeon General's report rest on poor scientific foundations. There is presently inadequate evidence to justify the bans and the social heat being put on smokers. What's called for is not a hysterical witchhunt against smoking but accurate and precise studies to determine the effects of environmental tobacco smoke on non-smokers, and to determine effective measures to ensure decent air quality. But you aren't going to get that from this government of Moral Majority crusaders, whose hypocritical "concern" for the health of "passive smokers" goes hand in hand with their callous disregard for AIDS victims, not to mention tens of thousands of psychiatric patients thrown onto the streets or millions disabled by industrial accidents.

### Industrial Deathtraps

With all the yuppie yapping about health through clean living, what about the truly murderous respiratory diseases caused by polluted air at industrial job sites? Millions of workers spend upwards of 43 hours a week in atmospheres infinitely more poisonous than that in an air conditioned office where people light up cigarettes. In coal pits, the miners work in grimy, poorly ventilated shafts where swirling dust clogs the lungs. Company doctors used to claim that coal dust was actually beneficial to health. But miners knew that after years in the pits they were short of breath, wracked by coughing, spitting up blackened sputum. And after years of research, study and hard labor struggle, it was finally admitted that a disease exists. A 1972 pamphlet by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) estimated that 125,000 active and former miners suffer from coal workers pneumoconiosis, commonly called "black lung." A UMWA official estimated that 4,000 miners die from the disease yearly.

And it's not just coal mines. According to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), at least 150,000 of 800,000 textile workers in the United States suffer from byssinosis—brown lung—caused by inhaling cotton dust in the mills. Thirty-five thousand of these are totally disabled (ACTWU, *The Right to Breathe*). Construction workers, dock workers, seamen and others exposed to asbestos get a pulmonary disease known as asbestosis. According to the Association for Mariners' Rights, a study by a Mt. Sinai doctor showed 39 percent of those who sailed in the engine department get asbestos-related diseases (*On Watch for Health and Safety*, March 1987). And a U.S. Department of Labor pamphlet reports, "Nearly half—45%—of all asbestos workers will die from some form of cancer." In the smelting industry there is antimony pneumoconiosis; in aircraft manufacturing, it's beryllium disease; in foundries, quarries and masonry you get silicosis. The list goes on and on.

And for black workers, concentrated in the most dangerous, dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs, the statistics are much worse. As compared to whites, black workers have a 37 percent greater chance of suffering an occupational illness, and are 1.5 times more likely to be severely disabled from job illnesses and injuries (Frank Goldsmith and Lorin Kerr, *Occupational Safety and Health* [1982]). The bosses, of course, blame all industrial respiratory diseases on smoking—the routine response from coal operators when faced with demands for black lung benefit payments. But the miners responded with class struggle. A three-week political wildcat strike by 30,000 West Virginia miners in 1969, culminating in a UMWA march on the state capitol, finally forced passage of a bill making black lung a compensable disease.

In 1986, 11,700 people died from work-related causes and 1.9 million were disabled by injuries at work. Industrial accident rates in high-risk occupations are soaring and many workplaces are deathtraps because of the bosses' "economy" drives; safety inspections are all but nonexistent. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (7 September 1987), a report based on data from the National Safety Council and the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that "nearly 6,000 workers in high-risk jobs who died in the first half of the 1980s would still be alive" but for the decline in enforcement of standards by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Out in "lotus land," California governor Deukmejian last year tried to get rid of CalOSHA, the state inspection agency, entirely! As profit margins fall, the bosses' attention turns to chopping safety measures, cutting the workforce and squeezing every last penny they can out of those who remain.

### "Are You Now or Have You Ever Been... a Smoker?"

On the heels of the Surgeon General's report, municipalities, states and companies began pushing anti-smoking laws and policies. Most were passed and went into effect with barely a whimper. Across the country, cowed smokers have retreated to stairwells, fire escapes or back alleys to enjoy a cigarette. Soon job applications will read: "Are you now or have you ever been a smoker?" The attempt to make smoking into an anti-social activity ominously recalls the days of McCarthyism and the '50s ditty, "if your mommy is a commie, turn her in." Indeed, there has been a rash of children turning their parents in for having drugs at home (see "Drug Witchhunt," *WV* No. 410, 29 August 1986). To talk of "health fascism" here is not entirely facetious—the Nazis encouraged such junior finks (and Hitler, by the way, was a rabid anti-smoker).

Der Spiegel

**Surgeon General C. Everett Koop fuels anti-smoking hysteria.**

The argument about tobacco industry power is specious. Yes, cigarette ads used to claim that smoking was good for the lungs and stomach, and the companies poured a lot of money into finding "proof" to deny the very real risks of smoking. But all that proves is that the tobacco industry's "moral standards" are no better or worse than any other capitalist endeavor—which is to say they're for profit first, last and all the time. Interestingly, the *Guardian*, who awarded us the "Jesse Helms Memorial Tobacco Leaf," last year ran an article headlined, "Tobacco is Moral Equivalent of Krugerrand." The author of the 29 July 1987 article claims that smoking represents "personal financial investment" in "a system that should elicit hatred, revulsion." This is the same liberal moralizing that urges American corporations to divest (usually at a profit) their South African holdings. But U.S. imperialism isn't one whit more "moral" than Botha's racist regime, your hands aren't any cleaner for not touching krugerrands, and smoking is the moral equivalent of... smoking.

Sociologist Barry Glassner ruefully notes that if the current trend of regulating and regimenting our behavior continues, "we'll have a homogenized population in which everybody will be within the recommended weight ranges, and nobody will smoke anymore, and nobody will drink and everybody will work out" (*New York Times*, 7 May). In the end, all that clean living may do zilch for your health. But it will help regiment the population for greater productivity and profits, and make people into excellent cannon fodder for war. And when you're in the trenches, they'll probably start passing out cigarettes again like they did in WW II to keep soldiers alert. ■


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# Polish Strikes...

*(continued from page 3)*

Bush proclaimed, "I am proud to be standing beside Lech Walesa, a man so well respected in the United States" (*Chicago Tribune*, 29 September 1987). The crowd responded by chanting, "No freedom without Solidarity! Long live Bush! Long live Reagan!"

Wojtyla's prayers and Bush's praise were unable to restore the influence of Solidarność. But the economic pressures on Poland, for years bled white by the IMF, were rapidly building toward a working-class explosion. These were the same conditions which originally gave rise to Solidarność.

### IMF Bankers Bleed Poland

Poland's debt to Western bankers—some $36 billion—amounts to $1,000 for every man, woman and child in the country. This is equivalent to the annual wage of the average worker. Poland has been paying off the debt at $3 billion a year. By depressing living standards and starving industry for investment funds, the Jaruzelski regime has managed in recent years to run a balance of trade *surplus* of about $1.5 billion annually.

Sygma

**Soviet leader Gorbachev encourages Polish general Jaruzelski (right) to impose savage austerity program on behalf of Western bankers.**

But Warsaw still has to borrow just to meet its existing debt service.

By last year it was clear that Polish workers had reached the end of their rope and would resist further austerity measures. Even the official unions, which Jaruzelski set up to replace Solidarność, complained that social benefits and housing in Poland were much lower and much worse than in other Eastern bloc countries. And when the Jaruzelski regime first proposed big price hikes last spring, the official, bureaucratized unions declared this "unacceptable to working people" and implicitly threatened to strike against it.

Nonetheless, the Jaruzelski regime went ahead with plans for sweeping market-oriented reforms dictated by the IMF: elimination of most, or all, subsidies for consumer goods; closing down unprofitable enterprises; expanding the scope of small-scale private capital; and encouraging foreign investment. Professor Jan Mujzel, one of Jaruzelski's top economic advisers, is quite blunt: "I have no doubt that we will see bankruptcies and unemployment.... Reform requires much harder conditions for all working people" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 April 1987).

The Jaruzelski regime has loudly identified its economic reforms with Gorbachev's *perestroika* (restructuring). And there are indeed important similarities. However, the main authors of the Polish "reforms" do not reside in Moscow but in the IMF headquarters in Washington. As a public relations ploy, Jaruzelski & Co. held a referendum last November on the austerity program. Over half the registered voters either abstained or voted against so that the referendum failed. Still, the Warsaw Stalinists pushed ahead with the price hikes, despite knowing full well they were heading into a confrontation with the Polish working class.

### For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The *New York Times* maintains that there were "no winners" in the recent strike wave in Poland. In a sense that is true. The Jaruzelski regime is totally discredited. Everyone knows that economic "reform" is just a code word for severe austerity measures, and nobody believes the promises of "democratization." At the same time, the working class and society at large show little support or loyalty for Solidarność. It is doubtful that many Poles want Lech Walesa, who acts like a holy idiot, to govern their country.

*Both* the Stalinist Jaruzelski regime and the Solidarność opposition serve as transmission belts for international finance capital into Poland. At the height of its strength in 1981 Solidarność demanded that Poland join the IMF, which in fact Jaruzelski did a few years later. Thus the Polish working class is totally without leadership to resist the extortion of the Western bankers.

Economic desperation is driving Polish workers to struggle. In the next months we can expect at least localized strikes over wages. However, there can be no question of economic recovery as long as the surplus produced by Polish workers is turned over to the imperialist loan sharks. Yet *no political grouping* in Poland demands repudiation of the debt—not even the shadowy "leftists" of the so-called Workers' Opposition Alliance, promoted internationally by pseudo-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel. The Workers' Opposition Alliance blames the economic crisis *solely* on "the parasitism, the incompetence and the dictatorship of the Stalinist bureaucracy" (*International Viewpoint*, 27 October 1986).

no credit

Burnett/Contact

**Lech Walesa flaunts money from Western backers; Pope John Paul Wojtyla, godfather of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność.**

All tendencies from the most rabid anti-Communist nationalists to the most hardline Stalinists take for granted that Poland must endure years of hardship to repay Western bankers. This view was stated clearly by a Polish academic visiting Harvard, Jan Chowaniec, last year in a letter to the *New York Times* (31 March 1987):

> "...Poland owes to her Western creditors a total of $33.5 billion. To meet that challenge alone will require years of belt-tightening policies and huge sacrifices from the whole of Polish society. However, I am afraid that before the Poles can be either fed or housed better, they will first have to work harder, produce more, export more and pay their foreign debts."

Jaruzelski's economic advisers would dismiss any talk of repudiating the debt as wildly unrealistic. The bankers would retaliate by organizing a boycott of Polish exports in Western markets. Poland could not then pay for vital imports of food and raw materials. Its economy would totally collapse. Moreover, no economic assistance could be expected from the Soviet Union, especially under Gorbachev. In fact, Gorbachev would strongly oppose Poland's repudiation of its debt to Western creditors.

This is all quite true. What it proves is that there is no solution to the Polish crisis within the framework of nationalism or Stalinism. Only a proletarian political revolution can liberate Poland from the IMF because only a revolutionary workers government can affect the *international conditions* to counter imperialist retaliation. Only from the standpoint of socialist internationalism can Polish workers effectively appeal to Soviet workers, who have their own reasons for opposing and resisting Gorbachev's market-oriented reforms. At the same time, revolutionary workers in Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin would have the moral authority to appeal to workers in West Europe and the United States against imperialist economic warfare against East Europe.

The Polish bureaucratically deformed workers state was established by a social revolution carried out from above by Stalin's Russia in the aftermath of World War II. For some years now Polish workers have been deluded that their liberators are in the Vatican and White House. In reality Wojtyla and Reagan, acting through Solidarność, have conspired to bring about a bloody counterrevolution in Poland as a step toward destroying the Soviet Union. Aiding in the delusion of the Polish working class have been Western social democrats, Eurocommunists and pseudo-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel, who for years have screamed, "Solidarity with Solidarność!"

Now it appears that Polish workers have become disillusioned with Solidarność. It is only by returning to the road of proletarian internationalism, exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg and the early Polish Communist Party, that Polish workers can liberate themselves from the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bloodsuckers of the IMF. For a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

# Waterfront...

*(continued from page 5)*

Moreover, hundreds of longshoremen came back from Pittsburg, CA on March 19 with a sour practical taste of Jackson in "action" and copies of *WV* in their pockets (1,265 copies of *WV* were sold in Pittsburg that day). ILWU bureaucrats hustled the ranks up there under the pretext of fighting scab contractors at the USX-POSCO steel plant and "non-ILWU" work on the Pittsburg docks. What they got were speeches by Jackson and a bunch of flag-waving bureaucrats spewing racist protectionism—and no action against the scabs.

But then, the whole point of Jackson's campaign is to *divert* workers' and blacks' hatred of Reagan and the bosses *away* from hard class struggle. Our highest sales to Local 10 members last year (*WV* No. 434, 7 August—102 copies sold) were when an especially rotten sellout contract was being rammed down the ranks' throats. "Defend the ILWU! Shut Down the Coast!" was the *WV* headline; *PDW* didn't even oppose the Jimmy Herman/Rudy Rubio takeaway deal.

When longshoremen have wanted to fight, as at Redwood City in '87 when they ran scabs off the docks, or at a time when they were voting down the sellout contract, they have looked to *WV*. *Workers Vanguard* is a genuine communist paper that tells the truth, a weapon in the struggle to forge an integrated, revolutionary workers party. Buy it—read it!

27 April 1988


**Spartacist**
**English Edition**
**No. 41-42**
**Winter 1987-88**
**(64 pages)**
**$1.00**

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

# Reagan's Star Wars...

*(continued from page 1)*

wondered, what if all of us in the world discovered that we were threatened by a power from outer space, from another planet?"

At least one section of Reagan's constituency is deeply offended. "It's obviously troubling to think of national leadership being influenced by superstition.... It seems so medieval," said a Reagan stalwart. Sounds downright secular humanist, except this is the head of the National Association of Evangelicals, the Rev. Robert Dugan, talking. He's upset that Reagan is abandoning Jesus Christ to dabble in the works of Satan! The Moral Majority must be furious with Nancy, too, who Regan reports snapped, "I don't give a damn about the right-to-lifers" as she was censoring a point on abortion in a Reagan State of the Union talk.

These latest tidbits from rats deserting the White House bunker have a familiar ring; indeed many have made the obvious analogy to that other imperial couple, the weak Tsar of All the Russias and his scheming, strong-willed Tsarina, who ran the court through "Our Friend," the mad monk Rasputin. Trotsky's portrait of the Romanovs in *The History of the Russian Revolution* evokes eerie parallels to Reagan hobnobbing with Ollie North and the terrorist contras:

> "This dim, equable and 'well-bred' man was cruel.... This crowned black sheep gravitated with all his soul to the very dregs of society, the Black Hundred hooligans. He not only paid them generously from the state treasury, but loved to chat with them about their exploits, and would pardon them when they accidentally got mixed up in the murder of an opposition deputy.... This 'charmer,' without will, without aim, without imagination, was more awful than all the tyrants of ancient and modern history."

As for the Tsarina, Trotsky commented, "This Hessian princess was literally possessed by the demon of autocracy.... She believed the more inflexibly in her vocation, the more naked became the foulness of the old regime." Alexandra Romanov wrote her husband: "Don't yield. Be the boss. Obey your firm little wife and our Friend. Believe in us." Trotsky noted that "Witte [the tsar's financial minister] called this ruling circle, against which he himself twice stubbed his toe, 'the leprous court camarilla'."

A similar atmosphere of lunacy emanated from Hitler's bunker in the last days of his empire, as William Shirer pointed out in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. As bombs were falling and the Red Army was advancing to liberate Berlin, Goebbels "sent for two horoscopes, which were kept in the files of one of Himmler's multitudinous 'research' offices." Results of both Hitler's horoscope and that of the Weimar Republic amazingly buoyed the mad *Führer*, revealing that Germany would have a hard time in April 1945, but "starting in 1948 she would rise again." Too late for Hitler, it was under NATO that German imperialism revived.

NEW YORK POST
SPORTS FINAL
Former chief of staff's bombshell:
ASTROLOGER RULED WHITE HOUSE
PORN VIDEOS FACE THE WRATH OF AIDS CRISIS
HELMSLEYS' GRAND LIVING FOR 1G RENT

**Media has field day with Don Regan revelations, exposing high priestess of Reagan cult (right).**

Der Spiegel

Knowing they're stuck with Reagan for another eight months, the more "responsible" media and politicians are hastening to pooh-pooh all the scandal, dismissing astrology as merely a "charming" eccentricity. Why, they do it in Russia, too, the *New York Times* (14 May) wrote in a front-page story, no doubt with the Moscow summit in mind. The more far-sighted guardians of the American bourgeoisie are not at all amused by the "kiss and tell" books: after Iran/Contragate, "damage control" was messy enough, and more leaks about how they've got a total idiot as their commander in chief isn't going to help restore confidence in the declining American empire.

Maybe millions of Americans do look at their horoscope after reading the comics in the daily paper, secretaries visit fortune tellers for lunch-hour fun, New Age Colorado entrepreneurs try to bend forks with mental power. But most people get pretty worried when they see the most powerful leader of the Western World, who's got his finger on the nuclear button, staring off at the stars. Astrology, which originated in ancient Babylonia as a means of predicting the will of the gods, probably made as much sense as any other religious superstition back in the days when people thought the earth was flat (has anybody seen a globe in the Oval Office lately?). But Galileo, Newton, science and all that other "secular humanist" subversive stuff has never gotten much of a hearing from the current inhabitants of the White House.

Ewing Galloway

**Mad monk Rasputin (second from left) mesmerized decaying Russian tsarist autocracy but couldn't save it.**

Four years ago we headlined "Keep God Out of It! Religion in the Elections" (*WV* No. 363, 28 September 1984), pointing out that one of the most fundamental gains of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776 was separation of church and state. Must we now add, "For Separation of Zodiac and State!"? The tidal wave of enforced intolerance that has swept America in the last decade didn't begin with Ronald Reagan, but with his born-again Christian predecessor. As Marxist materialists, we understand that religion in *all* its forms, from the most ancient superstitions to the most "up to date" theological speculations, are at bottom reflections of ruling-class ideology given heavenly sanction, and a desperate search for solace by the ignorant and oppressed in a heartless world.

In the United States of late, religious fundamentalism of the "Moral Majority" ilk has been pressed into service by a reactionary government increasingly frustrated in its attempts to enforce prayer in the public schools, forbid the teaching of evolution, and eliminate women's right to abortion. We communists believe people have the right to worship or not worship whatever they choose, but imposing reactionary religious obscurantism on the rest of humanity must be stopped.

The real danger of this regime is not so much that a couple of lunatics in the White House think the stars guide their destiny, but that the imperialists are prepared to plunge the world into nuclear holocaust against the USSR in order to defend the profound irrationality of the capitalist profit system. Reagan's fond of attacking leaders he dislikes, from Daniel Ortega to Qaddafi, as "loony tunes dictators." Sure, there's a lot of nuts in this world: Panama strongman Noriega, for example, is into astrology, too. But even Khomeini looks rather more rational than Reagan's gang of "smoke and mirror" sorcerer's apprentices with their gifts of cakes, Bibles and pearl-handled revolvers.

And this loony's got the bomb. His *real* "Star Wars" plans, all the ridiculous bombast about an "impenetrable protective shield" aside, are geared toward a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Reagan believes in the Biblical prophecy of "Armageddon" in our time. As we commented about "The Armageddon Debate" (*WV* No. 366, 9 November 1984):

> "We Marxists are fighting for the future of humanity in *this* world. And we are determined that, just as the decadent, crazed and corrupt court of the tsars was swept away by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, so this increasingly bizarre and desperate ruling class must be swept away by workers revolution. Isn't it a 'portent' that this capitalist ruling class has long outlived its usefulness that it has chosen as its leader a certifiable nut? To cite not scripture, but Euripides: those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." ■

# "Drug War"...

*(continued from page 1)*

Ecuador for "training," the enraged Ecuadoran congress voted to expel all U.S. forces. Earlier this year a ham-fisted kidnapping of an alleged drug trafficker in Honduras managed to evoke such a hostile response in that puppet dictatorship that leftists and rightists joined forces to burn the American embassy.

Ironically, it was the military which pointed out that the new legislation is a sweeping violation of constitutional law. A Pentagon spokesman lectured Congress: "This country, for over 200 years, has kept the military out of civilian law enforcement.... The United States military has not been empowered to arrest American citizens, and we don't think that it is the time now to break that precedent." Of course, the military brass had no qualms about deploying troops and tanks to quell the 1967 Detroit ghetto rebellion.

But the generals and admirals are not sanguine about the prospects of being sucked into harebrained adventures in various cocaine kingdoms around the world. They remember only too well how 241 Marines got blown away when Reagan ordered them into Beirut. And the bizarre idea of sealing the borders against drug penetration, as the Pentagon warned Congress, would require pulling in a sizable chunk of the U.S. armed forces deployed around the world.

If the American government really wanted to do something about international drug trafficking, it could start by abolishing its Central Intelligence Agency. From the notorious activities of Air America in the "Golden Triangle" of Southeast Asia in the '60s to the Nicaraguan contras and Afghan mullahs today, the CIA is one of the biggest international dealers around. Reagan's contra terrorists got nowhere on the battlefield against the Sandinistas, but they made a mint exporting drugs to the U.S. on their CIA supply planes.

Washington's bumbling attempts to remove Panamanian strongman Noriega have stumbled over the fact that the general has been on the CIA payroll under both Carter and Reagan, and is not only heavy into drug-running and money laundering but knows plenty about The Company's involvement as well. Now *Newsweek* (23 May) revealed that a key Washington operative in the contra drug network worked through Bush's security adviser Donald Gregg.

The "war on drugs" is a hypocritical sham. From the start a prime purpose has been to promote the regimentation of the population for war, and to justify escalating cop terror in the ghettos and barrios of the inner cities. Legalization of these drugs would destroy the drug trade overnight by taking the profit out of it, and a few Democratic mayors (Washington, Baltimore, Minneapolis) have advocated this. But the Democrats are running point in the insidious "war on drugs." While Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign works the white suburbs, Jesse Jackson taps the misery of the black ghettos with the same message.

As we wrote in "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March 1986): "Laws against so-called 'crimes without victims'—drugs, gambling, prostitution, sodomy and homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of everyone and should be abolished." The human devastation wreaked by widespread crack and heroin addiction in the ghettos cannot be done away with without eliminating the social conditions which cause it: vicious racial oppression, unemployment, poverty, homelessness and hopelessness. And that requires nothing less than socialist revolution. U.S. Hands Off the World! ■

# Gruesome Racist Murder in Cleveland

CLEVELAND—April 23 was a day of horror in the second most segregated city in the U.S. On that day, a three-week-old black baby was killed by racist punks who drove his aunt off the road, and a homeless black man was run down and *decapitated* by a racist killer in a car.

Brian Fletcher, 21, was accused by two white passers-by of robbing an elderly white man, and a pack of racists chased and beat Fletcher and another shelter resident. Fletcher managed to escape, and was returning with help from the shelter when one of the racists, Robert Schulte, screamed to watching police, "I'll show you how to handle these n-----s!" Schulte got into his car and deliberately rammed Fletcher as he was crossing the street, throwing him into oncoming traffic and gruesomely beheading him. Schulte, who was indicted by the Cuyahoga County grand jury for "aggravated murder," is free on bond pending arraignment later this month.

Later that same day, a black family from Toledo, visiting friends in Cleveland Heights, was terrorized by two racist thugs, Thomas Gallagher and Jeffrey Anderson, who hurled racist insults and glass bottles at the family's car. In trying to avoid a bottle, Denise Wiley, the driver, lost control and hit a telephone pole; the impact threw her sister, Angela McFarland, through the windshield. Three-week-old Darris McFarland, who had been sitting on his mother's lap, was killed. Denise Wiley's 11-year-old son, Stephan, needed 35 stitches in his face. The two killers have been charged with "involuntary manslaughter," with a maximum sentence of ten years. In both cases, the police have denied any "racial motivation" on the part of the killers, calling the murder of baby Darris a "traffic altercation"!

Over 200 people attended the funeral service for Brian Fletcher on April 28. In response to popular outrage over these racist atrocities, the NAACP held a press conference on April 29, at which Mylion Waite, director of the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland, called the deaths "vehicular lynchings." The president of the Cleveland NAACP, James Hardiman, called on the U.S. Justice Department to investigate the murders.

The criminals who murdered Brian Fletcher and Darris McFarland deserve to be locked up for the next century! But the racist U.S. Justice Department is headed by Ed Meese, who ran the COINTELPRO war against the Black Panthers in California for his boss, then-governor Reagan, and who praised Mayor Wilson Goode of Philadelphia for the racist firebombing of MOVE. Likewise, the racist Cleveland cops are responsible for the execution of Michael Woods in 1982, as well as for the outrageous numbers of young blacks who "commit suicide" in their jail cells each year.

The deeply racist U.S. "justice" system rests on decaying capitalism which targets labor, blacks and all the oppressed for cutbacks, unemployment and union-busting, and threatens nuclear WWIII against the USSR. To stop the racist rampage, the power of labor and blacks must be mobilized in struggle for socialist revolution which will avenge the murders of Brian Fletcher and Darris McFarland! ■

# Philly MOVE...

*(continued from page 12)*

former mayor Frank Rizzo, and now by Wilson Goode. Prominent black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row, framed on charges of killing a cop. All Philly labor, from the powerful longshoremen to the combative teachers, sanitation and transit unions, must demand *freedom* for all the victims of racist cop terror! Save Mumia! Free Ramona Africa and all MOVE prisoners!

### The Signature of the Reagan Years

The grand jury report can't disappear the horror of what took place on Osage Avenue: "An urban disaster of scarcely imaginable proportions resulted...eleven people died, an entire neighborhood lay in ruins, and two hundred and fifty people lay homeless." *But not one single person who carried out this hideous racist crime is even indicted!* The 279-page document goes through legal contortions to exonerate the "Big Four": Goode, city Managing Director Leo Brooks, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor and Fire Commissioner William Richmond. For the grand jury, "even if Goode's conduct was otherwise criminal" it was a "justified...use of deadly force," and "that was his management style that day"! But they can't hide the stench of deliberate premeditated mass murder. Testimony before the grand jury revealed that:

- The massive cop assault *began* with the use of C-4 plastic explosive charges like "hand grenades" against the MOVE home on Osage Avenue. Police "Stakeout" teams repeatedly detonated powerful explosives throughout the MOVE house.
- Sambor ordered the cop who made the bomb used on the roof to "use frag and shrapnel if you have to, to get them mother fuckers."
- The cops repeatedly perjured themselves to cover up the fact that it was the *FBI* which provided *37.5 pounds of C-4* in January 1985.

The grand jury simply dismisses the witnesses who testified before the MOVE Commission two years ago that "police gunfire prevented some occupants of 6221 Osage Ave. from escaping from the burning house to the rear alley." Despite the fact that firefighters—Vietnam veterans—heard semi-automatic fire in the alley which could only have come from the massive police arsenal, the grand jury decided only a dozen shots were fired, and those by a MOVE member!

Under instructions not to indict the real criminals, the grand jury's report is shot through with the obscene conclusion that MOVE brought it on themselves. The whole "investigation," like the massacre of MOVE itself, has the smell of Ed Meese, who praised Wilson Goode's murderous assault as a "good example." And no wonder—two days before the massacre, SWAT team agents from the FBI approved the plan of the Philly cops as "sound."

The report could have been written in the White House basement, as part of the "anti-terrorism" war on blacks and labor. MOVE's "crimes" were: they were black, they didn't kill insects, they didn't pay their electric bill, they thought they had the right to defend their home. But the report transforms MOVE into "an extremist group, well-practiced in the art of urban terrorism" to justify 570 cops with machine guns, automatic rifles and an anti-tank gun pouring 10,000 rounds into a home with eleven black men, women and children.

This past weekend, city activists gathered under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee to "confront and move beyond the horrors of that terrible day." But what is needed is not the liberal calls for "atonement" and "education," and hopes of a "better" Democratic Party mayor, which dominated the meetings. At a community forum Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Paul Cooperstein pointed to what is necessary: "If there had been massive labor-centered demonstrations back on May 13, 1985, Ramona Africa would not be in jail today. The labor movement has the power to bring this city to a halt!" Gene Herson, a militant in the National Maritime Union and a supporter of the Spartacist League, added: "From the bombing of the black community in Tulsa in 1921 to MOVE in 1985, this is the nature of the racist capitalist system.... We must build a workers party with an integrated leadership that can end this system and put the working class in power."

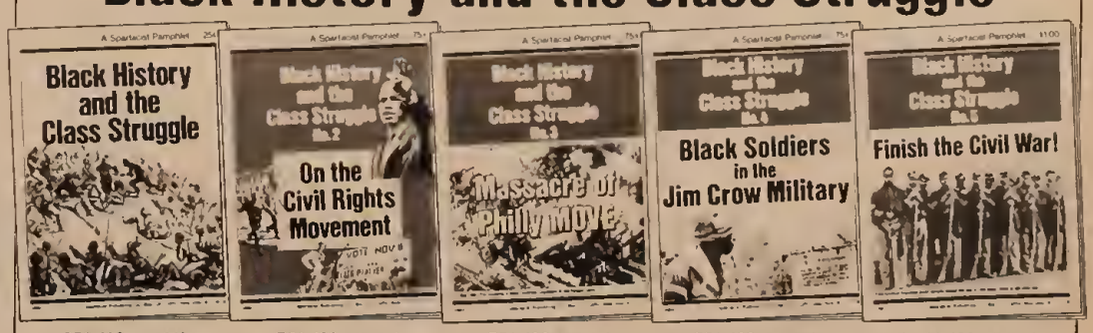
TWU Express

**Jesse Jackson rallies with Mayor of Murder Wilson Goode and transit union local president Roger Tauss (right) in Pennsylvania Democratic primary.**

But the union tops, who were criminally silent on and after May 13, continue to bind the integrated labor movement to the racist Democratic Party and Mayor of Murder Goode. In the recent Democratic Party primary, Philly workers and blacks were faced with the obscene spectacle of Jesse Jackson standing shoulder to shoulder with the man who bombed black Philadelphia! Like the Philly city fathers who need Wilson Goode to discipline the heavily black city unions, Jackson stands by this Democratic Party front man for Reagan reaction.

An *Inquirer* editor living in the USSR in 1985 mocked the coverage of the MOVE massacre in the Moscow press: "The Soviets got right to the nub of things—drawing the immediate and obvious connection between the Reagan administration's handling of MOVE... and its grander plans to eradicate the socialist motherland" (9 May). In fact, the mass murder of Philly MOVE came on the heels of Reagan's salute of Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. The war-crazed regime in Washington emulates the Third Reich as they bomb black babies at home, surrogate targets for their holy war against the Soviet Union. The victorious American proletarian revolution will, among its first tasks, avenge the MOVE martyrs. ■


## Black History and the Class Struggle

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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Bombing of Philly MOVE Was Racist Murder!

# Grand Jury Can't Wash Blood Off Mayor Goode's Hands

It's "the worst whitewash I've ever heard in my lifetime," said Osage Avenue resident Wayne Renfrow. "It seems like a political conspiracy to commit murder." Renfrow was angrily denouncing the report of the grand jury that investigated the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE group on Mother's Day, 13 May 1985. It was a police racial revenge murder of eleven black men, women and children. Millions watched the scene on TV as the killers in blue bombed the MOVE home, and deliberately burned down the entire black neighborhood. But the carefully guided grand jury exonerated every single official behind this obscene crime—from "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode to the cops who fired on MOVE family members desperately trying to escape the holocaust.

Issued almost three years after the bombing of MOVE (and conveniently delayed until after Goode's re-election and the recent Pennsylvania Democratic primary), the grand jury report outraged many Philly residents. A minister aptly likened the assault on MOVE to the U.S. Army's slaughter of Vietnamese peasants at My Lai. Even members of Goode's hand-picked 1986 MOVE commission were incredulous that the D.A.'s report, approved by a 16-to-4 vote of the grand jury, absolved the cops and Goode. Commission member Julia Chinn said, "I'm totally speechless.... We know 11 people died on May 13. How can they say no one should be penalized for it?" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 May).

Barger/WCAU-TV

Meyers/NY Times

UPI

**Holocaust on Osage Avenue, 13 May 1985: Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and Police Chief Sambor (inset, right) ordered firebombing of MOVE commune, killing eleven people and burning out entire black neighborhood.**

After three years, the *only* person convicted for the events of May 13 is the sole surviving adult *victim*, Ramona Africa. She remains in Muncy state prison under a seven-year sentence, denied parole because she refuses to bow to the D.A. and the parole board, who demand she have nothing to do with MOVE. Alberta Africa, who was held in prison for seven years under the same condition, finished her sentence and was released on May 13 this year. Eleven other MOVE family members remain imprisoned, victims of a decade and a half of state terror—run first by

*continued on page 11*

# Chicago: Protest Stops "Right to Life" Bigots

CHICAGO, May 7—Emboldened by clinic blockades in New York, anti-abortion bigots here, led by the sinister Joe Scheidler, hoped to shut down the Michigan Avenue Medical Center for Women and other downtown clinics today. But when the 20-odd "pro-lifers" showed up, they were met by a militant demonstration of over 60 people determined to defend the clinic against the right-wing creeps. The bigots were prevented from blockading the clinic entrance and from harassing women going in, and had to content themselves with an abortive curbside rally about 50 yards away.

A contingent of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club, Labor Black Struggle League and Partisan Defense Committee participated in the demonstration called by the National Abortion Rights Action League and the International Socialist Organization. The social-democratic ISO generally shuns the communist SL like the plague, but they couldn't exclude us when we showed up with a militant integrated contingent that doubled the size of the demonstration. The result was an effective united front that successfully defended the clinic.

The frantic attempts by the "god squads" to shut down clinics is a sign of frustration over their failure to make abortion illegal in this country. Joe Scheidler, who orchestrated the New York blockade, is a particularly dangerous element. Scheidler was arrested in June 1986 for storming and smashing up the twice-bombed Ladies Center in Pensacola, Florida. Against the deadly threat of these "right-to-lifers," the Spartacist League has insisted: Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights! ■

WV Photo

**Spartacist contingent in May 7 Chicago protest against anti-abortion terrorists.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 454

3 June 1988


## Reagan in Russia

# Nuclear Nut Hits Moscow

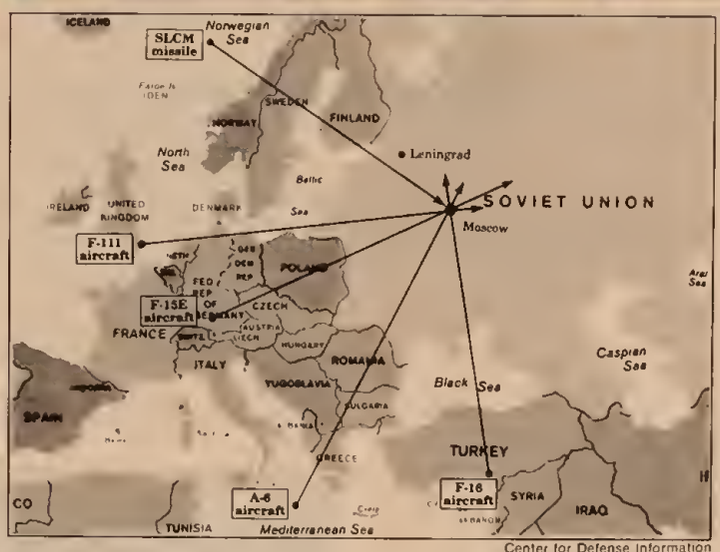
Just because Ronald Reagan put his signature to the so-called Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty last December, suddenly we were supposed to believe that he's a "man of peace." Rambomania was out and "summit fever" was in. But Reagan is still the same old anti-Soviet Cold Warrior, and provocation is the name of his game. So with his administration utterly discredited at home, his top cop Meese practically on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list, with Reagan's contras falling apart and Washington unable to oust a third-rate strongman in Panama, now he heads to Moscow to mix it up with the Russians.

Even before he crossed the Soviet border, Reagan was flaunting his intention to meet every U.S.-financed anti-Communist "dissident" in the Moscow area. Playing Jimmy Carter's "human rights" card, he staged an ostentatious anti-Soviet rally in the ballroom of the American ambassador's official residence where he paraded, among others, a Nazi war criminal. Then he went to a Russian Orthodox monastery to "pray" for "religious freedom" by quoting Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the guy who wants to bring back the tsar.

Reagan is a certifiable nuclear nut—with his finger on the button and his eyes on the star charts. And the ruling class he represents is still the most dangerous threat to the continued existence of civilized life on this planet the world has ever seen. The Reagan administration came to office with talk of exploding a "demonstration" nuclear bomb to scare the "Russkies." Then came the repeated provocative invasions of Soviet territorial waters and airspace, "jokes" on nationwide television about launching a nuclear attack, tirades against the Soviet "evil empire" and a skyrocketing war budget. Billions have been poured into the nuclear first-strike "Star Wars" scheme.

And Reagan's made the whole world a target in his war against "Soviet surrogates." From the terror-bombing of Tripoli to the invasion of tiny black Grenada to the armada in the Persian Gulf and the murder and rape of civilians by his Nicaraguan contra cutthroats, Reagan is a warmonger if ever there was one. Even a section of the American population appears to understand that the war-crazy gang in Washington needs some sort of straitjacket, as revealed in a *New York Times* (27 May) finding that 8 percent of Americans surveyed thought the "Soviet Union should be stronger" militarily than the United States.

Heikes/U.S. News & World Report




Center for Defense Information

**Reagan/Gorbachev "peace" toasts will not stop U.S. imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. Map shows U.S. nuclear forces in Europe are still targeting Moscow despite the INF treaty. World socialist revolution is the only road to peace.**

The American ruling class is out to reassert its role as cops of the world—and that is bipartisan policy. Democratic presidential contender Michael Dukakis even blurted out the long-standing U.S. policy for an atomic first strike when he proclaimed he was "prepared to use nuclear force" first against Soviet armies in Europe. But meanwhile the liberals are calling "disarmament" rallies in New York and San Francisco on June 11 to "abolish nuclear weapons," promote "social justice," you name it—but mainly to elect a Democratic president. The rallies are timed to cap a United Nations "Special Session on Disarmament," where we'll see more hot air than you can find in a mushroom cloud.

For "disarmament" is a scam—the vaunted INF treaty won't even lead to the destruction of a single nuclear warhead. The only means by which the imperialist rulers can really be disarmed is through the working class taking power. As Lenin said during the horrors of World War I, what is required is "arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie." Some 20 years later, as another world war approached, Leon Trotsky reasserted Lenin's point:

> "The imperialists do not make war because there are armaments, on the contrary, they forge arms when they need to fight.... The idea of a so-called 'progressive disarmament' means only an attempt to cut down excessive military expenses in time of peace. It is a question of funds and not of the love of peace.... To build the revolutionary policy of the proletariat on a program of disarmament means to build it not on sand, but on the smokescreen of militarism."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937)

Nuclear weapons in the hands of Reagan and his class only lend more urgency to the need to sweep their system away through socialist revolution before they blow up the world.

### The "Domino Theory" in Reverse

Yet the Kremlin dubs this "the summit that will finally bury the Cold War." The Soviet peoples, who have suffered more than any other in this century from the ravages of war, justifiably yearn for peace. But the Stalinist bureaucracy is selling them a bill of goods, arguing that they can bury the hatchet with the Reagan gang by burying the struggles of all the peoples who look to the Soviet Union for aid in liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke. Gorbachev thinks he can buy "peace in our time" by extinguishing "regional hot spots" from Afghanistan to Angola. All he will do is fuel Washington's counterrevolutionary ambitions to roll right up to the

*continued on page 13*

**Abolish the Death Penalty!**

**Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!**

SEE PAGE SIX

"MARKET SOCIALISM" IN EASTERN EUROPE

**For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy**

SEE PAGE EIGHT

# 1,000 Protest Philadelphia Area KKK March

More than a thousand jeering protesters surrounded some 40 Ku Klux Klansmen when the robed and hooded race-haters, along with some neo-Nazi skinheads, showed up with Confederate flags in Parkside, Pennsylvania on May 21. Amid shouts of "racist pigs!" and "take your masks off!" the Kluxers were pelted with bottles, rocks and other missiles by the angry crowd. But the racist terrorists were spared the treatment they really deserved by the presence of hundreds of riot police on horses, with dogs and a helicopter. The cops ushered the fascists up Parkside's main street while restraining the crowd. A small group of Guardian Angels aided the police with crowd control. Five anti-Klan protesters, including members of the International Committee Against Racism, were arrested. Drop the charges against the anti-fascist militants!

The Klan announced its intention to march and distribute "anti-drug" leaflets in the lily-white community just outside Philadelphia at an April meeting of the Parkside Borough Council. But their real target was neighboring Chester, Pennsylvania which is 56 percent black and the site of integrated civil rights struggles led by the NAACP and Students for a Democratic Society in the early '60s. Initially the council denied parade permits both to the Klan and the Chester NAACP which announced plans for a 5,000-strong anti-Klan counterdemonstration. In a disgusting display of liberal blindness, the American Civil Liberties Union of Pennsylvania went to court *on behalf of the KKK* and succeeded in winning a permit for the lynchers. The Klan is not a debating society: their tools of choice are the noose, firebombs and automatic rifles.

Once the Klan had its permit, the leaders of the Chester NAACP *called off* their plans for a counterdemonstration and actively urged blacks to stay home. The protesters who did show up were overwhelmingly white. But as one 66-year-old man said, "You let them come down to Chester and march and by night you'll find...them robes in the garbage" (*Delaware County Sunday Times*, 23 May).

From the police bombing of MOVE—incinerating eleven black people—ordered by Philly mayor of murder Wilson Goode, to the deadly attacks of the KKK, labor must be mobilized to smash racist terror. If the big guns of Philly labor, from the heavily black transit workers to the sanitation workers, had been out there May 21, the KKK would have never even got on their robes! When the integrated working class under revolutionary leadership takes its rightful place as the champion of all the oppressed, the days of all the racist killers will be numbered. ■

AP

**Anti-Klan protester rips hood ott fascist in Parkside, Pennsylvania. For mass labor/black mobilizations to crush the racist lynchers!**

TROTSKY

LENIN

## Only Socialist Revolution Can Prevent Nuclear War

*For years Washington spokesmen cynically proclaimed that "mutual assured destruction" (MAD) would deter nuclear war. The notion fostered by Stalinists and pacifists that "disarmament" agreements can derail the war danger is no less cruel and dangerous an illusion. The grisly atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II demonstrated that the U.S. imperialists are prepared to unleash any horror to pursue their interests. As the American Trotskyists said at the time, only wiping out capitalist rule around the world can save mankind from atomic destruction.*

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan....

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race....

Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist warfare refutes this contention. Between two world wars the most frightful instruments of death were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED!...

Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!

—"There Is No Peace!" *Militant* (18 August 1945)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

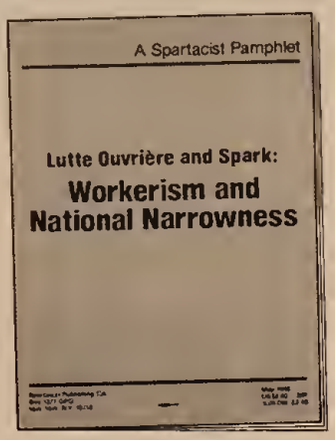
*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 454** **3 June 1988**



## Lutte Ouvrière and Spark: Workerism and National Narrowness

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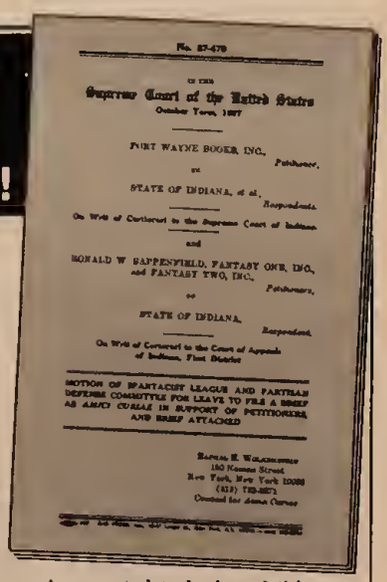
## SL/POC Brief in U.S. Supreme Court: No to RICO Sex Witchhunt!




On May 12 the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee filed an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) legal brief in the Supreme Court opposing state use of draconian RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) conspiracy laws to shut down publishers and distributors of allegedly "obscene" material. The SL and PDC are supporting the appeal of Indiana booksellers against a state RICO law under which their stores were padlocked and assets seized; the case is expected to be heard this fall. Defense of key First Amendment rights of freedom of expression and opposition to this government's reactionary sex witchhunt are posed sharply in this case. All those concerned with civil liberties should order a copy of the brief now—send $4 per copy to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

# S.F. Mayor Targets City Workers

SAN FRANCISCO—Only months after taking office, liberal Democratic mayor Art Agnos is taking an ax to city workers. In February a budget deficit of $180 million was "discovered" which Agnos blamed on his Democratic predecessor Dianne Feinstein—infamous for her pro-cop, anti-labor and racist policies. Agnos' solution: massive layoffs of city workers, many of them black and other minorities. Meanwhile the bosses in the city are on a union-busting rampage, from the Financial District where 1,800 janitors, overwhelmingly minorities, in SEIU Local 87 have been forced out on strike, to private hospitals who are demanding massive cuts in benefits for SEIU Local 250 hospital workers. With the new mayor sounding the charge, war has been declared on San Francisco workers.

On May 17 Agnos announced nearly 400 layoffs with a main target being the heavily black Muni transit workers. This is only the first wave. Already Agnos has threatened to more than double this figure if a measure on the June ballot freezing city workers' wages doesn't pass. But even if Agnos gets his wage freeze, more layoffs are in the works: 2,500 jobs are on his hit list, about 10 percent of the city workforce. These cuts will come at the expense of services used mainly by working people and heavily minority poor people—the buses, welfare, etc. At SF General Hospital the chief of attending physicians already says, "It is impossible to meet even the minimum standards for care" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 21 April).

The mayor's assault on city workers has given the green light to the bigwigs in the Financial District, where janitors who struck on May 24 are taking the full brunt of the union-busting viciousness. Two strikers (Melba Carlisle, 57, and Chow Chap Tong, 63) were beaten up by scabs the first day of the strike and sent to the hospital while Agnos' cops escorted the hired thugs away from the site. The following day, 400 strikers from a union rally marched on the building, and a cop SWAT team arrested nine unionists. Teamsters who make deliveries and collect garbage at the 200 struck buildings are refusing to cross the SEIU picket lines.

WV Photo

**San Francisco, May 25: Striking janitors enter building to confront scabs who brutally attacked two elderly pickets.**

The use of private strikebreaking goons hasn't been seen in San Francisco for a long time. A Local 87 statement said that the "Gang of Four" (big downtown insurance and real estate firms) is spearheading this strikebreaking, bringing in a Chicago law firm one of whose partners says he was from "the bomb them into submission school of labor relations." Bay Area labor had better fight back, or else. Now's the time for some action like the building tradesmen who nailed the scab contractors at the Moscone Center on "Rat Monday" in March.

Local 87's sister local, SEIU United Public Employees Local 790, represents 13,000 SF city workers—including the BART transit system. And longshoremen still hold a strategic position in the Bay Area—it was hard class struggle in the 1934 general strike which made SF a labor town. Today SF labor must defend the janitors and city workers! Shut down downtown! For a citywide strike with mass picket lines to teach the scabs and this cocky new mayor a real lesson in "labor relations"!

Agnos not only knew about the deficit before the election, he knew his first major act in office would be to swing the job-slashing ax. The labor traitors knew it too and counted on the new "liberal" Democratic mayor to carry out the layoffs without provoking an explosion of class struggle. "He's got all the right instincts," said Agnos' 20-year buddy, former landlord and political mentor James Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (*Dispatcher*, 9 October 1987). (Herman gave Agnos union office space for his campaign headquarters.) And while squeamish about Agnos' authorship of the state's welfare-slashing "workfare" program, the reformist Communist Party fell in step with the union tops and pushed Agnos.

The behind-the-scenes labor godfathers of the new mayor, having boosted him as a "friend of labor," are now working frantically to help Agnos get away with his union-busting austerity drive. "The worst thing that anyone could do would be to push the panic button," said bootlicker Walter Johnson, head of the SF Central Labor Council, when the cuts were first announced (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 February). In a charade of negotiations with Agnos and the Board of Supervisors, these labor traitors came up with "alternatives"—

*continued on page 14*

# Chicago Transit Militants: Don't Bring Back CTA Cops!

CHICAGO—One hundred and fifty workers packed the May 2 meeting of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 to discuss on-the-job safety in the wake of the recent brutal rape of a woman bus driver. Local 241 president Elcosie Gresham invited the press to the meeting, where he called for bringing back the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) police force, eliminated in 1979 by then-mayor Jane Byrne. But the union bureaucrats' hoped-for rally in favor of company cops never got off the ground. Instead, one angry unionist after another took the floor to blast the CTA for its callous disregard for driver safety and to demand *union action* to defend transit workers.

The union sister who suffered the sexual assault, a black 13-year veteran driver, courageously spoke out at the meeting to denounce the CTA supervisors who disgustingly tried to *blame her* for the attack, accusing her of failing to make a proper pre-pullout check of the bus! "The company cares only about its property and its buses, it doesn't care about us drivers and our safety," she said. The meeting rose in tribute to the sister when she finished her remarks exclaiming, "We must stand together!"

Chicago transit workers have no love for the city cops, who currently are supposed to "keep the peace" on buses and "El" trains; the cops are notorious for harassing—and beating and arresting—bus drivers, particularly minorities and women. Last summer five white Chicago cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay, brutally attacked and then arrested her and members of her family. Militants initiated a union mobilization which beat back the racist frame-up charges against Seay (see "Cassandra Wins!" *WV* No. 443, 1 January). A CTA police force would only mean more of the same: in New York City, Michael Stewart, the son of a black transit worker, was clubbed to death by a gang of eleven transit cops in 1983.

Under the latest CTA giveback contract, workers are being victimized by a company bent on scapegoating its employees for poor service, accidents, breakdowns and equipment shortages. Spurred into action by the new operations boss recruited from the Philadelphia transit system, union-hater Frank Wilson, the company even tried to introduce random drug testing recently at the Beverly bus garage. Union members rebelled, forcing management to halt the random tests, but only after two workers were suspended (one for alleged valium traces in his urine). Reinstating the CTA police would simply put an armed force of several hundred mercenary thugs at the disposal of the union-busting CTA brass.

Bus mechanic Kevin Quirk was applauded by the membership when he told the meeting:

> "For workers and minorities, it has always been necessary to rely on our own organization for defense, whether it be defending our picket lines during a strike or on the job protecting our lives. "This was an outrageous attack on our sister. And while every day out on the street we face all the crap of this decaying racist capitalist system, it is deadly wrong to call on the cops for 'protection.' Whether it's the racist Chicago cops or some kind of CTA company cops, these are the forces that defend this racist system, who daily terrorize and kill workers in Chicago and throughout the country."

Quirk also noted that transit workers have been victimized by the company or killed on the job because of the CTA's ban on all means of self-defense. Indeed, the ruling class wants the streets to be ruled by their armed thugs—the cops—while gun control laws disarm workers and minorities. New York City subway token clerk James Grimes is alive today only because he defied these laws and defended himself with a pistol when robbers tried to stick him up and blow him away. When the NY transit bosses and the state went after Grimes on a gun rap, militant transit workers rallied to his defense, forcing the courts to dismiss the charges.

As Quirk told *Workers Vanguard*:

> "The union tops call on the cops to defend our drivers. But who defends us from the cops? The cops threatened a full-scale riot in the black community the night Harold Washington was elected. But that didn't stop Washington from using the cops the same way Daley and Byrne did. We should have no illusions. It's a question of power. No matter which Democrat is in City Hall, racist cop terror will stalk the workers and blacks of this city. And only workers power will stop it."

What's needed is tough labor struggle across the board, to beat back the CTA's attacks, to stop racist cop brutality, to win free mass transit, and to forge a workers party in the vanguard of all the oppressed who have a stake in ending this sick and decaying profit system. ■

WV Photo

**Chicago transit workers turn out last December in defense of bus driver Cassandra Seay and her family, victims of racist cops who invaded their home in July 1987.**

# Kim Philby: In Memoriam

For many of us, the death of Kim Philby evoked our admiration for the achievements of this remarkable Soviet master spy who penetrated to the heart of British and American intelligence and counterespionage operations during and after World War II. Philby died May 11 at age 76, and was buried in Moscow with the military honors accorded a general of the KGB. The Soviet news agency TASS called him "heroic" and "a man of lofty internationalist duty," adding laconically:

> "For a long time Kim Philby was engaged in an exceptionally delicate work, or, better said, a struggle directly within the special services of the capitalist countries whose thrust was spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the world's progressive movement."

As opponents of imperialism, we drew no small satisfaction from Philby's exploits, and savored the humiliation which NATO secret services suffered as a result. At the same time, as fighters for the genuine proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky, our overall appreciation of Philby and his role must necessarily be more equivocal.

The outstanding work of Philby—called by one-time CIA chief Allen Dulles "the best spy the Russians ever had"—certainly had a devastating impact on the intelligence establishment of British imperialism, as rabid Fleet Street headlines about the "traitor Philby" bear witness still. When he finally escaped to the Soviet Union from Beirut in 1963, he left behind a legacy that goes far beyond the generation of spy novels he inspired, notably those of le Carré. British intelligence never really recovered; to this day they pore over each phrase of Philby, looking for clues to the elusive identity of a supposed "Fifth Man." Even the TASS eulogy for Philby set them vibrating again: "It was couched in the kind of prose that will raise eyebrows in London—and get MI5 going back over the Philby files, to see exactly what it was that made the KGB so grateful" ([London] *Guardian*, 13 May).

Before Philby, the British secret services were viewed as older and wiser, if a bit impoverished, by their U.S. counterparts. Although Allen Dulles and James Jesus Angleton were taken in by him too (despite their claims in hindsight to have suspected all along), the "special relationship" between U.S. and British spy agencies did not survive the Philby episode. Philby became the symbol for the demoralization and self-doubt of the British ruling class as the last remnants of their empire crumbled and the Americans took over as world gendarme. No longer could they implicitly trust the most privileged and gifted scions of their elite institutions. More than anything, the British establishment could never forgive Philby for being a traitor to his class.

As a young leftist at Cambridge in the early '30s, H.A.R. Philby was attracted to Communism: "I had a good look around me and I reached a simple conclusion—the rich had had it too damn good for too long and the poor had had it too damn bad and it was time that it was all changed." For the next 30 years he served as a Soviet agent, moving into key positions in the British SIS (Secret Intelligence Service, also known as MI6). He ran Britain's anti-Soviet counterespionage operations from 1944 to 1947; he foiled imperialist-sponsored expeditions to promote counterrevolution in the Ukraine and Albania; he was the chief British liaison with the FBI and CIA in Washington during the period he described as "the full evil blast of McCarthyism"; he was even in line to become head of MI6, when the 1951 flight to the USSR of Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, who had also been young leftists at Cambridge recruited to Soviet espionage, placed Philby under a cloud of suspicion.

John Philby

**Kim Philby, December 1967.**

With proverbial nerves of steel, Philby brazened it out. He was officially cleared by Prime Minister Macmillan in Parliament and continued working for SIS in Beirut. Then, as the TASS communiqué said with suggestive understatement, "In 1963, having successfully accomplished a regular assignment, Kim Philby got to Moscow...." When asked in a recent interview if he would do it all again, he responded instantly: "Absolutely." Philby wanted to respond to the persistent planted rumors that he was disillusioned, in alcoholic depression, etc. He pointed to his comfortable Moscow home and his happy marriage to his Russian wife Rufa. "Although life here has its difficulties..., it's my country and I've served it for more than 50 years. I want to be buried here. I want my bones to rest where my work has been."

Part of our admiration for Philby stems from hatred of those he opposed in the British intelligence services who thought they were fighting the wrong war (against Hitler) and wanted instead to be fighting the USSR. During WW II Philby evidently contributed to preventing the British from reaching a separate peace with Nazi Germany to combine forces against the Soviet Union; while in charge of the SIS Iberian operations he deflected overtures from Admiral Canaris and other of Hitler's disaffected officers. In his memoirs, *My Silent War* (1968), Philby wrote: "... it is a sobering thought that, but for the power of the Soviet Union and the Communist idea, the Old World, if not the whole world, would now be ruled by Hitler and Hirohito. It is a matter of great pride to me that I was invited, at so early an age, to play my infinitesimal part in building up that power."

There is no question but that Philby and his colleagues from Cambridge undertook their work in the sincere conviction they were serving the cause of a communist future for mankind. Donald Maclean, one of Philby's comrades, evidently remained true to his socialist convictions until his last days in Moscow (he died in 1983). Roy Medvedev, who knew him personally, wrote in a eulogy that Maclean was disgusted by Stalin's crimes and had in his home a sign which read, "Opportunists, Dishonest People and Anti-Semites leave this apartment!"

But a life of service as a spy for the Soviet state under Stalin and his heirs does not necessarily equal a life of service to the working class. While Philby's circumstances placed him in a position to battle against powerful imperialist agencies, many of his contemporaries in Soviet intelligence had far dirtier assignments, sabotaging revolutions and murdering leftists. While he was gleaning valuable information from the Francoists, on the other side of the lines in the Spanish Civil War his GPU colleagues were assassinating leftists like Andrés Nin and strangling the revolution. Philby's intelligence work reflects only one side of the contradictory Soviet regime which issued from the political degeneration of the first victorious workers revolution, a regime that sacrificed the hopes for world revolution on the altar of "socialism in one country."

That Philby shared this program is evident in a recent interview in the *London Sunday Times* (20 March, 27 March, 3 April and 10 April). In his first published interview with a Western journalist in 20 years, Philby met this spring with Phillip Knightley on several occasions, discussing his views at length. Asked about Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said that if his advice had been sought, "I would have advised against it on purely historical grounds. I would have said, look what happened to the British there. So keep out.... We decided to go in and hold the country down for a bit until we could restore order.... But now we are anxious to pull out as soon as we can do so without a massacre of our friends there."

We Trotskyists, who unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, proclaimed, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" Faced with unenviable options on their Afghanistan border, the Brezhnev regime chose what it saw as the lesser evil: intervention against CIA-backed feudalist reactionaries. This pushed the Soviet military into defending social progress and women's rights, while cutting against the pursuit of "détente." If ever there was an occasion to implement the policy of "exporting revolution" by force of arms—a line often attributed to the Trotskyists, but actually proposed by Red Army Marshal Tukhachevsky (as well as the youthful Bukharin)—it would be in Afghanistan. Far from being a historically cohered nation-state, Afghanistan has been and is a cauldron of feuding tribes and fragmented peoples, for whom effective assimilation into the USSR through an Afghan workers state would constitute enormous social progress. Conditions of life in Soviet Central Asia testify to the vast gains this would bring for the Afghan peoples.

Unfortunately the Gorbachev leadership, in deciding to withdraw the Soviet army from Afghanistan, is leaving open the field for the bloody chieftains and mullahs who would unleash a

*continued on page 14*

Vladimir Kibalchich

AP

**Ignace Reiss (left), veteran of Soviet intelligence service, murdered in 1937 by Stalin's NKVD after embracing Trotsky's Fourth International. Trotsky (right) was himself assassinated by Stalinist agent in August 1940.**

Young Spartacus

## Clericals Beat Ivy League Bosses

# A Union Victory at Harvard

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—After 17 years of organizing efforts, the clerical workers who keep Harvard University running celebrated a victory over their smug bosses on May 17. In the largest-ever election for union recognition at a private university, 3,400 clerical workers won union representation by the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW), an affiliate of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). The struggle between American capitalism's premier think tank and its overwhelmingly female clerical and technical workforce was hotly contested and recognized by both camps as a landmark for future union organizing at private universities. As AFSCME president Gerald W. McEntee remarked, "I'm certain that if you can do it at Harvard, you can do it at an awful lot of places."

Securing the union's victory won't be easy. McEntee called the sleazy anti-worker crusade by the men who rule "Fair Hahvahd" "one of the most subtle but violently antiunion campaigns I've ever seen." Already the university has challenged the election results, trying to use the bureaucratic machinery of Reagan's pro-employer National Labor Relations Board that organized the vote. Harvard spent thousands of dollars printing anti-union memos, letters and pamphlets; supervisors were trained to convince staff members to vote against the union; Harvard workers were forced to attend seminars on the "dangers" of unionization. But despite the Corporation's power, money, prestige and high-pressure tactics, Harvard *lost*. Stop Harvard's union-busting campaign!

In the weeks preceding the election, the Harvard Spartacus Youth Club fought to win students to the side of the workers. As the SYC's leaflet stated:

> "Students have a side and a role to play in this struggle. The union-busting Harvard administration is also the enemy of student protest.... When campus workers strike Harvard, they're taking on an institution which braintrusts scenarios for World War III against the Soviet Union and the counterrevolutionary policies for which U.S. imperialism is known worldwide, from South Africa to Central America.
>
> "Unlike the mealy-mouthed members of the Democratic Socialists of America who call on Harvard to be 'neutral' in the union election, we know, as the old coal miners' song goes, 'there are no neutrals here!' This filthy rich bastion of the ruling class tried to save money during the Depression by withholding back pay due the scrubwomen of Widener Library! The only 'union' Harvard ever shed tears for was the reactionary CIA-backed Polish Solidarność. In 1983 Lech Walesa was invited to speak at Harvard's commencement while the University conferred an honorary degree on the vicious union-busting *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham—and simultaneously locked the campus food service workers in Local 26 out of negotiations for a contract!"

Friedman/NY Times

**Workers and students rally in support of union organizing drive by Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers.**

"We Can't Eat Prestige!" was one popular slogan of the HUCTW's organizing drive. Indeed, labor struggle requires a break with the elitist "professionalism" which is pushed by the employers to promote the illusion of "common interests" between bosses and workers. "White collar" clerical workers at Yale University won an eleven-week strike in 1984 in large part because the "blue collar" maintenance and dining hall workers honored the picket lines that went up against the ivied walls. At Harvard, the dining hall workers organized by Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees union has a record of militant struggle in defense of their predominantly female and minority membership, and their support will be vital to the HUCTW. All university employees, including professors, should be organized in a solid union front! Next to the high-tech belt around Route 128, colleges and universities are the major "industry" in Boston—united struggle by campus unions could have a tremendous impact throughout the area. Solidarity in the form of militant action of all university workers, students and teachers is critical to beat back the Harvard bosses. Victory to the HUCTW! ■

# UCLA: Latino Student Barred from Office

The recent student election at the University of California in Los Angeles reminded a lot of people of the charades organized south of the border in "death squad democracies" brokered by U.S. imperialism. A Latino student, Lloyd Monserratt, won the election for president of the Undergraduate Student Association Council (USAC) but was barred from office on the spurious charge that he lacked sufficient academic credits. New elections on May 26 erupted into an angry melee when pollsters at Ackerman Union refused to give ballots to some 200 predominantly black, Latin and Asian students, denying them the right to vote for their candidate. Quicker than you could say "*Sham!*" ballot boxes at five polling stations around the campus were trashed by protesters chanting "Fuck Chuck" (a reference to UCLA chancellor Charles Young).

Lloyd Monserratt's election was stolen from him. For years, student elections at UCLA have been split between a "minority slate" and one dominated by white fraternity punks. When minority students win, the frat boys routinely challenge the elections and call for inspection of the candidate's academic eligibility. Now another student election is called for June 2 and Chancellor Young threatens a massive show of police force—armed UCLA cops at every voting booth! In an emergency USAC meeting convened after the protest, Chancellor Young bellowed to his toadies:

> "The free electoral process has been interfered with in exactly the way it was in pre-Nazi Germany and Nazi Germany. That is something we've got to take goddamn seriously.... We've got to have an election, or I'm going to have to take over the student government and appoint a dictator."
>
> —*Daily Bruin*, 27 May

It's come to the point that you can't even vote for who you want in sandbox student elections without big brother zapping your vote and your candidate out of the picture. At UCLA it's a case of racism. At UMass Amherst, Jason Rabinowitz was denied his electoral victory because he's a member of the Communist Party's youth group (see "CP Youth Barred from Office," *WV* No. 451, 22 April). A far cry from the vaunted "marketplace of ideas," the university under capitalism is an ideological and technical training ground for the maintenance of capitalist rule. When challenged by leftist and minority student protest, campus administrators drop the façade of bourgeois democracy and trample on the most basic democratic rights for youth.

*Führer* Young's ideal student body president would be someone whose views approximated those of autocrats like the bloody ex-Shah of Iran, a personal friend of Chuck's who funded UCLA's "Center for Mideast Studies." And this isn't the first time Young has tried to bar a minority student from political activity. In 1985, Young tried (without success) to "ban" Spartacus Youth League member Juvenal Martinez for leading a militant protest against Salvadoran ambassador of death Rivas-Gallont. "Free" elections Salvador-style could be what's in store for UCLA students with cops crawling over ballot boxes and Young threatening to press charges against the anti-racist protesters. We demand: Cops off campus! Seat Lloyd Monserratt! No reprisals! ■

## 200 Protest Racist Election Fraud

David Zetland

**Integrated student protest brought rigged elections to a halt at UCLA, May 26.**

# Abolish the Death Penalty!

# Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

*The following article is reprinted from* Class-Struggle Defense Notes *Number 7, March 1988, publication of the Partisan Defense Committee.*

In solitary confinement in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, a young black man awaits the electric chair. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner. He faces death today because yesterday he defied this racist, capitalist order. Mumia is a man marked for extinction, a member of an endangered political species—one of that breed of black youth who was radicalized through the struggles of the sixties, who came through the Black Panther Party and is still resisting the racist system which is trying to kill him. It is that history which has made Mumia the target of a deadly state vendetta.

Mumia was accused of killing a cop on the streets of Philadelphia on 9 December 1981. At age 26, Mumia was well known throughout the city when he was arrested. He had been a leading Black Panther Party member, was an outspoken MOVE supporter, an articulate and passionate journalist. He was the president of the Association of Black Journalists. Even the day after he was arrested, framed up as a "cop killer," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) headlined, "Jamal: An Eloquent Activist Not Afraid to Raise His Voice." And it was this voice that the racist cops and rulers of the city of "brotherly love" wanted silenced.

In 1970, at the height of COINTELPRO, sixteen-year-old Mumia, communications director of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party, was featured in a *Philadelphia Inquirer* article. Twelve years later, at the 2 July 1982 sentencing hearing, the D.A. demanded Mumia be condemned to death for his political history and beliefs.

Central to Mumia's trial was the state's "unfinished business" with the Panther legacy. From the outset, the prosecution sought to prove that Mumia was a committed cop-killer, that his membership in the Panthers was proof of that. The prosecution read from statements attributed to Mumia twelve years earlier. And what were these statements which brought down the lethal wrath of the state? What had Mumia said which convinced the court that Mumia could no longer be among the living? That he was too dangerous to live?

no credit

**Mumia Abu-Jamal and son, Mazi Mustafa, in 1982.**

*From the Death Sentence Hearing, 3 July 1982:*

Q. [To Mumia] "Do you recall saying, 'All power to the people?'"
A. "Yes."
Q. "Do you believe your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?'"
A. "I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."
Q. "Do you recall saying that: 'The' Panther Party is an uncompromising party, it faces reality?'"
A. (Nods affirmatively) "Yes."

The D.A. entreated the jury that for twelve years Mumia had been determined to kill cops—from "all the way back then with political power, power growing out of the barrel of a gun." This was all the state needed to prove Mumia must be legally murdered.

To the racist butchers who run this country, the Panther slogans, "Power to the People" and "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," disputed the state's "right" to keep the cities' blacks, poor and all minorities under the jackboot of cop terror. As Mumia answered his kangaroo court, "It's very clear that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun or else America wouldn't be here today. It is America who has seized political power from the Indian race, not by god, not by Christianity, not by goodness, but hy the barrel of a gun." And by the barrel of its guns—cops, courts and electric chair—this vicious capitalist state seeks to preserve its bloody class rule.

Mumia was black. He was a Black Panther. He believed in black self-defense. And he was not yet dead. The COINTELPRO terror campaign hadn't riddled him with bullets while he slept the way Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were executed. This bloody program killed 38 Black Panthers. Somehow it missed Mumia. He survived the destruction of the Black Panther Party.

Mumia was deeply impressed by the refusal of MOVE members to be broken during their 1979 trial on frame-up charges of killing a cop during the 1978 massive police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home. As Mumia told us, he became "a widely-known, and among the cops, widely-hated MOVE supporter, who went into the jails to get the Africas' side of Aug. 8, '78 confrontation.... I did human, warm pieces on some of the most beautiful folks I ever met—for that I've been shunned by former 'professionals', and persecuted by the STATE."

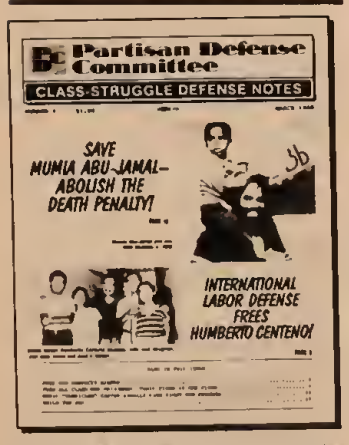
As a former Black Panther and an outspoken MOVE supporter Mumia was in the cross hairs of Philly's bloody cops. They want him silenced—and dead—to finish the "job" begun by racist Frank Rizzo and carried on by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. In 1970, Rizzo, then police chief, personally led a raid on Panther headquarters, dragging Panthers into the streets, stripping them naked and lining them up against the wall. On 13 May 1985, Goode, in collaboration with Meese's FBI, ordered the hideous bombing of the MOVE home, killing eleven people, including five black children.

Like Geronimo Pratt, Rubin Carter and countless other black activists killed or locked behind bars, Mumia is deemed "dangerous" because to the state he is a symbol of black rebellion against the hellish conditions of black ghetto life. The D.A. argued for the death penalty, "This is what this is all about, law and order."

On the night of 9 December 1981 Mumia was working as a cab driver. He saw a cop beating his brother who had been stopped for an alleged traffic violation. Mumia rushed in, taking a near-fatal bullet in the stomach. When the gun smoke cleared the cop was dead. Mumia was sitting on the curb bleeding profusely. The rest of the cops came. The witnesses had contradictory stories. But the state had the man it wanted.

Mumia's experience taught him not to expect a fair trial. The court forced an appointed lawyer on him, and denied Mumia's request to have MOVE leader John Africa as his defense counsel. To get the "right" jury of eleven whites, the court permitted a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding twelve prospective black jurors simply on the D.A.'s request. The judge denied Mumia's request to have the arresting cop called as a witness. The cop's report indicated that Mumia had made no statement. This was crucial in refuting an alleged

*continued on page 14*

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no credit

UPI

**Jamal, age 16, speaking at Black Panther Party meeting in California (left). Philadelphia police raid Panther headquarters, strip-searching members on sidewalk, August 1970.**

# Black Militant on Death Row

For 20 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal, 34, has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops. Rampant shootings of unarmed suspects, physical assaults on the Black Panther Party and SNCC, and the hideous bombing of the MOVE organization on 13 May 1985, have made Philadelphia police synonymous with unbridled racist state terror. On 9 December 1981 they tried to kill Jamal in the streets, but failed. He was hospitalized with a bleeding stomach wound, and arrested on charges of killing a cop. Convicted of murder in July 1982 and sentenced to die in the electric chair, today Mumia Abu-Jamal is in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison under the shadow of the Jim Crow death penalty.

no credit

**Mumia Abu-Jamal, then reporter for Philadelphia Channel 12, WHYY-TV, interviews basketball star Julius Erving, 1980.**

The story of Mumia Abu-Jamal reflects that of a generation of black militants from the civil rights movement through the Reagan years. While some were bought off, many of the best in this generation were gunned down by the state or jailed.

Who is Mumia Abu-Jamal?

• Experienced cop terror and racist oppression at an early age: Jamal was beaten and arrested at 13 for protesting a George Wallace presidential rally in the white racist bastion of South Philadelphia—home of Mayor Frank Rizzo. He fought to change the name of Benjamin Franklin High School to Malcolm X High School, and was later expelled for circulating pamphlets calling for "black revolutionary student power."

• Co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1968 at the age of 14: Jamal wrote for the *Black Panther*, which he recalled, "charged my pen with a distinctive anti-authoritarian, and anti-establishment character that survives to this day." He wrote Panther leaflets which drew death threats from the police Civil Disobedience Squad. As Minister of Information Jamal was featured in a front-page article of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in January 1970. While still in his teens he was arrested during one of many cop raids on Panther headquarters during the notorious FBI/cop COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party.

• Widely acclaimed journalist from 1970-1981: Jamal was broadcast around the country on the National Black Network, Mutual Black Network, National Public Radio, the Associated Press and Radio Information Center for the Blind. He interviewed Julius Erving, Bob Marley, Alex Haley, Puerto Rican independence fighters and international public figures. His work was guided by "the principle that we are oppressed Black human beings first" (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 5 December 1980). Jamal spoke "of the triumphs and tragedies of poor and oppressed Black and Hispanic people with passion and eloquence—in both English and the Spanish language." He was elected president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, at age 26 in November 1980; named by *Philadelphia Magazine* as one of its "people to watch" in 1981, citing his "eloquent, often passionate, and always insightful interviews [which] bring a special dimension to radio reporting."

• Well-known supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization: Jamal covered Rizzo's 8 August 1978 press conference following the siege on the Powelton Village MOVE home by more than 600 heavily armed cops earlier that day. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one officer during the cop assault and warned, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Jamal recalls that after the Powelton Village cop assault, he "gave voice to the members of the MOVE organization.... Most black reporters ignored them, while the white press slandered them."

Jamal was conspicuous for his uniquely favorable interviews with MOVE members from the depths of Philadelphia jails. He describes how, "While walking to work one day I..., passed in front of an idling cop car—I glanced at the driver, white, with brown hair, and wearing dark shades. He 'smiled,' pulled his hand out of the car, and pointed a finger at me, his thumb and other fingers cocked like a gun.—Bang! Bang! Bang!—the finger-gun jerked as if by recoil, and, the cop returns his fire-finger to the window, giving it a cowboyish blast of breath, before returning it to an imaginary 'holster.' He & pal laff. Car rolls."

His esteem among colleagues was so great that the day after his arrest the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) wrote a feature article, "The Suspect—Jamal: An Eloquent Activist Not Afraid to Raise His Voice." The *Inquirer* described him as a "gadfly among journalists and easily recognizable because of his dreadlock hairstyle, revolutionary politics and deep baritone voice," and noted he was credited with opening up the Association of Black Journalists to lesser organized minority groups "who usually never had access to the press in getting their voice heard."

On 3 July 1982 Jamal was sentenced to die in the electric chair. The prosecutor won his sixth death penalty with the argument that Jamal planned to kill a cop for the past dozen years. His "proof" was Jamal's membership in the Black Panther Party! The D.A. cited the 1970 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article in which Jamal uses the Panther slogan "All power to the people!" He assured a death sentence by telling the jury that Jamal would never die—he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." But today Jamal is still on death row. ■

UPI

**Delbert Africa under the jackboot of Philadelphia police SWAT team, as 1978 siege of MOVE ends with assault by an army of 600 cops.**

# What You Can Do

**"My research on Mr. Abu-Jamal's case leads me to strongly believe that he was denied his constitutional right to a fair trial and that he was sentenced for execution solely because of his political views and activities."**

**—JoNina Abron, assistant editor of *The Black Scholar***

*The Partisan Defense Committee is campaigning to prevent the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.* The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. PDC representatives and SL supporters, from coast to coast, have sought out organizations and individuals who oppose the barbaric death penalty to go to bat for Jamal. We are raising wherever possible Jamal's struggle to live, most recently at the Atlanta conference of Third World Journalists; at an American Civil Liberties Union meeting in L.A.; to the Connecticut Network Against the Death Penalty; with the AAPRP in Washington and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in Toronto. At Philadelphia meetings commemorating the 1985 MOVE massacre we met many who remember Jamal with fondness, as one elderly black woman did who bitterly recalled, "Mumia, I really loved him. Radio hasn't been the same since."

You can help stop this racist legal murder. The PDC has circulated the following letter and petition:

"Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

"The death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency.

"Mumia Abu-Jamal faces the death penalty because of his political acts and beliefs. Mumia Abu-Jamal was Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party. He became a well-known and respected journalist—President of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Jamal was prominently known to the City of Philadelphia as a vocal supporter of the MOVE organization. In 1982 he was convicted of the killing of a Philadelphia policeman. Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to death for his political activities and beliefs, specifically for statements he made as a Black Panther Party member 12 years earlier.

"Jamal's appeal is now before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The National Conference of Black Lawyers and American Civil Liberties Union submitted *amicus curiae* briefs on Mumia's behalf opposing the sentence of death.

"I demand that you not permit the legal murder of this courageous voice of the rights of black and poor people. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!"

Individual signatories to this letter include: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Bob Brown, co-editor of *Pan-African Roots* newspaper; Ramsey Clark, attorney; Howard Fast, author; Melvin King, Rainbow Coalition; Barbara Kopple, filmmaker; William Kunstler, attorney; George Lach, member of Executive Board AFSCME Local 2203; Aurelio Martinez, Jr., President, National Association of Letter Carriers Local 142; Howard Moore, attorney; Robert Moses, teacher, University of Massachusetts; Alma Washington, member of Actors' Equity; and Frank Wilkinson, Executive Director Emeritus, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation [organizations listed for identification purposes only].

**"Under no circumstances should the death penalty be used. Simply put, the Death Penalty is a sin against God and Humanity, and it is time we awaken from a barbaric age."**

**—Reverend Graylan Scott Ellis-Hagler, of the Church Action for Safe & Just Communities, Roxbury, Massachusetts**

Hundreds of people on city streets and shopping centers have signed the petition. Thousands more are needed. To get your petitions and to donate to the work of the PDC write to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Take Jamal's case to your unions, community and civil rights organizations, college campuses, local newspapers and all opponents of the Jim Crow death penalty. Organize protest. Join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the death penalty! ■

# For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy

*The first part of this series (WV No. 444, 15 January) dealt with the bankruptcy of the Yugoslav model of "self-management." The second part (WV No. 448, 11 March) considered the end of "goulash communism" in Hungary and the somewhat contrasting experience of East Germany.*

## *PART THREE OF THREE*

When Tito's Yugoslavia instituted workers' self-management of enterprises in the late 1940s, it was presented as and regarded as a fundamental challenge to Stalinism. When 20 years later Hungary introduced the market-oriented New Economic Mechanism, it was viewed as very much an anomaly among the Sino-Soviet states. But today "market socialism" has come to Deng's China and Gorbachev's Russia. Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan, the leading intellectual architect of *perestroika* (restructuring), declared during his recent visit to the U.S.: "We're going to have a market for all of the factors of production, from raw materials to machine tools to consumer durables, everything, to replace the centralized distribution system."

We are seeing here a historical tendency among bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states, not merely a coincidence of economic policy zigzags. The drift toward "market socialism" is neither linear nor irreversible. East Germany experimented with the market-oriented New Economic System in the 1960s but then recentralized its economy in the early '70s. Today, however, East Germany is the exception, the only major East European country to retain centralized planning and management. It is also, not accidentally, the most successful economy in East Europe.

There is an *inherent tendency* for Stalinist regimes to abandon central planning in favor of an economic setup with the following major elements: output and prices determined through atomized competition between enterprises; investment, managerial salaries and workers' wages geared to enterprise profitability; unprofitable enterprises are shut down, resulting in unemployment; price subsidies are eliminated, resulting in a higher rate of inflation; the role of petty capitalist entrepreneurs is expanded, especially in the service sector; increased commercial and financial ties to Western and Japanese capitalism, including joint ventures, are encouraged. These measures do not amount to creeping capitalism, as many Western bourgeois commentators and not a few confused leftists contend. But they do strengthen the internal forces for capitalist counterrevolution.

Viktor Bulla

Novosti Press

**Communism equals soviets plus electrification, said Lenin. Workers at Putilov metalworking factories meet to elect deputies to Petrograd soviet, 1920 (left). Dnieperstroy hydroelectric station, originally advocated by Trotsky (right). In 1926, Stalin said the mammoth power plant would be no more use to Russia than a gramophone to a peasant without a cow. Yet upon completion in 1932, Dnieperstroy generated more electricity than in all of tsarist Russia.**

At the same time, Gorbachev's *perestroika* means harsher conditions for Soviet workers. While the intelligentsia looks to a new wave of liberalization similar to Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" in the mid-late 1950s, for the working class there is a partial return to the labor practices of the Stalin era. Instead of the expansion of consumer goods and relaxation of draconian labor discipline during the post-Stalin "thaw," there is now an *anti*-egalitarian campaign with the reintroduction of piece rates on a wide scale, a widening of income differences between workers and the managerial and technical elite. But as the *New York Times* (10 May) recently reported on the impact of *perestroika* in a Black Sea port, "the ruthlessness of the marketplace violates the sense of justice and equality reinforced by 70 years of Soviet rule."

Thus Soviet workers are bound to resist the effects of "market socialism." Gorbachev's Russia is clearly heading toward serious labor unrest, although we cannot predict its magnitude, immediate demands or leadership. The explosive combination of market-oriented economic measures and political liberalization has created the best opportunity for the emergence of an independent workers movement since the 1920s. The central task for a reborn Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard in the USSR is to link the defensive economic struggles of the working class to the program of proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, establishing a centrally planned economy on the basis of soviet democracy and restoring Soviet Russia as a bastion of world revolution.

The economic crises in much of East Europe and the drive toward market-oriented reforms demonstrate the impossibility of building socialism in one country. As early as the 1840s Marx and Engels insisted that, "The communist revolution will therefore be no merely national one" ("Principles of Communism" [1847]). Achieving communism requires at least the combined effort of several of the most economically advanced countries. An isolated socialized regime would be subject to enormous military and economic pressures from the surrounding capitalist world, pressures which deform and will ultimately destroy a nationally-limited workers state.

Der Spiegel

**Long lines and empty shops in Warsaw as Polish Stalinist regime imposes austerity dictated by Western bankers.**

### Stalinist Russia: From Bureaucratic Commandism to Perestroika

The advocates of "market socialism" in Gorbachev's Russia look back fondly on the New Economic Policy (NEP) especially of the mid-late 1920s,

whose leading ideological apologist was Nikolai Bukharin and whose chief implementer was his then-bloc partner Joseph Stalin. Bukharin talked of building socialism "at a snail's pace," insisting that the expansion of industrial production in the Soviet Union should be determined by the *market demand* of the small-holding peasantry for manufactures. The Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, insisted on the need for rapid industrialization and central planning. As early as 1925, Trotsky warned that "if the state industry develops more slowly than agriculture...this process would, of course, lead to a restoration of capitalism" (*Whither Russia?*).

As the Opposition had predicted, by the late '20s the growing contradictions of NEP led to an acute "scissors crisis" as a sclerotic industry was unable to supply the peasantry, who sharply cut back grain deliveries, threatening to bring urban Russia to a standstill. Stalin reacted by switching to a policy of ultra-left economic adventurism—forced collectivization of agriculture, bureaucratic commandism and a breakneck tempo of industrialization. At the end of the first five-year plan, he boasted:

> "The fundamental task of the five-year plan was, in converting the U.S.S.R. into an industrial country, to completely oust the capitalist elements, to widen the front of socialist forms of economy, and to create the economic basis for the abolition of classes in the U.S.S.R., for the building of a socialist society."
>
> —J.V. Stalin, "The Results of the First Five-Year Plan" (January 1933)

He declared that the success of the first five-year plan was "creating in the country the prerequisites that would enable it not only to overtake but in time to outstrip, technically and economically, the advanced capitalist countries."

Trotsky acknowledged the enormous historical significance of Soviet industrial construction, but pointed out the *limits and contradictions* of Stalinist industrialization and exposed the illusion of "building socialism in one country":

> "The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases lain down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the further you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)

Today Gorbachev admits that precisely in the sphere of quality, in technical and scientific innovation, the Soviet Union has fallen increasingly behind Western and Japanese capitalism:

> "A country that was once quickly closing on the world's advanced nations began to lose one position after another. Moreover, the gap in the efficiency of production, quality of products, scientific and technological development, the production of advanced technology and the use of advanced techniques began to widen, and not to our advantage."
>
> —*Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (1987)

One might reasonably ask: why has it taken half a century for the economic contradictions of Stalinist Russia, which Trotsky wrote of in *The Revolution Betrayed*, to come to the fore? The answer lies in the effects, both economic and political, of World War II (called in Russia the Great Patriotic War). Hitler's Operation Barbarossa, although finally broken by the Red Army, devastated western Russia and the Ukraine. Twenty-five million people were left homeless, hundreds of towns and thousands of villages were completely destroyed. In 1945 industrial output in the areas which had been occupied by Nazi Germany was just *30 percent* of the prewar level. Thus the fourth five-year plan (1946-50) largely had to *redo* the basic construction of the previous three. Soviet industrial production did not recover its prewar level until 1950.

TASS from Sovfoto

**Gorbachev exhorts Soviet people to work harder, but his market-oriented perestroika (restructuring) means harsher conditions for workers.**

Resistance to the Nazi invasion rekindled a spirit of patriotism among the Soviet peoples. This was intensified by the Cold War launched by U.S. imperialism, whose leaders threatened to use their monopoly of nuclear weapons against Russia. Thus Soviet workers and peasants were willing to make the sacrifices and accept the labor discipline necessary for the rapid postwar reconstruction of the economy. Even bureaucratic parasitism and corruption was restrained in this period compared to the *la dolce vita* spirit of Brezhnev and his cronies in the 1970s.

Khrushchev's denunciation in 1956 of Stalin's monstrous crimes generated an expectation of socialist renewal, especially among the youth. The Soviet film *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* conveys the naive but genuine social idealism of peasant youth who come to the big city as factory workers in the early Khrushchev period. The film also depicts the social malaise of the last Brezhnev years in the late '70s—the inward-turning personalism and political cynicism, the rowdy street gangs in Moscow's better-off suburbs. Gorbachev himself laments the loss of socialist idealism in the contemporary Soviet Union which he heads:

> "Decay began in public morals; the great feeling of solidarity with each other that was forged during the heroic times of the Revolution, the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and postwar rehabilitation was weakening; alcoholism, drug addiction and crime were growing; and the penetration of the stereotypes of mass culture alien to us, which bred vulgarity and low tastes and brought about ideological barrenness increased."
>
> —*Perestroika*

Gorbachev is lumping together and confusing very different kinds of social idealism. The workers who made the Bolshevik Revolution were imbued with the spirit of revolutionary internationalism; they believed they were leading all of mankind into a socialist future. When the Polish Jewish anarchist Hersh Mendel arrived in Moscow in October 1917, he asked a group of Red Guards what they were fighting for. One of them replied, for the brotherhood of peoples (see "Memoirs of a Revolutionary Jewish Worker," *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88). In contrast, the shock brigades of Stalin's first five-year plans believed they were building in a few short years socialism in one country. And in defending the "socialist motherland" against the Nazi German invasion, Soviet workers and peasants responded to Stalin's appeals for national patriotism.

Nonetheless Gorbachev is right in one important respect. In the last Brezhnev years *all* forms of social idealism atrophied in the Soviet Union. And this has had a profoundly negative impact on the economy, captured by the cynical formula common in the Soviet bloc: "we pretend to work, they pretend to pay us." Gorbachev's answer is to reintroduce piece rates and tie wages to enterprise profitability. Other elements of the Kremlin elite want to go even further along these lines than Gorbachev. For example, the economist Nikolai Shmelyov, a former son-in-law of Khrushchev and extreme partisan of *perestroika*, maintains that only the whip of unemployment can restore labor discipline:

> "Today it is, I believe, clear to everyone that we owe disorderliness, drunkenness, and shoddy work largely to excessively full employment. We must discuss fearlessly and in businesslike terms what we could gain from a comparatively small reserve army of labor.... A real danger of losing your job and going onto a temporary allowance or being obliged to work wherever you are sent is a very good cure for laziness, drunkenness and irresponsibility."
>
> —quoted in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Gorbachev's Economic Plans* (1987)

Swen Publications

**Stalin inspects limousine, symbol of privileged Kremlin oligarchy.**

In his own way Shmelyov focuses on a basic contradiction of a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Economic planning, one of the main benefits of which is full employment, can be effective only when the workers, technical intelligentsia and managers identify themselves with the government which issues the plans. When they are alienated from the ruling oligarchy, the plan will be ignored and subverted at the base. The formal plan targets may be met, but by poor quality and ill-assorted goods. Raw materials, energy and other inputs will be used wastefully. State-owned supplies and equipment will be diverted into the black market, undermining the socialized economy.

Within the framework of Stalinism, there is thus an inherent tendency to replace centralized planning and management with market mechanisms. Since managers and workers cannot be subject to the discipline of soviet democracy (workers councils), increasingly the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of market competition as the only answer to economic inefficiency. The restoration of workers democracy in the Soviet Union is not just an abstract ideal but a *vital condition* for the renewal of the Soviet economy on a socialist basis.

### Plan, Market and Soviet Democracy

To be sure, workers democracy is not a cure-all for the economic problems of the Soviet Union or elsewhere. In the early 1930s Trotsky observed that the Stalinist bureaucracy imagined it "could a priori draw up a faultless and exhaustive economic plan, beginning with the number of acres of wheat down to the last button for a vest." Neither would a genuine workers government be blessed with perfect foresight and the capacity to draw up a letter-perfect plan down to the last detail. Thus Trotsky wrote: "Only through the interreaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained" ("The Soviet Economy in Danger" [October 1932]).

There is of course no recipe book, applicable to all times and places, on how to combine central planning, the market and soviet democracy. This will depend on the level of economic development, the international situation and countless other shifting conditions. Workers democracy and planning are not enough; there must also be an intelligent political leadership—a revolutionary party—to assess and adapt to the concrete situation facing a given workers state. We can, however, sketch out some general guidelines concerning the plan, the market and workers democracy.

Clearly, some economic activities are suitable for long-term planning and others are not. In building a new city or developing new oil fields in Siberia, a ten- or even fifteen-year plan might be desirable. For constructing new factories, a five-year plan may be optimal. On the other hand, the output mix of various factories—how many dresses and skirts, pots and pans they produce—might well be changed every week or two in line with changing market demand.

Long-term planning should be applied to the expansion of productive capacity (e.g., factories, railroads) and other major construction projects such as housing, schools, hospitals. The output of different consumer goods and intermediate products should be adjusted constantly on the basis of changing supply and demand conditions. The mechanism for this, however, need *not*

*continued on page 10*

# "Market Socialism"...

*(continued from page 9)*

be and should *not* be atomized competition between enterprises as in Yugoslavia or Hungary. Rather there should be a *centralized market mechanism*, for which a theoretical model was developed by the Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange in the 1930s.

Stalin has given central planning a bad name. Many people assume it means a small group of bureaucrats or technocrats running the economy. How can planning be combined with soviet democracy? Generally speaking, the most fundamental economic decision facing society is the division of the total product between consumption and investment, and the division of investment between consumer goods and producer goods (e.g., machine tools). As a rule the larger the proportion of total output invested and the larger the proportion of investment in producer goods, the higher will be the long-term growth in income.

During the 1920s the Soviet economist G.A. Feldman, basing himself on Marx's model of expanded reproduction in the third volume of *Capital*, developed a theoretical model for long-term planning. (This pioneering work, "On the Theory of Growth Rates of National Income," has been translated into English in Nicolas Spulber, ed., *Foundations of Soviet Strategy for Economic Growth* [1964].) Feldman related the current level of investment and its division between consumer and producer goods to the future growth rates of per capita income, consumption and investment. On the basis of Feldman's work or similar models it is possible to draw up a series of alternative plans, ranging from one which maximizes near-term consumption to one which maximizes long-term growth in income. Alternative plans could be presented to the highest soviet body, which would then determine the basic future shape of the economy.

Once the growth of per capita income is determined, it is possible to project—based on past experience, surveys and consultation with consumer cooperatives—the increased demand for the broad categories of consumption (e.g., food, clothing, household appliances, automobiles). The increased quantities of raw materials and intermediate goods (e.g., steel, plastics, textiles) required to produce the final array of goods can be projected through the input-output analysis first developed by Wassily Leontief. (Leontief was an economics student at the University of Leningrad in the mid-1920s before emigrating to the West. Input-output analysis should therefore be viewed as a by-product of the theoretically rich, as well as historically portentous, debate over industrialization and planning in the Soviet Union during the 1920s.) The rapid development of computer technology in recent years enormously increases the potential scope and accuracy of input-output analysis. It is thus possible to draw up an investment plan that is both internally consistent and in line with the democratically determined overall growth of investment and consumption.

As previously indicated, the current output mix of consumer goods and services should be determined through a centralized market mechanism. How would this work? Take the clothing industry, for example. A centralized distribution agency would be responsible for supplying a number of stores and consumer cooperatives. In turn it would command the resources of various clothing factories. If a particular style or size shirt is in short supply, the agency would order the factory(ies) to produce more of this item and fewer items in relatively ample supply. The clothing factories would in turn be serviced by a centralized distribution agency commanding the resources of various textile mills. If a particular kind of synthetic fabric is in short supply, the agency would order the mills to increase the production of this fabric and reduce those in relative oversupply.

Interfoto MTI via Eastfoto

**Gorbachev (third from left) meets with heads of Warsaw Pact states. Economic crises, a product of Stalinist mismanagement, national autarky and imperialist pressure, now wrack much of East Europe.**

The idea that market competition is needed to adjust production of consumer goods to demand is a myth of bourgeois economics. In fact, it isn't even true of the highly monopolized economy of the advanced capitalist countries. Computerized stock control is now common in the U.S. and West Europe. When someone goes to one of the larger supermarkets the items they purchase are recorded at the checkout counter where a photoelectric cell reads the product code on the package. This information is fed into a complex distributional network linking factories to stores. A socialist economy would be even more efficient in constantly adjusting production to the shifting needs and wants of society.

Adjusting supply and demand is of course critically dependent on how relative prices are set. A dress which is immediately sold out of the stores at $20 may be unsalable at $40. How then should its price be determined? In general prices should be proportional to the cost of production, i.e., if one style dress costs twice as much to produce as another style, consumers should pay twice as much for it. This does not rule out subsidies or additional taxes in special cases. For example, to encourage children to read, children's books might be priced below the publishing cost. The economic organization described above will not be totally immune from imbalances and bottlenecks. But no economic system can fully anticipate changing wants, resources and technologies. That's just life.

### Workers Management Versus Socialist Planning

The question of workers management/control has become a boundless sea of confusion and confusionism. It has also become a common demand voiced by would-be leftist opponents of traditional Stalinist bureaucratic commandism. For example, the manifesto issued by the Federation of Socialist Clubs, formed in Moscow last summer, demands the "transfer of the social means of production (factories) to a system of leasing self-managed enterprises to collectives," while at the same time calling for the "democratization of the planning system" (*International Viewpoint*, 9 November 1987). Needless to say, the Socialist Clubs' manifesto does not indicate how it is possible to combine self-managed enterprises with democratized economic planning.

The principles of socialist economic organization sketched out in the previous section define the nature and *limits* of workers control *at the point of production*. Workers would certainly elect their own managers and make certain other managerial decisions (e.g., the organization of training programs). A small fraction of total investment—say, 10 percent—can be placed at the disposal of individual workers councils and their decisions worked into the upcoming investment plan. But to have individual workers councils determine production and prices is to recreate the anarchy of the market. Nor can enterprise councils decide the scope and composition of investment, since particular groups of workers cannot have unlimited claims on the state budget, i.e., on the *collective social surplus*.

In response to the first article in this series, "The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model," we received a thoughtful letter from *WV* reader Bob Montgomery. He pointed out that Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875) took aim at the conception of the proletariat as an agglomeration of groups of individual workers to be amalgamated into state-supported producer cooperatives. This was the 19th-century version of workers self-management.

Marx reminded philistine "socialists" that resources for the replacement and expansion of the means of production, provision for the aged and others unable to work, expenditure on schools and hospitals, etc., must be deducted from the total social product before distribution to individual workers. He pointed out that "what the producer is deprived of in his capacity as a private individual benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society." As Marx indicated, the difference between socialism and capitalism is that the worker functions *not* as a private producer of labor but as a member of the social collective. As our reader put it, class consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat has nothing in common with the syndicalist fetish of workers managing their "own" means of production and exchanging their products with other groups of workers.

Wide World

**Leon Trotsky in 1917, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution.**

Many would-be leftist opponents of the Kremlin oligarchy, such as Boris Kagarlitsky, principal organizer of the Federation of Socialist Clubs, view enterprise self-management, by weakening the power of the *nomenklatura* (ruling bureaucratic caste), as the path of least resistance to workers democracy. In fact, enterprise self-management can serve as an effective *diversion* from a genuine struggle for soviet democracy. The Gorbachev regime itself has made a big to-do about allowing workers to elect managers. And the Kremlin tops are willing to let workers make certain decisions over enterprise operations, especially when those decisions are determined by the need to maximize profits. As the Yugoslav experience demonstrates, workers management and "market socialism" weaken the *political consciousness* of the proletariat and intensify divisions especially along generational and national lines.

The advocates of workers management, East and West, have a conception of the economy that is fundamentally technologically stagnant. It is here that the outlook of syndicalist-minded radicals converges with that of Stalinist bureaucrats (both old-line and reform-minded) as well as of bourgeois ideologists. All assume that the same workers do the same work in the same factories or offices year after year. In striking contrast, the Marxist conception of socialism is of an economy so technologically dynamic that mechanical and mindless labor rapidly diminishes and is replaced by *creative* scientific and artistic activity:

> "To economise on labour time means to increase the amount of free time, i.e. time for the complete development of the individual, which again reacts as the greatest productive force on the productive force of labour.... Free time—which includes leisure time as well as time for higher activities—naturally


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> transforms anyone who enjoys it into a different person, and it is this different person who then enters the direct process of production. The man who is being formed finds discipline in this process, while for the man who is already formed it is practice, experimental science, materially creative and self-objectifying knowledge, and he contains within his own head the accumulated wisdom of society."
>
> —Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse* (edited and translated by David McLellan [1971])

This conception of a communist future presupposes a *global economic order*, which requires the appropriation of the productive resources of the *advanced capitalist countries* through proletarian revolution.

### Toward a Global Socialist Order

The economic crises now wracking much of East Europe are a direct consequence of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The Soviet bloc economic organization, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON, also abbreviated as CMEA), is *less integrated* than the Common Market of capitalist West Europe. COMECON trade is only one step more advanced than barter. For example, if East Germany runs a trade surplus with Poland, it cannot use the resulting credit balance to increase its imports from Hungary.

As a consequence of the bureaucracies' refusal to coordinate economic policies across national borders, COMECON trade is based on *world market prices* (with a time lag and subject to negotiation in special cases). This practice is adhered to even when world market prices are wildly distorted by international cartels, such as the Seven Sisters/OPEC manipulation of the world oil market. Recent proposals by Aganbegyan and others to eventually make the ruble convertible will only intensify the disruptive effect of the world market fluctuations on COMECON.

New York Times

Newsweek

**Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange (left) developed theoretical model for combining market calculation with centralized management. Soviet-educated economist Wassily Leontief pioneered input-output analysis, a key tool for central planning.**

During the early 1970s, when the world market price of oil was inflated by 400 percent, the Soviet Union was selling oil to East Europe at an ever smaller fraction of the OPEC price. As a result the East European bureaucrats squandered energy instead of conserving it. New factories in Poland, Hungary and East Germany were designed to use energy as if cheap oil was a permanent condition. Then in 1975-76 the Soviet Union raised oil prices within COMECON by 70 percent and also cut back its oil and natural gas shipments to East Europe so as to sell more on the world capitalist market, taking advantage of the Seven Sisters/OPEC price-gouging.

In the mid-'70s the East European countries were hit by a double blow from which (with the exception of East Germany) they have not recovered to this day. The world capitalist depression of 1974-75 collapsed their export market in the West, while the cost of fossil fuel and other raw materials (largely imported from the Soviet Union) skyrocketed. To maintain employment and living standards, the East European Stalinist regimes turned to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt Börse. East Europe's debt to Western bankers increased *fivefold* between 1974 and 1980, from $11 to $55 billion. To meet their debt payments Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia have since 1980 imposed ever more severe austerity programs dictated by the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In Poland the economic crisis led to the brink of counterrevolution. The powerful Catholic church—one of whose sons, Karol Wojtyla of Krakow, became Pope John Paul II in 1979—was able to mobilize much of the working class through the "free trade union" Solidarność. Lech Walesa and the other clerical-nationalist leaders of Solidarność made a power bid only to be stopped at the last possible moment by General Jaruzelski's countercoup in December 1981. But the debt-ridden Polish economy, made worse by Jaruzelski's market-oriented reforms à la Gorbachev, has once again produced widespread worker unrest. And once again Walesa, the Gdansk agent of "free world" imperialism, is seeking to exploit (fortunately, without much success) the bankruptcy of Polish Stalinism.

It is the Kremlin oligarchy which is ultimately responsible for the political and economic bankruptcy of its East European clients. It was, after all, J.V. Stalin who formed present-day East Europe in his own image—bureaucratically deformed workers states. And it is the Soviet leadership which determines the basic economic order in East Europe. In the mid-late '70s the Brezhnev regime encouraged Gierek's Poland and Kadar's Hungary to borrow heavily from the West so as to ease the financial burden on Russia. Under Gorbachev Soviet economic relations vis-à-vis East Europe have become even more narrowly nationalistic and shortsighted. Michael Marrese, an American specialist in Soviet bloc economics, noted a few years ago:

> "...the Soviets seem to have abandoned a multilateral approach to easing shortages of energy and raw materials among CMEA countries. It appears that the Soviets intend to negotiate bilaterally with individual East European countries and adjust their long-term supply commitments with respect to energy and raw materials, depending on the relative attractiveness of the exports which each country offers. Those countries more forthcoming with food, industrial consumer goods, or high-quality, sophisticated machinery will find it easier to secure adequate supplies of Soviet energy and raw materials."
>
> —*International Organization*, Spring 1986

Andor Heller

**Hungary, 1956: Crisis of "de-Stalinization" leads to proletarian political revolution as Hungarian army units go over to insurgent workers councils.**

Such is the logic of "socialism in one country."

The COMECON practice of basing trade on world market prices is fundamentally irrational, economically destabilizing and politically divisive. It makes no sense at all. Relative costs of production in East Europe and the Soviet Union are radically different from those prevailing in the capitalist world. Why, then, doesn't COMECON set prices proportional to costs of production? Because the nationally based bureaucracies have no control over production costs in their "socialist" trading partners. The Kremlin apparatchiks wouldn't dream of giving the East Germans some control over production costs in developing Siberian oil fields. In turn, the East Berlin *Bonzen* do not allow the Muscovites to influence costs and internal prices for electrical machinery in Leipzig and Erfurt. So Russia and East Germany trade oil and machinery on terms set by the Rockefeller empire and Siemens!

Stalinist nationalism thus intensifies the pressure of the capitalist world market upon and within the Soviet bloc. The socialist economic integration—especially through large-scale investment projects—of East Europe is a vital necessity not only to raise productivity but to counter imperialist economic subversion and warfare. For example, a major research effort, pooling the technological resources from East Berlin to Novosibirsk, might make a breakthrough in producing cheap synthetic oil. Such a development would significantly reduce import costs for the East European countries.

Proletarian political revolution in East Europe, to oust the bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet workers and turned its back on Leninist internationalism, will raise on its banner: *repudiate the ruinous debt to Western bankers*. The Stalinist regimes in East Europe could not conceive of such a measure—indeed, they have increasingly become local collection agents for the IMF—because they cannot withstand the inevitable imperialist retaliation (e.g., trade boycotts). However, socialist economic integration would make East Europe less dependent on Western imports and credits, while revolutionary workers governments in East Berlin, Warsaw and Moscow would have the moral authority to appeal to West European and American workers against the blood-sucking capitalist bankers. Imperialist economic warfare against East Europe would be transformed into *class warfare* within the heartland of world capitalism.

The Trotskyists do not propose to replace the dogma of socialism in one country with that of socialism in half a continent. As long as Wall Street financiers, German industrialists and Japanese *zaibatsu* own most of the productive wealth on this planet, the communist vision of a classless and stateless society cannot be realized anywhere. As long as world imperialism exists, the shadow of nuclear Armageddon will hover over mankind. The only road to a future of peace, material abundance, social equality and personal freedom is the road of Lenin and Trotsky, the road of international proletarian revolution leading to a global socialist order. ■


**Spartacist**
**English Edition**
**No. 41-42**
**Winter 1987-88**
**(64 pages)**
**$1.00**

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to Spartacist Publishing Co Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

# Nicaraguan PRT: Centrists in a Quandary

The accords drawn up by the Central American presidents at Esquipulas, Guatemala last August promised "peace," but instead plunged a knife in the back of struggles for social liberation throughout the isthmus. With Reagan's contra mercenaries defeated and his regime in turmoil over the Contragate scandal, U.S. Democrats engineered the "peace" hoax together with the local bourgeois regimes as a smarter program to isolate Nicaragua and stop the spread of revolution in the region. Aid was banned to leftist Salvadoran FMLN insurgents and Guatemalan guerrillas while the Sandinistas lifted restraints on internal counterrevolution. And now the Sapoá agreements between the radical-nationalist Sandinistas and the contras are laying the basis for re-establishing full-blown capitalist rule.

Now bloody contra criminals are riding through the streets of Managua. Contra military chief Enrique Bermúdez (a former Somoza colonel) meets with the rightist parties and the publishers of the CIA organ, *La Prensa*. The Sandinistas are even talking about allowing some contra comandantes to join the army as officers! Contra honcho (and CIA agent) Adolfo Calero may soon demand his Coca-Cola distributorship back, while contra landlords in Miami reclaim their *haciendas*. Managua has invited in multinational companies with a new foreign investment code, and has begun handing back properties to absentee owners who fled the country. Schools are being turned over to the churches. Reagan's killers have failed, but the rollback of the Nicaraguan Revolution is in full swing.

In the U.S., the reformist left has enthused over the pact for "peaceful" counterrevolution in Nicaragua while acting as the left tail on the Democratic Party donkey at home. The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (8 April) headlined, "Nicaragua Gov't, People Back Cease-fire Pact"; a few weeks later they begged Washington to buy off the revolution, calling "For massive U.S. aid to Nicaragua" (*Militant*, 29 April)! Meanwhile, the ex-SWPers of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency pro-

WV Photo

**May Day in Nicaragua, 1984. Embattled masses urgently need Bolshevik leadership to defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan Revolution.**

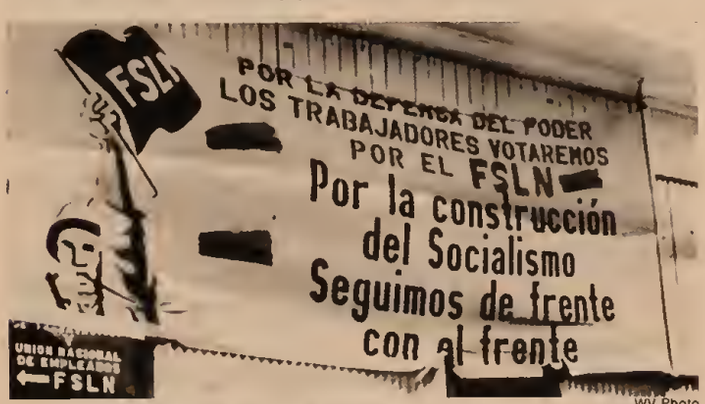
claim the Sapoá accords "A Victory for the Nicaraguan Revolution" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, May 1988). *Socialist Action* (April 1988) is queasy, asking "Nicaragua cease-fire: Is the war really over?" But while refusing to call for "humanitarian" contra aid, as much of the "solidarity" crowd did, they say nothing against the Sandinista sellout.

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League uniquely told the truth, declaring: "Sandinista-Contra Pact: Revolution in Grave Danger" (*WV* No. 450, 8 April). We have warned repeatedly that the treacherous concessions by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega and the rest of the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) leaders will be paid for with the blood of the most militant fighters for social justice. Instead of parleying with the contras, they must be crushed! To overcome the devastation of the contra war and imperialist economic blockade, what's needed is to establish proletarian state power, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party firmly committed to the program of permanent revolution.

### Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

In Nicaragua, the reformist pro-Moscow Socialist (PSN) and Communist (PCN) parties have joined hands with the right-wing bourgeois opposition in the so-called "bloc of 14," demanding that the Sandinistas "democratize" the country by relinquishing key levers of power. While construction workers (initially joined by mechanics and restaurant workers) have waged a bitter strike for the last three months against the FSLN's pro-capitalist austerity program decreed in February, their PSN and PCN union leaders have tried to turn this legitimate struggle into a rallying point for counterrevolutionary opposition to the Sandinistas (see "Nicaragua in Turmoil," *WV* No. 452, 6 May). This scenario was played out in Chile in 1973, when CIA efforts at internal "destabilization" of the popular-front Allende regime ultimately led to the bloody Pinochet coup.

There are, however, two small parties in Nicaragua who have generally opposed the Sandinistas from the left—the pro-Albania Partido Marxista-Leninista (PML, formerly MAP) and the ostensibly Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party). The PML's American supporters of the Marxist-Leninist Party have struck a "militant" stance against the Esquipulas accords, declaring "The peace pact doesn't defend Nicaragua" (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 October 1987). And in every issue of their paper they boast of their Nicaraguan comrades as "the Revolutionary Alternative" to the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas.



WV Photo

**FSLN 1984 election campaign banner calls for "the building of socialism." Now Sandinistas bargain away social gains of the revolution while smashing workers' strikes.**

Yet while the Nicaraguan PML *criticizes* the Esquipulas accords, it has *not opposed* them outright. Instead they called for fighting "to prevent the Esquipulas accords from weakening or dismantling the conquests achieved" (*Prensa Proletaria*, September 1987). Moreover, they joined with several bourgeois parties in putting forward a slate of candidates for the National Reconciliation Commission to implement the "peace" pact. In the words of PML leader Isidro Téllez, "to do otherwise is to open the road to the ultra-right" (*Barricada*, 28 August 1987). This is the classic "fight the right" rhetoric of Stalinists, from the Spanish Civil War to Allende's Chile, to justify a popular front with the supposed "progressive" bourgeoisie. And to top it off, the lead candidate on the PML-backed slate, Mauricio Diaz of the Popular Social Christian Party (PPSC), turned out to be a fervent supporter of contra Cardinal Obando y Bravo!

The PRT, followers of the late Argentine leftist adventurer Nahuel Moreno, last August denounced the Esquipulas pact as "counterrevolutionary" and "completely injurious to the Nicaraguan and Central American revolutions." But after opposing the formation of the National Reconciliation Commission, they turned around and gave critical support to Luis Sánchez, the PSN candidate for the Commission who was on the same slate as Diaz. We sharply denounced this in our article "Nicaraguan Left and the 'Peace' Fraud" (*WV* No. 436, 18 September 1987), noting "Morenoites Join Popular Front for 'Peace'." We characterized the PRT as "centrists in the pressure cooker of a besieged country mired halfway in a revolution." Subsequently, the PRT had second thoughts. On October 8, they demonstratively walked out of a session of the National Dialogue, declaring "we will not be part of the installation of a deadly trap against the Nicaraguan workers and revolution."

Moreover, in the October issue of their paper *El Socialista*, the Nicaraguan Morenoites made a forthright self-criticism under the headline "It Was an Error to Sign the Slate." The PRT said it had supported Sánchez because the PSN was a workers party. "*This was our error*," they say, because the PSN totally supported the pact from the outset, and "thus became one more party in... the *bloc of bourgeois-democratic, pro-imperialist reactionary parties*. In these conditions, it was the same thing to support the PPSC, the PCD [Democratic Conservatives] or the PSN itself." The article went on to say: "The PRT's mistake consisted of not extracting the practical conclusions from an analysis that was essentially correct. There was a great contradiction between what we said and how we acted...."

The contradiction between words and actions is a classic definition of centrism. But frankly recognizing a grave error could open the way for a sharp political struggle posing the need for a genuinely revolutionary program and party. The Nicaraguan Morenoites admit that in supporting the slate, "the PRT leadership showed signs of a great political weakness, which we intend to rectify beginning with this public self-criticism." But self-criticism is only the beginning. For the PRT's correction raises pointblank the issue of the popular front, a dividing line not only between reformists and revolutionaries, but also with centrists. As Trotsky said of the Spanish POUM in July 1936, on the eve of the Civil War:

> "The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "The Dutch Section and the International" (July 1936)

Given Trotsky's biting denunciation of the popular front, a classic subterfuge of pseudo-Trotskyists who can't resist the election-time pressure of the bourgeoisie transmitted through the reformists is to call for voting for the "workers parties of the popular front." That is what the Nicaraguan PRT did in supporting the "Socialist" candidate of a popular front for implementing the "peace" pact with the contras. This has been standard practice for Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), whose sections routinely give "critical" support to the Stalinist and social-democratic candidates of every class-collaborationist coalition, while whispering under their breath about the perils of popular frontism.

The PRT's deceased mentor (who was part of the USec for a decade and a half) played the same games. For years Moreno gave electoral support to the bourgeois-nationalist Peronists in Argentina (see our *Moreno Truth Kit* [January 1980]). Moreno the master of political camouflage is dead, but Morenoism—which made political banditry into a method, posing alternately as Peronists, Guevarists, Maoists, Social Democrats, Sandinistas, even Khomeiniites, depending on the mood of the moment—lives on. The PRT's correction under the hammer blows of the class struggle in besieged Nicaragua, *if consistently applied*, would put them at odds with the whole history of their own tendency. As we wrote last September, the PRT's zigzags are "hardly fortuitous," for despite their "left" talk, in the crunch the Morenoites' "real policy is to be a 'left' tail of the popular front."

If backing the PSN candidate was the

same as supporting the bourgeois candidates of the same slate for the National Reconciliation Commission in Nicaragua, then to be consistent the PRT would have to *oppose* voting for Allende in Chile, Mitterrand in France, Felipe González in Spain, all of whom ran in alliance with bourgeois parties or politicians. This was the policy of the international Spartacist tendency. Of Chile, we wrote in 1970:

> "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970

Tragically, our warning was borne out. Moreno, however, *denied* that Allende's Unidad Popular was a popular front, and *hailed* the election of Mitterrand and González who then enforced vicious anti-worker austerity.

### Centrism Under the Gun

Now in Nicaragua the battle has again been joined over the construction workers' strike. While we denounced FSLN strikebreaking and supported the strikers' legitimate demands, we stressed that revolutionaries must seek to "take control of the struggle away from the reformist traitors who are leading the workers into the arms of Reagan's contras." The PRT, however, declared its "unconditional" support to the strike. As a result, on May Day it participated in the demonstration called by the CPT union federation, a coalition including the U.S.-funded CUS labor front for the CIA, along with "some leaders of right-wing parties who are part of the contras' internal front"! They admit to some discomfort at the fact that "some slogans of a counterrevolutionary sort were chanted" (*El Socialista*, May 1988).

By failing to translate its formal opposition to the Esquipulas "peace" fraud into a hard proletarian opposition to "reconciliation" with the contras, the PRT at a crucial moment completely undercut its leftist posture. Now they have treacherously joined forces with a very foul-smelling front with the internal contras, while repeating empty statements about the importance of breaking ties with the right wing. Fighting for class independence of the workers can indeed mean excruciating isolation when the popular front is popular. But this is the key to winning the masses from the reformist and nationalist misleaders when illusions in class-collaborationist "unity" are blown away by the heavy winds of class struggle.

In Nicaragua today, the struggle to forge an authentic Trotskyist party—key to fighting for socialist revolution throughout Central America—lies in an intransigent struggle for Bolshevik clarity against the treacherous and ultimately suicidal contradictions of centrism. For the battle between revolution and counterrevolution, as in Spain, is literally a matter of life and death. ■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# Nuclear Nut...

*(continued from page 1)*

gates of the Kremlin.

Reagan came to power committed to reinvigorating U.S. imperialism in the wake of its humiliating defeat in Vietnam by "rolling back Communism" through a series of "proxy wars" against supposed "Soviet surrogates" around the globe. As former CIA chief William Casey put it, the U.S. was out to "win one." And when it comes to support to the Afghan *mujahedin* and the Pol Pot gang in Cambodia, it's the Democrats who have been running point. In order to justify their policy of global counterrevolution, the Reaganauts revived the "domino theory" which saw all the surrounding dominos falling every time some country stopped being an outright U.S. neocolony. Aside from "taking" tiny Grenada, militarily it's been a flop.

Gorbachev's "détente offensive" is changing all that. He is offering up to the U.S.—free of charge—what its ally Prince Sihanouk on the payroll. A similar deal is being mooted for Angola, where 40,000 Cuban troops have provided a defensive bulwark against murderous raids by the South African army and the CIA puppet forces of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas.

Now a leading Gorbachev strategist has come out in print echoing the imperialist line that "Russian expansionism" under Brezhnev is to blame for the Cold War. According to Moscow correspondent Martin Walker, an article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* implicitly attacks former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko and "cites the invasion of Afghanistan, the hunt for client states in Africa, and the hypocrisy of Soviet support for peace movements while deploying new generations of nuclear weapons, as the causes for the West's justified suspicions of Brezhnev's Russia" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 29 May). Neither the stodgy Brezhnev nor Gromyko were "global class warriors"; they were responding to crazed provocations by the American beast wounded in Vietnam. But at least

Nicketsberg/Time

**Soviet armored column in Kabul heading for the Russian border. Gorbachev's pullout from Afghanistan opens the door to bloodbath by CIA-armed Islamic fanatics.**

proxy armies were incapable of winning on the battlefield. When the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan against the CIA-backed Islamic holy warriors, we Trotskyists proclaimed, "Hail Red Army!" Now as Soviet troops began pouring *out* of Afghanistan on May 15, the reactionary *mujahedin* and their imperialist backers are crowing. One young woman university student shuddered when she spoke of her fate should the *mujahedin* enter Kabul: "It will be much worse for the women. The men know simply that they may die. But I have heard stories from relatives in Herat how they come and take the women..." (*Washington Post*, 23 May).

Meanwhile, the Soviet regime is twisting the arms of its Vietnamese and Cuban allies to "roll back" as well. The Vietnamese Stalinists got in the Moscow summit spirit by announcing that they will withdraw 50,000 troops from Cambodia by the end of the year. Vietnamese troops went into Cambodia in the first place to rescue that country's people from the horrendous holocaust inflicted on them by the insane Pol Pot regime, which had turned the entire country into one huge concentration camp. So the CIA put Pol Pot and his Gromyko ("Mr. Nyet") could say no to the U.S. once in a while; Gorbachev just can't seem to say no.

The illusions of Stalinists and Western liberals notwithstanding, "détente" and Cold War are not alternative policies but different phases of an ongoing conflict between Western imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state which represent fundamentally counterposed *social systems*. What brought about the short-lived "détente" of the 1970s was the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who, at the cost of two million lives, defeated the American colossus, allowing the Soviets to achieve rough nuclear parity. The imperialists are still bent on reconquering that vast chunk of the globe ripped out of the capitalists' hands by the Russian workers revolution of 1917. The conflict which has existed since 1917 will not disappear until one or the other system triumphs.

### Imperialism Cannot Be Appeased

Praising Reagan's ability "to take a fresh look at existing realities," Gorbachev told interviewers from the *Washington Post* (22 May), "Who would have thought in the early '80s, both in the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., that it would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms reduction treaty in history?" Well now, who would have thought in the early '30s that Adolf Hitler would sign a "nonaggression" pact with the Soviet Union? Notable in the historical re-examination taking place in the Soviet press as a result of *glasnost* is a crescendo of criticism directed against the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. On the eve of the summit, a leading Soviet historian denounced it in *Moskovskaya Pravda* as Stalin's "biggest criminal miscalculation... threatening the very existence of the Soviet Union" (London *Independent*, 19 May).

From a Marxist standpoint, a pact with Nazi Germany was no more unprincipled than a pact with the imperialist democracies, who had repeatedly rebuffed Stalin and finally made their own deal with the Nazi leader at Munich in 1938. Liberals and petty-bourgeois "friends of the Soviet Union" reacted in horror to Stalin's deal with Hitler, seeing it as a "betrayal" of the class-collaborationist People's Front. Trotsky denounced such "democratic" imperialist anti-Sovietism and led a faction fight against an opposition within the American Trotskyists which abandoned the defense of the USSR. But he warned that Stalin's confidence in the pact disarmed the Soviet Union in the face of the Nazis, who had proclaimed their intentions to wage war against the "Bolshevik menace" from before they took power, while it sowed confusion among the ranks of the world proletariat.

Far from buying time for Soviet Russia to arm itself, as Stalinist apologists (Gorbachev included) have until now contended, the Hitler-Stalin pact *paved the way* for the Nazi onslaught. Stalin refused to believe that Nazi invasion threatened even *after* it had begun. So what have the Kremlin Stalinists learned from the sorry lessons of the Hitler-Stalin pact they now disown? Zero. Now they place their hopes in the man who paid homage to Hitler's SS troops at Bitburg.

"We want to be partners with America" writes *Izvestia* commentator Alexander Bovin, while Gorbachev harks back to "the atmosphere of mutual trust, friendliness and sincere interest in each other which was born in Soviet-American relations in the years of joint warfare and victory over fascism." What joint warfare? It was the Soviet Union which achieved victory over Nazi Germany, at the cost of 20 million lives. The imperialist Allies even refused Stalin's pleas to open a second front until Soviet tanks had begun rolling west. And the final shots of World War II—Washington's racist atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Japan had already raised terms of surrender—were in fact the opening shots of the Cold War, designed to terrorize the Soviets with a demonstration of America's willingness to use its newfound nuclear might.

On the eve of the Moscow summit, Reagan dismissed Soviet appeals for "peaceful coexistence" by pointing out that Marx and Lenin argued that communism could only succeed "when the whole world became communist." But the Stalinist bureaucracy, with its nationalist perspective of building "socialism" in one country, eschews Marx and Lenin. It will take proletarian political revolution to restore revolutionary internationalism to the Kremlin. The U.S. imperialist behemoth cannot be appeased any more than could Hitler's Germany, nor can it be vanquished militarily from without, but it can—and must—be defeated from within through revolutionary struggle by the powerful American proletariat. As the American Trotskyists declared following Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War." ■

# Kim Philby...

*(continued from page 4)*

bloodbath against leftists, against unveiled women, against atheists, against any who have assisted the Soviets. And the market-oriented economic policies of the new Kremlin chiefs threaten to strengthen the hand of capitalist restorationist forces internally, as well as fostering social inequality, undermining centralized planning and exacerbating antagonisms among nationalities of the USSR.

To political impressionists, the zigzags of the Soviet bureaucracy appear incomprehensible; the fundamental underpinnings of the state are confused with vagaries of policy. Thus when Stalin's terror held sway, and particularly during the Hitler-Stalin pact, it became fashionable to deny altogether the class character of the USSR as a workers state; even today Stalinism is made out by some to be "counterrevolutionary through and through." Conversely, with Gorbachev's current popularity in the West, one hears the fake-left chorus hailing the return of workers democracy to Soviet Russia. But a vast gulf separates *glosnost* and *perestroika* from measures of genuine soviet democracy: only the revolutionary mobilization of the Russian workers behind an internationalist, Bolshevik leadership can dismantle the legacy of Stalinism and restore the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, the traditions of the October Revolution. We look forward to a new generation of Bolshevik-Leninists in the USSR, part of a reborn Fourth International committed to finally dispatching moribund capitalism through world socialist revolution.

In an article written more than a decade ago ("Heroic Soviet Spies," *WV* Nos. 165 and 166, 8 and 15 July 1977) we paid tribute to men like Leopold Trepper, head of the Red Orchestra Soviet spy network in Nazi-occupied Europe; Richard Sorge, who ran a daring operation in WW II Japan; and Ignace Reiss, a Soviet intelligence officer who embraced Trotskyism and was murdered by Stalin in 1937. The crucial warnings by Sorge and Trepper of the impending German invasion of the USSR in 1941 were criminally ignored by Stalin, whose refusal to heed them and prepare militarily cost millions of Soviet lives. *WV* also recounted the venal record of others who did the Kremlin's dirty work, like Mark Zborowski, who infiltrated the Trotskyists and played a key role in the NKVD assassination of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov in 1938 (and probably that of Ignace Reiss as well), or Ramón Mercader, who on Stalin's orders in 1940 drove a mountaineer's ax through the skull of Leon Trotsky.

The same *Workers Vanguard* article described the dual nature of the Soviet state and the men who serve it:

> "...how can it be that within one and the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there can be such mortal enemies: the Zhukovs and Tukhachevskys, the Abakumovs and Treppers, the Zborowskis and Reiss'—the jailers and those who tomorrow will be their prisoners, the assassins and those who will be their victims, all loyally working in the interests of the Kremlin? The answer is to be found in the fundamentally contradictory character of the Soviet deformed workers state.
>
> "Stalin's capture of political power in the USSR marked the imposition of iron rule by a parasitic stratum that had escaped the control of the working class. This bureaucracy sought above all to defend its own privileges. At times this would force it to resist encroachments or direct attack by one of the imperialist camps, as in World War II.... It was because of this face of the bureaucracy that dedicated Soviet intelligence officers could accomplish the outstanding work that they did against the Axis imperialists, although it was constantly sabotaged by their superiors.
>
> "But there is another face of the Kremlin as well, that of the state prosecutor who demands 'confessions' for imagined 'crimes against the Soviet Union,' and of the prison camp guard who executes jailed oppositionists while they sing the Internationale and vow to defend the USSR against imperialist attack."

We celebrate the triumphs of Kim Philby, Soviet master spy. He performed invaluable services in defense of the homeland of the October Revolution. And, as we wrote ten years ago, "when the Soviet working class rises up to expel the Stalinist bureaucracy, they will remember the vital work done by the heroic Soviet spies, the martyrs of the Red Orchestra and their comrades. Nor will they forget the infamy of the Zborowskis and Mercaders and their masters. To each his due."■

# Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

*(continued from page 6)*

confession the other cops claimed Mumia gave while almost bleeding to death from his stomach wound.

Mumia presented a defense of 15 character witnesses. He exposed inconsistencies in the state's case, which he described as, "A parade of street hustlers and whores strutted on the witness stand, one to say she saw a 'short' man, of roughly 200 lbs. shoot the victim (I am 6 ft.1; and was about 170 lbs. at the time)...a white cab driver described the shooter as a man wearin an 'Afro'; (and I've worn long locks for several years *prior* to 1981)." To bolster its image of Mumia as "violent," the prosecution slandered one of his character witnesses, renowned poet and Temple University professor, Sonia Sanchez, as a "friend of cop-killers."

The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO terror reaching into the courtroom. This time they got him. Mumia has been sentenced to death because of his political beliefs, because of what he wrote, because of what he said, because of who he "associated" with—and because of who he is. The use of the death penalty in this case is no aberration. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is about. It exposes not only the barbarity and arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but the inherent racism in its application.

It is no accident that the U.S. and South Africa are among the few industrial powers which retain the death penalty. In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master. Today, one out of every two people on death row is black or Hispanic, *four* times their proportion in the population as a whole; two-thirds of those with Mumia on death row in Pennsylvania are black. Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder.

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! Death row is not just another housing unit in the prison hellholes. It is a holding pen for those who *will* be put to death. In insisting on the death penalty for Mumia, the D.A. told the jurors he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal"! Tell it to the family of 27-year-old Robert Streetman who was put to death by lethal injection on January 7 as his lawyer was calling the governor's office to advise them the Supreme Court would consider a new motion for appeal.

A few years ago the Supreme Court ruled that executions could be carried out before all legal appeals were exhausted. Last month Chief Justice Rehnquist complained that courts need to put an end to 11th hour appeals and after the Supreme Court rejected his application for a stay, Florida executed Willie Jasper Darden on March 15th, three weeks before the normal 30-day limit to file appeals, despite substantial evidence he was not guilty!

Mumia is now appealing his conviction and sentence of death. The National Conference of Black Lawyers and ACLU submitted an *omicus curiae* brief on his behalf. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has issued no decision to date. We must act now. Mumia's case must be the cause of all blacks, workers and defenders of democratic rights.

Mumia's fight to live must become our fight. His case must be a symbol of the battle against the death penalty. We must not allow the state to pull the switch. Our voices and our protest along with legal defense matter. We must make this case and this cause known to ever wider circles. If we can help to save the life of this courageous young man, we help all those who face the executioners. Publicize this case, raise it in your unions and community organizations. Organize mass protests. Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Death Penalty!■

Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

**13 May 1985: The bombing of black America—signature of the Reagan years. Bodies of eleven members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, including five children, burned to death by police assault are pulled from wreckage.**

# S.F. Workers...

*(continued from page 3)*

like a six-month wage freeze!

Beginning with his assault on PATCO air controllers, Reagan has waged war on labor and blacks as the domestic front of the anti-Soviet war drive. The Democrats have followed suit. In November 1984, Agnos staged a provocation during a tour of Russia by California state legislators—getting himself briefly detained when leaving after meeting with prominent anti-Soviet "refuseniks" (*Oakland Tribune*, 1 December 1984). A year later, he managed to redbait even hard-bitten anti-Communist Feinstein when she briefly pushed for "sister city" relations with Leningrad. Agnos outrageously compared the Soviet Union to apartheid South Africa, and effectively squelched Feinstein's plan with his rabid Cold War hue and cry.

Agnos went after and got the active support of the strikebreaking, racist cops during the elections. A month after he took office, police rampaged through the black ghettos, shooting at will and gunning down retarded Samoan teenager Tony Grohse in cold blood. In exchange for their electoral support, Agnos rewarded Paul Chignell, an officer of the politically powerful Police Officers Association—which provided money, mailings and precinct workers—with a $56,000-a-year job as special assistant for "civil service and labor affairs"!

Last year they smashed the tugboat men and socked it to shipyard workers. Now city workers' jobs are on the line. The bosses are playing hardball and SF labor has got to strike back *now*. Yet the fat cat bureaucrats who tie the unions to the Democrats are making the workers eat it. All they have to offer is flag-waving protectionism, like at the Jesse Jackson rally and POSSCO protest in Pittsburg last March. This racist sucker bait is all the more dangerous for service sector unions with their large Asian, Latino and black memberships.

The giveback artists who have shackled the unions' power for decades are the biggest obstacle to victory. To win you need a class-struggle leadership in the unions, one committed to forging a workers party that will wage a revolutionary fight to put the profit-hungry, war-mad bosses, their politicians and their capitalist system out of business for good.■


*Spartacist* *Forum*

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# French Trotskyists' Program of Struggle

Capitalism is leading us to ruin. We need a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie and undertake the socialist reconstruction of France in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe!

**Stop Rollback of Social Gains!**

- No more layoffs—For a sliding scale of wages and hours!
- Strikes mean a total shutdown of production. To win, we need elected strike committees, recallable at any moment, and picket lines to shut everything down, to defend and extend the strike!

**Smash Racist Terror!**
**Crush the Fascists Before They Crush Us!**

- We have to shatter the racial segregation that gives rise to racism. Down with all discrimination in jobs, housing and social services! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!
- Anyone who is living in France has the right to stay—No deportations!
- Cops out of the immigrant neighborhoods!
- Abolish special police units, including the CRS and tactical squads!
- Worker/immigrant mobilization to crush the fascists! Worker/immigrant defense squads based on the unions!

**The Proletariat Must Defend All the Oppressed!**

- Free quality medical services! Billions for AIDS research!
- Cops, judges and priests out of the bedroom! Oppose all discrimination against homosexuals!
- Against all sexual discrimination! Equal pay for equal work! For quality day care open 24 hours a day!
- Free abortion on demand for all women, including minors and immigrants! tmmediate divorce at the request of either spouse!

**Independence for the Colonies!**

- Immediate independence for New Caledonia, Réunion, Guyana and the Antilles!
- tmmediate withdrawal of French troops from New Caledonia and the Pacific!
- French troops out of Africa!

**For Proletarian Internationalism!**
**For the Defense of the USSR!**

- The USSR must be defended against imperialism and internal threats of counterrevolution such as Solidarność' 1981 attempt, financed by the CIA, to seize power in Poland. For workers political revolution to drive out the Stalinist bureaucracy, restore soviet democracy and ensure the USSR's advance toward socialism!
- In 1979 we said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" when it intervened to defend the USSR and fight the reactionary mullahs armed by the imperialists. Gorbachev is in the process of abandoning the Afghan peoples in the name of an impossible "détente" with imperialism. Women who today have been freed from medieval oppression will be the first victims of Islamic fanatics.
- Not one man, not one penny for the bourgeois army! Down with the anti-Soviet French *force de frappe* [nuclear strike force]! ■

# French Elections...

*(continued from page 16)*

against capitalist austerity and the rise of the fascists, a program for winning.

Ever since the so-called "change" of 1981 that the PCF, the LCR and LO so fervently called for, the workers have been subjected to increasingly anti-working-class, anti-immigrant and anti-Soviet policies, whether under governments of the Union of the Left or under "cohabitation" [with a Socialist president and a right-wing prime minister].

A "re-centered" government in which the SP joins with all or part of the "center" will pursue and intensify this policy. It is a policy which seeks to "rationalize" the economy by destroying entire sectors of the productive apparatus. It is a policy which destroys social gains one by one; an anti-immigrant policy.... It is a policy of strengthening and modernizing the *force de frappe* [French nuclear strike force] and the military deployment against the Soviet Union.

One of the main consequences of the Mitterrand governments' policy has been the rise of fascism and Le Pen's 14.4 percent of the vote on April 24. What has enabled the *Führer* of the National Front to get millions of votes from despairing and enraged petty bourgeois, from backward layers of the proletariat and from the scum of decaying capitalist society is: the effects of the crisis, the dead end of bourgeois "democracy," the SP's and CP's reformist policy of loyally administering capitalist bankruptcy.

Of course, the bourgeoisie today is not yet at the point of bringing the fascists to power in order to crush the workers movement; it still thinks it has major resources in the form of parliamentarism or "classic" bonapartism. And for the time being, it considers Mitterrand the best guarantee of "social peace." Besides, the National Front's provocation on May Day in Paris demonstrated that it has not yet succeeded in "organizing its heterogeneous electorate into attack squads against workers and immigrants," as we wrote in our April 27 leaflet. How can the fascists be defeated? In that same leaflet, we answered: "What will stop the fascists are hundreds of thousands of workers who have been *mobilized* and are *determined*."

**French Trotskyists say: "Mitterrand's racist and anti-Soviet campaign puts wind in the fascists' sails."**

**Be Realistic, Vote Bolshevik!**

It is not true that the working class has no choice but to "stand by" Mitterrand, even "*without illusions*." As the CP, the LCR and LO did in 1981, this year the first two persisted in voting for Mitterrand. As for LO, it has taken refuge behind a refusal to take any position at all. As happened between 1981 and 1986, any workers' struggle will come smack up against the "re-centered" popular front of the Mitterrand government(s). That is why he has been able to offer himself to a worried bourgeoisie as the best possible guarantor of "social peace." Because *the working class has not been defeated*. It has the social power which still inspires the same old fear in the bourgeoisie. And to those who try to tell us that this is outmoded, that the working class no longer aspires to free itself from capitalist exploitation, we answer that such claims were made before May '68—this "pretty" theory collapsed 20 years ago.

Working-class combativity is a reality today. tt is expressed in the strikes at SNECMA [aircraft and missile engines], Michelin [tires], Renault-Cléon [auto], the Gardanne miners, etc. Moreover, this combativity was not affected by the presidential elections and there is no reason for it to be affected by the elections to parliament. But when confronted with a generalized counterattack waged in the name of "The Europe of 1992" [when all trade, tariff and citizenship barriers will be eliminated in the Common Market], then "normal" trade-union struggle, one shop at a time, even waged under common slogans, becomes completely inadequate. These are the classical tactics of the reformists, frightened by the scope that a general counteroffensive by the proletariat could take on. tt is not only the path of guaranteed failure, but also the rationale for arguing that there is no other solution but to "assemble left forces" as the PCF leadership says.

Today the PCF finds itself electorally reduced to short rations. But it dug its own grave with its disastrous policy of class collaboration, leaving the SP free to cynically pick which PCF candidates will be elected on June 12.

A generalized counterattack is what the proletariat needs. Such a battle would be organized with strike committees, it would defend itself with mass picket lines. Such a battle would inescapably pose the question of power.

When you fight for power, you need tools, and above all a revolutionary party. A party that understands that the fight between the proletariat and the fascists is an expression, in the final analysis, of the extreme polarization of society. A party which concretely poses the question of the conquest of power by the proletariat, which raises, without any ambiguity, the perspective of a workers government.

This has nothing to do with the various faces of the policy of class collaboration for which the proletariat has always paid such a high price. *That is the real meaning of the candidacy of Gilles Cazin.* ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Mitterrand Popular Front Opens Door to Fascist Le Pen

# Bolshevik Campaign in French Elections

"Vote Bolshevik!" "For a Workers Government!" Under these slogans, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) launched its electoral campaign in the fourth district of Normandy's Seine-Maritime department. The two-round election, to be held June 5 and June 12, comes only weeks after the French presidential election, where the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen scored one-seventh of the total vote, and the provocative May Day "rally" by Le Pen's National Front.

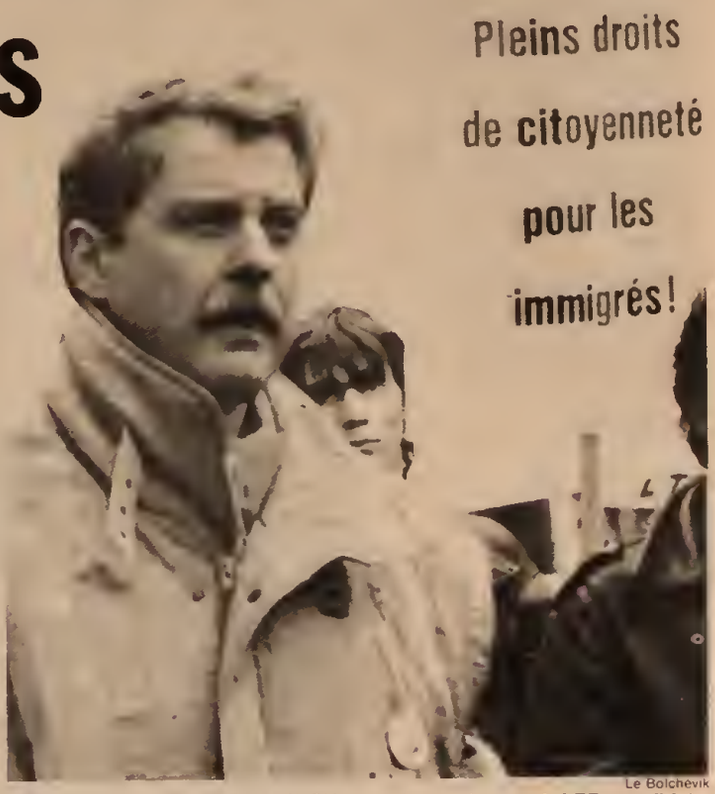
The LTF's candidate is Gilles Cazin, who has worked in the Renault-Cléon auto plant near Rouen since 1972. A member of the CGT trade-union federation, Cazin has been active in numerous strike struggles at Cléon, including the occupation of the plant in 1978. In 1984 he organized a delegation of Renault workers in support of the largely immigrant workers strike at the Talbot auto plant outside Paris. Recently he has fought for real strike action against firings, instead of the impotent pressure tactics of the Stalinist CGT leadership. Running as alternate candidate is LTF founding member Blandine Hollander.

In this district, Cazin is running against "socialist" Laurent Fabius, Mitterrand's prime minister from 1984 to 1986. Fabius is notorious for his frank avowal that Mitterrand's popular front took on, as Fabius put it, the "dirty job" of imposing capitalist austerity on the working class. (Today unemployment is 10 percent in France as a whole, 13 percent in Seine-Maritime.) During Fabius' sway as prime minister, French state terrorists bombed the *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand, killing a member of the ecologist Greenpeace organization. The May 24 *Figaro* noted the LTF candidate with the headline, "Trotsky Against Fabius."

French workers have already gone through a bitter experience with Mitterrand. The Communist Party (PCF) of Georges Marchais, which crawled into the anti-Soviet popular-front cabinet in 1981 only to leave three years later, has offered no alternative. Its score in the April 24 election was less than half that of the fascists. The Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (2 May) remarked acerbically about the PCF's dismal showing that "the Communists have no program, no slogans capable of attracting broad layers of the population, above all the working class." At the same time, a leading PCF apparatchik, Rigout, has announced it is necessary to reconstruct the Communist Party.

As for the pseudo-Trotskyists, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which supported the pro-Mitterrand, ex-PCF "renovator" Pierre Juquin in the presidential vote, is presenting a handful of candidates under the name of the Juquin committees (whose national leaders decided to duck the elections). And Lutte Ouvrière, which has denied that Le Pen is a fascist and even "debated" a National Front leader, decided not to run candidates when the PCF rejected LO's proposal for a joint campaign on the PCF's own program. Unlike the popular-frontist, electoralist LO and LCR, the LTF uses the election as a platform to put forward its program of revolutionary struggle (see page 15).

Gilles Cazin broke with the LCR in 1981 in opposition to its support for Mitterrand and joined the Ligue Trotskyste. In Rouen in December 1981, the LTF sparked a march of hundreds against fascist provocations. In the summer of 1987, the LTF led picket-line protests against racist discrimination by the Flunch restaurant in Rouen. On January 27 of this year, the LTF together with Tribune Communiste, which broke out of the "anti-opportunist" milieu around the Communist Party and later fused with the LTF, participated prominently in a united-front demonstration of thousands called by the PCF against Le Pen's fascists.



Le Bolchévik

**Gilles Cazin, militant Renault-Cléon auto worker and LTF candidate, marching against fascist Le Pen in Rouen, March 31.**

The Ligue Trotskyste demonstrated its program in action last weekend in response to a vicious assault by a gang of some 20 Rudolf Hess-loving skinheads on North Africans in Rouen and the nearby town of Sotteville in a night of racist terror on May 27/28. Hundreds of these knife-wielding fascists had mobilized internationally for an "Oi Oi" music "concert," terrorizing at least two of the major cities in the area, Rouen and Brest. The very next afternoon, the LTF held a protest in Sotteville at which a North African restaurant owner whose cafe was attacked by the fascists spoke, as did two of the victims. Gilles Cazin declared: "We must crush the fascists before they crush us! The whole workers movement of the region must organize an immediate, massive, powerful response to this sinister and menacing raid!"

The LTF is campaigning in the Leninist tradition of the "tribune of the people," condemning the anti-homosexual witchhunt stirred up by hysteria in the face of the AIDS epidemic. Our comrades' Bolshevik campaign offers a program for the liberation of women through socialist revolution, addressing itself in particular to women workers, who make up half of the active labor force in the district. Central to the LTF campaign is the cause of the immigrant workers, recalling that in 1871 the Paris Commune, the first workers government, decreed full citizenship rights of "all immigrant workers and their families."

A special election supplement of the LTF newspaper *Le Bolchévik* emphasized as well the decisive importance of the "Russian question" today, proclaiming "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!"

> "Today, Gorbachev is in the process of selling out Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Thus he not only stabs the peoples of these countries in the back, he also weakens the defense of the USSR, closing the imperialists' vise and encouraging them to roll back 'Communism' throughout the world, including the Soviet Union itself. The defense and extension of the gains of October requires a struggle for world socialist revolution, which by rooting out capitalist exploitation will eliminate the cause of war."

We print below the lead article from the May 1988 *Le Bolchévik* supplement, and the LTF's program of struggle from an election poster that has been posted throughout the district.

Le Bolchévik

**Ligue Trotskyste/Tribune Communiste contingent at January 27 protest in Paris against Le Pen. Banner reads: "Le Pen—Enough Is Enough! For Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Crush the Fascists! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"**

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To the workers who abstained in the presidential elections and to those who, for the lack of any alternative, voted for Mitterrand in the belief that it would block the path of reaction, we, the Ligue Trotskyste, say that it was Mitterrand, Marchais and Juquin who got us into this shit!

The Ligue Trotskyste, which didn't call for a vote for Mitterrand in either 1981 or '88, has decided to run a Bolshevik candidate, Gilles Cazin, for a workers government and against Fabius, the man who for five years did the "dirty work." [Cazin is running] on a revolutionary program of struggle

*continued on page 15*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 455 17 June 1988


## Smash South Africa Anti-Labor Bill!

# 3 Million Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid

### Save the Sharpeville Six!

Three million black workers shut down Johannesburg and Durban, and even the capital Pretoria was hit hard by the walkout from June 6 to 8. The three-day "stayaway" was the biggest and longest general strike in the history of the South Africa apartheid regime. The auto industry ground to a halt, as all seven assembly plants in the country were shut down. Nothing moved in the black township of Soweto; Johannesburg was a ghost town as the buses and trains stopped running. White managers did the labor normally consigned to blacks, sweeping floors and stocking shelves in the deserted supermarket chains.

The stayaway was seen as a crucial test of strength between the apartheid state and the 900,000-strong black union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which has taken center stage in the struggle of the oppressed black masses. The massive show of the muscle of black labor, the social force which has the power to smash apartheid rule, was COSATU's answer to an ominous new labor bill which threatens to wipe out the gains of the past ten years of black labor struggle against white-supremacist South African capitalism.

Held in defiance of the state of emergency, the strike was the largest protest action since the banning in February of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations and prohibition of any political actions by COSATU as well. Since the state of emergency was imposed in 1986, according to official statistics 20,000 were detained and 3,000 are still in jail. Now a new state of emergency has been declared, just days before the annual June 16 demonstrations over the suppression of the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Banned from making a direct strike call, COSATU and the substantially smaller National Congress of Trade Unions (NACTU) had called for three days of national protest against the pending new labor law, which is a full-scale onslaught against the right to strike and outlaws all sympathy strikes and boycotts. Before the strike, employers were threatening mass firings and many union leaders had gone underground, anticipating roundups. "Our backs are against the wall," said COSATU secretary general Jay Naidoo. But the three-million-strong stayaway may have made the bosses more cautious about ramming through the bill. Another union official said, "Before the strike the debate was about whether COSATU would survive. Now everybody, the Minister of Manpower and the employers, is talking about moderating the labor relations amendment bill."

Motokeng/Afrapix-Impact Visuals

**Mine worker delegates at black trade union COSATU congress in May. Black proletariat has the power to bring down apartheid capitalism.**

#### Smash New Slave Labor Law!

The labor bill hans everything any combative union ever thought of doing, and the "battle against the bill" has been the focus of black workers' struggle since it was introduced in February. The bill's clauses include:

- Banning sympathy strikes, product boycotts and the "blacking" (hot-cargoing) of struck goods.
- Jailing of union leaders and shop stewards who defy the bill's provisions, and seizure of union property and treasury.
- Outlawing workers strikes on the "same issue" for a period of 15 months.
- Requiring notification of the government's Manpower Department within 21 days of the start of a dispute for a strike to be legal.
- Provisions for "interdicting" even legal strikes, forcing workers back to work.
- Selective firing of workers after a strike (i.e., sacking shop stewards and union activists).
- Forming "minority" (e.g., whites only) unions in shops where unions have won majority votes for recognition.
- Declaring unions "responsible" for all strikes and allowing companies to sue unions for all money lost during strikes.

A COSATU pamphlet detailed the frontal attack on the black unions, saying:

> "How many times have we won struggles through solidarity strike action or a solidarity boycott of particular products or through blacking the goods of a company where our comrades are on strike?... Solidarity action is the meaning of our slogan, 'An injury to one is an injury to all'."

The union declared "COSATU Says NEVER to the New Bill" and called for mobilizations to fight it. But after the successful stayaway, COSATU leader Naidoo called, not to smash the bill, but for "an independent panel of experts under the chairmanship of a retired judge" to decide whether the bill is anti-labor (WBAI, 8 June).

The bosses' hard line comes in the face of a mounting black labor insurgency. Last year, for instance, *nine million hours* of production were lost through strikes compared to *one million* in 1986! COSATU unions have waged major class battles in the mines, railroads, post office and retail stores, and they were the only ones to win wage increases actually exceeding the rate of inflation. Almost 40 percent of South Africa's economically active population belongs to trade unions, making the country substantially more unionized than many West European countries and the U.S. (*Work in Progress*, March 1988).

Furthermore, last August COSATU publicly reaffirmed its support to the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) by adopting the reformist Freedom Charter. The unions' growing economic and political assertiveness sparked the regime's crackdown on black labor. The Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* (3 June) reported that one experienced labor consultant came away from an industrial relations conference attended by about 700 top businessmen in Natal and said, "Without being melodramatic, one felt that war had been declared" against the trade-union movement. And now a new battle looms over mine contracts between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which is demanding a 40 percent pay hike, and

*continued on page 10*

### Gorbachev Rehabilitates Leader of Right Opposition

### The Bukharin Dossier

SEE PAGE SIX

# Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!

# FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

For eighteen years former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt has been locked in prison. His case is still before the federal appeals court. Labor, minorities and all enemies of racist injustice must mobilize now! Free Pratt now!

**Speakers include:**

**Willie Lee Bell,** Legislative Chairman, IAM&AW 739*
**Frank Grinnon, Jr.,** Executive Board, Local 1011, IBEW*
**H. Lee Halterman,** District Counsel to U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums
**Warren Hinckle,** columnist, *San Francisco Examiner**
**Wilson Riles, Jr.,** Oakland City Councilman
**Spartacist League** representative

*Listed for identification purposes only

WV Photo

*"I earnestly call on everyone who actively supports my efforts to be free to come together, fight together and rally together to see justice done."*

*—geronimo*
*MCC-NY*
*4/7/88*

**Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin, March 1985.**

## DEMONSTRATE!

## San Francisco: Wed., June 29, 5:30 p.m.

## S.F. Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue

Sponsored by: **Partisan Defense Committee,** P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101
**Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense,** P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604

**For more information: (415) 839-0852**

TROTSKY

### Socialism Through World Revolution

LENIN

*From Castro's Cuba to Gorbachev's Russia, the Stalinist bureaucracies repudiate international proletarian revolution in the name of building "socialism in one country." This is the most decisive evidence of their repudiation of the Leninist program of the 1917 October Revolution, which declared itself to the world's workers and oppressed as the first, but only the first, step on the road to the overthrow of capitalism internationally. In his 1928 "Critique of the Draft Program of the Communist International," Trotsky explained how the Stalinists' nationalist perspective endangered not only the world proletariat but also the Soviet state.*

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state *if only there is no intervention*. From this there can and must follow (notwithstanding all pompous declarations in the draft program) a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power....

The lever of economic construction is of tremendous significance. Without a correct leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be weakened; and its downfall would deal a blow to the international revolution from which the latter would not recover for a good many years. But the conclusion of the main historical struggle between the socialist world and the world of capitalism depends on the second lever, that is, the world proletarian revolution. The colossal importance of the Soviet Union lies in that it is the disputed base of the world revolution and not at all in the presumption that it is able to build socialism independently of the world revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon
EDITOR: Jan Norden
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence
EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial); 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 455** **17 June 1988**


# Letter

## Jackson Action— Same Old Reaction

*We print an excerpted letter from Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison. A former president of the Association of Black Journalists, a leading Black Panther member and MOVE supporter, Mumia was framed on charges of murdering a Philadelphia cop in 1981 (see "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" WV No. 445, 29 January).*

4/29/88

Loved your (PDC's) piece on "G" [Geronimo Pratt] in *WV* No. 451.

Also found your piece on the Jesse Jackson gyp game refreshing—seems it's not "kosher" to criticize the "country preacher." *ITT* ([*In These Times*] organ of Demo-Socialists) adores him; *Militant* (SWP) ignores him; seems only fitting that *WV* (SL) should be the folks gutsy enuff to expose him. If the Africas (MOVE) published a paper, it would blow bombshells based on factual history of Jesse's past dealings with the Africas.

As it is, however, only *WV* warns folks that "Jackson action" is the same old "reaction." The only element I found lacking was a true historical perspective on the brutal history of the Democrats and African peoples in the U.S. (I've been reading a splendid, historically speaking that is, book from the prison's library, which gives, in chilling detail, the crimes of the Democrats against Africans and White populist poor in the South.) Such a perspective might undo the mental brainlock which grips Africans in the shell game, i.e., Democrats—good, Republicans—bad, of current American politics.

Interestingly, the same cats who now boost the "country preacher's" candidacy as a radical difference were organizing in the early 80's, and publicly calling for a new independent Black Political Party. (I know, I covered it for WUHY [now WHYY-FM] *91 Report* and *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio.)

The moral of this story—you can't VOTE in a TRUE change; put quite another way by the anarchists, "If voting could truly change things, voting would be outlawed," and finally, the old Panther slogan, "The only solution is revolution."

Ona Move! Long Live John Africa!
Mumia

P.S. Just read piece on pogroms in Palestine—good, good shit. Raises contradictions inherent between Israel's founding in idealism and a grim present which echoes the Reich in its anti-Arab terrorism. *Damn* good piece! ■

*Spartacist* Forum

**Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party**

**Speaker:** Ed Kartsen, SL Central Committee

**Friday, June 24, 7:30 p.m.**

Room 304, Barnard Hall, Barnard College

**NEW YORK CITY**

(Take the #1 IRT to 116th St. & Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

## LTF Candidate Fights for Immigrants' Rights, Workers Power

# A Trotskyist Voice in French Elections

PARIS/ROUEN—For the first time in many years, the voice of intransigent Leninism was heard in a French election. The Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, ran Gilles Cazin in the Seine-Maritime department of Normandy. "Vote Bolshevik! For a Workers Government! Vote for Gilles Cazin!" proclaimed its election poster, displayed throughout the district, which included the LTF program of struggle for a revolutionary fight against layoffs, to smash racist terror, to defend all the oppressed, for proletarian internationalism. This program was carried into action, as the campaign took up the defense of North African immigrants against a fascist skinhead assault.

In the fourth district of the Seine-Maritime department, Cazin faced former "socialist" premier Laurent Fabius. In justifying the capitalist austerity that the Mitterrand regime imposed on the workers, Fabius became notorious for his cynical remark that someone had to do "the dirty job." This is particularly galling in an area where unemployment is 13 percent. At a press conference held by Fabius, Gilles challenged his rival: "How is it that...after all these anti-worker, anti-immigrant, anti-Soviet policies, which have only put wind in the sails of the fascists, how do you dare to come before the working people of this region?"

While the vote for the fascists of Le Pen's National Front fell to 10 percent on June 5, down by a third from their score in the presidential election, the danger of fascist attacks continues to mount. *Workers Vanguard* (No. 454, 3 June) has reported how the Ligue Trotskyste immediately reacted to a night of racist terror by skinhead fascist punks in the Rouen area by calling a protest at the site of the attack. As demonstrations continued in the next days, including one protest of 800 people on May 30, the LTF's prominent participation was noted in articles and photos in the leading regional paper, *Paris-Normandie*, and other bourgeois media.

Le Bolchévik

**LTF candidate Gilles Cazin leads protest against fascist attacks on immigrant café near Rouen, May 28.**

A local daily, *Le Journal d'Elbeuf* (3 June), reported on a rally outside Renault-Cléon where the Trotskyist candidate spoke to his fellow workers, recalling that "we have...waged a long fight against layoffs," and calling for "a real workers government which will expropriate the bourgeoisie." "His interventions were received with interest and attention. In passing the hat to support his candidacy, it was mostly workers of North African and African origin who contributed," *Le Journal* reported. "And he concluded 'Comrades, be realistic—vote Bolshevik!'"

During the two weeks of the snap election campaign, Cazin spoke at soapbox gatherings outside the gates of some 15 factories in this industrial belt around the city of Rouen. The LTF held four meetings altogether, and intervened as well in election meetings of the Communist Party. In the first round of the election on June 5, Cazin received 288 votes, or 0.67 percent of the total cast. In the area around the Cléon Renault factory where Gilles has been a trade-union militant for the past 16 years, the percentage was double that. A press release by the candidate stated: "Our result was modest. This is the first time we have had an election campaign in this region, or even in France. But this campaign was a loudspeaker for the revolutionary program of Trotskyism."

In his campaign speech, Gilles Cazin emphasized:

> "Capitalist society, whether it is run by the bourgeois parties or by the so-called left parties who promise to reform it, can only lead to ruin, to war, to barbarism. We communists, Trotskyists, say it must be overthrown.
>
> "Capitalism is unemployment. Capitalism is the sound of boots throughout the world where the imperialists are seeking to roll back 'communism,' in Nicaragua, in Indochina, in Poland, in the Soviet Union itself.
>
> "Capitalism, finally, is racist terror and the fascist menace which is growing in this country on the rot of this society in crisis, which is historically doomed.
>
> "There is an alternative—this is the meaning of my candidacy. There is a revolutionary alternative, the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the workers, in the factories, in the streets, fighting for their own class power, a workers government. That is what the workers of the Paris Commune did in 1871, for a short instant. That's also what the Russian workers did in 1917, this time victoriously, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky."

The Trotskyists spoke to the victims of French colonial oppression. At a meeting in Rouen to defend the indigenous Kanak people of New Caledonia, where the French army has been waging a dirty war of military occupation and assassination, the LTF's alternate candidate Blandine Hollander denounced French imperialism "which is covered with the blood of the Kanaks as it was in the past covered with the blood of the Indochinese and Algerians." Stressing the need for a "struggle by a coalition of conscious working people of all ethnic groups on the island to throw the colonial army and administration into the sea," she appealed to the French working class to "mobilize massively against French imperialism—our common enemy" and called "For the immediate withdrawal of French troops from the entire Pacific, for the independence of New Caledonia."

The campaign ended with a celebration in Elbeuf; 55 people attended. Several comrades spoke, among them a Kanak member of the LTF's youth groups, and a representative of the Spartacist League of Britain. The evening continued with a local band, Rising Soul. Several of its musicians are from New Caledonia and are members of the LTF and its Spartacist Group at the University of Rouen. Their song in homage to Nelson Mandela was particularly warmly applauded. The Ligue Trotskyste thanks all who worked with the campaign and made it possible, including sympathizers who contributed almost 30,000 francs ($6,000). As comrade Gilles said in his wrap-up statement, "We will continue to defend the program of socialist revolution and build the revolutionary party on this program." ■

# "It Was Murder, Not an Industrial Accident"

## West German Mine Disaster

HAMBURG—A devastating explosion ripped through the main shaft of a soft coal (lignite) mine in the West German state of Hesse on June 1, burying 57 miners and injuring eight others on the surface. Fifty-one bodies were recovered from the Stolzenbach mine during a ten-day search. However, six of the trapped miners escaped because of their own resourcefulness, even though they were written off as dead by the mine bosses. Roughly half the labor force in the mine consisted of Turkish *Gastarbeiter*, the immigrant workers who do much of the dirty, dangerous work for West German capitalism.

As mine inspection and rescue teams poured into the disaster area in the town of Borken—crawling with police, politicians and journalists—a Turkish miner screamed: "It was murder, not an industrial accident." Mining "experts" had denied the very possibility of such a soft coal dust explosion—which blew open an enormous crater on the surface and crumpled steel and concrete structures—since lignite is supposedly too damp to explode. So machinery in the Stolzenbach mine was never equipped with safety devices to prevent sparking, there were no dust barriers and no regular dust measurements. Yet miners reported that dust was centimeters thick everywhere. Such soft coal dust is actually used as an industrial explosive; the liberal weekly *Der Spiegel* (6 June) noted that the West German Engineering Association classifies lignite as "explosive class 1."

Preussen Elektra, which owns the Stolzenbach mine, used the lignite mined there to supply its nearby electrical plant. Since this plant was slated to close down, the mine was also scheduled to close down in 1993. So the bosses simply *let the whole mine rot*. Members of the rescue teams reported that the

*continued on page 4*

Reuters

**Relatives grieve for Turkish miners killed in Borken explosion.**

## A "One-Night Stand"... And You're Screwed for Four Years

# Boston Gay Democrats Push Dukakis

With the Democrats ready to anoint Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis their presidential candidate, the 30,000 people who turned out for the Boston Gay Pride March on June 11 were treated to a cynical sales pitch for this mainstream bourgeois politician. For months much of the gay movement, one of the most highly organized Democratic Party constituencies, has been divided between those shouting "Run, Jesse, Run" and others pushing Dukakis as the "electable candidate." But being "electable" in bourgeois America means being anti-gay. So the head of the National Gay Rights Advocates, Jean O'Leary, laid down the line last month: "Stop comparing Michael Dukakis with Jesse Jackson and start comparing him with George Bush."

Dukakis is not palatable to many Boston gay activists. A popular booth at the rally invited people to throw eggs at a double poster blowup, which had one photo of Dukakis saying, "I support gay rights" and another reading, "I do not support: foster equality, safe sex pamphlets, clean needle program, executive order banning discrimination, medical confidentiality." At a meeting with gay activists in Los Angeles last month, there was an uproar when Dukakis defended his longstanding position giving priority to heterosexual couples adopting children, declaring "there is no constitutional right to be a foster parent." He also opposed an executive order banning discrimination in federal jobs. The Democratic-dominated Massachusetts state legislature has bottled up an equal rights bill for 16 years.

WV Photo

**Boston, June 11: Booth at Gay Pride Day shows contempt for Dukakis.**

And last month, Dukakis publicly defended sending undercover police spies into gay activists' meetings.

At the Boston rally, city councilman David Scondras, who has been stumping for Jackson, pleaded to the Democratic Party tops: "give us a reason to vote for you...reach out to us because we're your friends." Even Dukakis boosters had a hard time trying to palm off this "lesser evil" as an advocate of gay rights. Finally, gay Congressman Barney Frank cynically told the crowd to think of voting for Dukakis as "a one-night stand"! Frank said, "Because of AIDS, habits are changing, but things that are inappropriate in your private life may now be appropriate politically. You ought to think of elections as one-night stands. Voting for someone doesn't mean you've decided to spend the rest of your life with them." Well, the election of any of these capitalist candidates means being screwed for *four more years!*

Petty-bourgeois gay activists push the line that gays can find a safe haven in this racist, anti-woman and anti-gay capitalist society by carving out "gay ghettos" and pressuring Democratic Party pols. But even in SF, Boston and New York, vicious "gay-bashing" attacks are on the rise. Jesse Jackson won support by simply mentioning gays at the 1984 Democratic convention and speaking at last October's gay rights rally in Washington. But his purpose was to keep homosexuals, blacks and other oppressed layers within the Democratic Party fold. The Democrats no less than the Republicans are a party of capitalist reaction, of war, racism and bigotry. The horrifying AIDS epidemic shows graphically that deliberate, callous unconcern for the very lives of gays has been government *policy*, directly obstructing the search for a cure. What's needed is socialist revolution against this *system* based on private profit and hideous oppression. Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party! ■

## Mine Disaster...

*(continued from page 3)*

mine looked like a "mining museum" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6 June). Conditions rivaled those in mines around the turn of the century when miners carried a caged canary with them as a gauge of the oxygen supply. But the Borken miners didn't even have that.

### Survivors Were Told: Don't Call Us...

The mine bosses and capitalist state officials were guilty of criminal negligence not only before but also *after* the explosion. They insisted that there were and could be no survivors and acted accordingly. Erwin Braun, head of the Hesse state mining board, asserted that there was no chance anyone could survive more than a few hours in an atmosphere saturated with carbon monoxide.

Yet just a few hours after the blast radio contact was made with six survivors, who were told to *stop* further contact so that other communications wouldn't be disturbed! The people running the rescue operation then continued to act as if there were no survivors. But the six miners managed to stay alive for the next *three days* largely because Thomas Gepperth, an experienced coal face worker and member of the mine safety team, kept a cool head in this living hell 100 meters down. For 65 hours he led his group further and further into the tunnel and away from the poisonous gases seeping in from the main shaft.

The rescue came only because an engineer happened to hear sounds in the course of the salvage operation as fresh air was to be pumped through a new air shaft. When the miners finally reached the surface and told the true story of their ordeal, the West German public was shocked. An editorial in *Saarbrücker Zeitung* declared it "is a scandal, that already on Wednesday radio contact was made with those who were finally rescued...but that this wasn't taken seriously."

The man principally responsible for breaking the rescue scandal was a surviving Turkish miner, Ahmet Baktan. Only after Baktan came out of the mine alive did the names of the Turkish victims appear in West German newspapers. The Hesse minister of the interior assured the public that the residency of immigrant family members of the dead miners would not be questioned—i.e., he would not apply the existing racist laws which provide for the deportation of Turkish families when the main wage earner is laid off or dead.

So these "democratic" bosses kill their workers and then they show "compassion" by saying they won't deport their families! The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, demands: Stop all the deportations! Hands off *all* immigrant workers and their families! The capitalists may throw a pittance to the Turkish miners' families now left destitute, although this is by no means assured. Simple justice demands that Preussen Elektra pay millions of deutschmarks to the families of all their victims, especially to aid the 80 children left fatherless in the mining town.

The strong West German trade-union federation, the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB), has the power to protect *all* West German workers from such hideous and murderous conditions as those which led to the Borken catastrophe. Yet the DGB tops maintained a remarkable silence over the events in Borken. And no wonder—the only goal of the arch-conservative IG Bergbau und Energie (mining and energy union) leadership is to follow the bosses' logic of maintaining "profitability." They *accepted* the conditions in the Borken mine, which are reminiscent of mining conditions in South Africa.

These labor lieutenants of capital have, in mining as well as the metal-working industry, helped the bosses close one mine and plant after another. Only last month in the industrial heartland of the Ruhr, in the town of Rheinhausen, the steel bosses together with the DGB tops and the Social Democratic state government closed one of the most modern steel mills in Europe, eliminating 6,000 jobs. Steel workers across West Germany wanted to fight for Rheinhausen, and a class-struggle leadership would have mobilized the power of the two-million-strong metal workers union, IG Metall, to which they belong.

For years West Germany has witnessed massive mobilizations against nuclear power plants, but the petty-bourgeois radical Greens and assorted reformists have in the main ignored the deaths of coal miners through industrial accidents and black lung disease. Now the Moscow-line West German Communist Party worries that the "closure of Borken would increase Hesse's dependency on nuclear power." These Stalinists, who tail the DGB bureaucracy, don't want to draw "hasty conclusions" about the causes of the Borken explosion.

But the Borken miners have drawn their own conclusions. In the entrance to the mine they have hung a banner demanding punishment for those responsible for the deaths of their fellow workers. From the Union Carbide plant explosion in Bhopal, India to Borken, the capitalists walk over mountains of corpses for profits. When the productive resources have been ripped from the capitalists' hands by workers revolution, proletarian justice will indeed be meted out to the criminals who kill to fill their coffers. ■

AP

**Damaged entrance to Borken mine after coal dust explosion killed 51 miners.**


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# Mr. Air Disaster Sues Unions

UPI

Fusco/Magnum

**Union-buster Frank Lorenzo and his deadly skies. Eastern DC-9 breaks in half while landing at Pensacola, Florida.**

On May 6, Frank Lorenzo's plans to gut Eastern Airlines and destroy its unions escalated with the first-ever use by a company against a union of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Lorenzo's Texas Air empire, which has amassed 20 percent of the airline industry—including Continental and Eastern—charged the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) with "racketeering," "extortion" and "wire and mail fraud." Their "crime"? Fighting to save their jobs, and passengers' lives, in Lorenzo's deadly skies.

Lorenzo's RICO suit seeks *$1.5 billion* in damages, accusing the unions of "slanderous" attacks on his airline's safety record in a "continual plot" to drive away customers. *Safety at Eastern?!* Even Reagan's Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has levied over $10 million in fines against the airline for safety violations, and in April ordered an unprecedented 30-day inspection of *every plane* Continental and Eastern fly. Texas Air is a labyrinth of subsidiaries wallowing in debt to the tune of $5.4 billion, while bloated fees and rake-offs continue to flow into Lorenzo's personal Jet Capital Corp. This "Darth Vader" of the airline industry has systematically stripped Eastern of its assets, its planes, its skilled workers and pilots. One Wall Street analyst said that "If one were creating junk, this would be at the bottom of the barrel" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 April).

Meanwhile, unionists who have gone public with chilling revelations over safety are fired. Only weeks after 28 passengers on a snow-laden Continental DC-9 crashed on takeoff last November, Lorenzo suspended four heroic flight attendants, members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), who prevented another Lorenzo flight from taking off with ice on the wings. In October mechanics working on an Eastern A300 Airbus "red-tagged" a damaged engine, but a supervisor ordered it installed anyway. Weeks later, the engine burst into flames on takeoff, and but for the skill of the pilot, 258 passengers and crew would have gone down in flames.

It must be bad, if PATCO-buster Reagan's FAA was forced to perform even 30-minute safety inspections. Even though these perfunctory checks grounded *30 percent* of Eastern's fleet, the FAA declared the airline to be "a safe carrier." The Machinists union denounced it as a whitewash, "the best report money could buy" (*Newsweek*, 13 June). Lorenzo is so brazen that even capitalist politicians (some of whom commute daily on Eastern's New York shuttle) are worried that his profiteering may bring a bloody end to their careers. And the *Wall Street Journal* (9 June) carried a front-page story on Eastern foremen running roughshod over machinists in order to "move the meat" and put improperly repaired planes in the air. There are millions more airline passengers who don't want to die in order to fill the coffers of the money-mad airline bosses.

### Free Enterprise Kills

At Eastern, 3,500 IAM members—mostly skilled mechanics—were thrown out of work last fall, and now Lorenzo is demanding up to a *60 percent* pay cut for the lowest-paid IAM members, and the elimination of seniority rights. Provocative firings of long-term employees are widespread. In one instance a black flight attendant who was raped was disciplined for missing her flight. In the cockpit, *600* pilots a year, ten times the industry attrition rate, are bailing out and taking jobs at half-pay elsewhere. One veteran Eastern pilot said, "I am flying today aircraft that I wouldn't have even sat in while they towed it to the hangar in 1979" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 10 April). Less than 15 percent of the newly hired pilots have military flying time, standard in the industry, and *only half have jet experience*.

The RICO suit is an ominous tool borrowed from the Meese police arsenal.

*continued on page 11*

# 737 Rips Apart in Midair

Nichols/Black Star

But for the cool-headed performance of pilot Robert Schornstheimer and copilot Mimi Tompkins, Aloha Airlines Flight 243 would have been the last flight the 94 people who got out at Maui ever took. Halfway on its leg from Hilo to Honolulu, at an altitude of 24,000 feet, an 18-foot section of the fuselage ripped away. By all accounts, the Boeing 737 should have torn to pieces in midair, or crumpled as it came down for its emergency landing. In the 15 minutes that the plane carefully descended to its emergency landing, pieces of fuselage and other parts kept flying off at speeds up to 350 mph, some of them striking the passengers. Remarkably, only one person died, senior flight attendant Clarabelle Lansing, who was sucked out of the cabin when the top tore off.

This was the ninth flight that day for the plane. Aloha's 737 averaged *more than 13 flights a day for 19 years*, a total of nearly 90,000 flights. Only one other 737 in the world, also owned by Aloha, had a higher number of flights. With each cycle, the airplane structure twice experiences the significantly greater stress incurred during takeoff and landing, while the fuselage skin is subjected to expansion and contraction every time the cabin is pressurized and depressurized. On top of that, Aloha's island-hopping operation makes its planes more susceptible to saltwater corrosion, increasing the possibility of tiny corrosion-induced fractures which under extreme stress and wear and tear can grow, and grow, and finally rip open.

This sort of intensive operation requires particularly stringent and exacting maintenance. Yet a routine Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) inspection of Aloha Airlines last winter found that it did not have "an effective internal audit program" to make certain it was complying with FAA regulations and lacked adequate operations personnel "to carry out its responsibilities as the holder of an air carrier certificate." Still, the "watchdogs" of the FAA admitted that this was "no better or worse" than for other airlines that size. The smaller carriers, with more limited maintenance facilities, also tend to have older stock. As one structural engineer put it, "You put the airplanes that need the most inspection in the hands of the airlines that can do the least" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 May).

It is not only the small Hawaiian airline that is culpable in this deadly game. An ongoing 17-month-old study by Boeing has been finding a "general incidence of corrosion damage" among the many older planes in the Boeing fleet. An American Airlines 727 in 1984 managed to make an emergency landing after a crack in the fuselage turned into a gaping one-foot hole. But another 737 flying over Taiwan in 1981 with corrosion damage wasn't as lucky as Aloha Flight 243; it disintegrated in the sky. The accident rate for U.S. airlines in 1987 was the highest in the last 13 years. Pilots are forced to fly planes they consider unsafe, pressured to work longer hours under greater stress than safety warrants. Maintenance supervisors are strong-armed into approving maintenance checks which are incomplete. While the FAA and other government regulatory agencies turn a blind eye, the profit-hungry airlines are literally killing their passengers and crews.

As with American industry in general, which has gone to hell as Wall Street speculators go wild, the money that should be going into maintenance and new stock is going into financing junk bonds that keep takeover barons like Texas/Continental/Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo flying high. As long as the plane is "profitable," safety can go to hell—they've got insurance to pay for the dead! Airlines have been holding on to their old planes rather than investing in new ones, so the average age of airline fleets has climbed—in the case of TWA—to over 15 years. According to one aircraft consultant, "U.S. carriers haven't replaced more than a dozen airplanes in the past three years."

That a grisly catastrophe was prevented by the valor and skill of the Aloha crew is little comfort to the millions of air passengers who increasingly feel like they're playing Russian roulette when they buy an airline ticket. The technology to make flying safe is there, but you have to use it. American "free enterprise" means deadly skies. ■

# The Bukharin Dossier

Today Nikolai Bukharin is the most popular historical figure in the Soviet Union since V.I. Lenin, according to a recent Moscow survey. He is praised and eulogized in article after article in the Soviet press. Now a major piece by the deputy editor of the Communist Party's theoretical journal declares Bukharin to be Lenin's true heir.

Fifty years ago, in March 1938, Nikolai Bukharin stood amid the ornate surroundings of what had once been the Nobles' Club, vilified by Stalin's prosecutor Vyshinsky as a "mad dog" and a "crossbreed between a fox and a pig," charged with being a lifetime counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet saboteur. Beside him stood Alexei Rykov, Christian Rakovsky and 18 others, defendants in the third and last of the frame-up Moscow Trials against the "Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

They had been leaders of Lenin's party, organizers of October. Bukharin edited the leading party organ, *Pravda*, for 12 years and was president of the Communist International for three. Rykov succeeded Lenin as president of the Council of People's Commissars, head of the Soviet government. Rakovsky was a founding member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

During the stormy years following the death of Lenin in 1924, they became bitter political opponents. Bukharin and Rykov were leading exponents of the Right Opposition and, for many years, Stalin's allies. Rakovsky, until his capitulation to Stalin in 1934, had been a central leader of the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In the end, they all died victims of Stalin's terror. Bukharin and Rykov were shot immediately; Rakovsky, aged 65, was imprisoned, then shot on Stalin's orders three years later. Of this monstrous frame-up, Trotsky wrote:

> "*Bukharin has thirty years of revolutionary work to his credit, Rykov almost forty, Rakovsky nearly fifty.* These three men are now accused of having suddenly become 'spies' and 'agents' of foreign powers, aiming to destroy and dismember the USSR and establish capitalism....
>
> "Whoever tries to judge the events unfolding in Russia finds himself faced with the following alternatives: (1) either all the old revolutionists—who led the struggle against czarism, built the Bolshevik Party, achieved the October Revolution, led the three years of civil war, established the Soviet state and created the Communist International—either all these figures, almost to a man, were at the very moment of these achievements, or in the years immediately following, agents of capitalist states; or (2) the present Soviet government, headed by Stalin, has perpetrated the most heinous crimes in world history."
>
> —"Behind the Moscow Trials" (March 1938)

AP

**Nikolai Bukharin (center) served as Stalin's ideological hatchet man against Trotskyist Left Opposition during the 1920s. (At right is Stalin's lieutenant Sergo Ordzhonikidze.)**

The Moscow Trials of 1936-38, and the blood purges which accompanied them, resulted in the slaughter of virtually the entire leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, the decapitation of the Red Army and the murder of millions of Soviet Communists. Half a century later, on 4 February 1988, the Supreme Court of the USSR concluded that "unlawful means" and "falsified" evidence had been used in the 1938 Moscow Trial. All but one of the convictions have now been overturned. The one left standing is that of Genrikh Yagoda who, until his own arrest, had been Stalin's chief hatchet man and torturer. On June 13, the Soviet Supreme Court rehabilitated Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Pyatakov and 29 other leading Bolsheviks framed up in the 1936-37 Moscow Trials and then killed. *Izvestia* declared, "Now it is clear ...that they are not guilty before the law, the state or the people."

After Bukharin's execution, his young wife, Anna Larina, the daughter of another Old Bolshevik, spent the next 20 years in prison camps and in exile. Courageously she continued to fight to fulfill her husband's last request, that he be exonerated before future generations. "For me," the 73-year-old Larina recently said, "time doesn't exist. Truth exists." After she was granted a private audience with Khrushchev in 1962, a leading Soviet spokesman admitted: "Neither Bukharin nor Rykov, of course, was a spy or a terrorist." Yet it took 50 years for Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin to officially acknowledge even this tiny sliver of truth.

So Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky and other Old Bolsheviks have finally been juridically "rehabilitated." Today the Soviet press is rife with references to the "tragic year of 1937," when they were arrested, as the bureaucracy seeks to disencumber itself of lies no one believes, of crimes whose immediate benefactors have long since perished. *Ogonyok* and *Moscow News*, flagship organs of *glasnost*, feature interviews with Bukharin's widow and his Princeton hagiographer, Stephen Cohen. Now Cohen's biography of Bukharin is being published in the Soviet Union under contract. *Sputnik*, the Soviet *Reader's Digest*, highlights a biographical paean under the headline "*Glasnost*, Democracy, Personality." Yevgeny Yevtushenko, the "poet of the possible" of the Soviet bureaucracy, has dedicated a poem to him. The Soviet Academy of Sciences has reinstated Bukharin and pronounced him "in tune with our thoughts today." Why?

Nikolai Bukharin is seen as the best choice to fill that emptiest and most glaring of "blank spaces" in the Gorbachev regime's restructuring of Soviet history: who opposed Stalin? With "market socialism" increasingly seen as the way to reinvigorate the flagging Soviet economy, Bukharin is identified with the New Economic Policy (NEP) of the 1920s and hailed as the "forefather of *perestroika*." There is a desperate need to find some historical alternative to the discredited Stalin *on the same political ground of "socialism in one country."* In his speech on the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Gorbachev praised Bukharin for playing "an important part in defeating Trotskyism ideologically," as opposed to Kamenev and Zinoviev, who made common cause with Trotsky.

Gorbachev, however, criticized the Right Opposition for having "underrated the practical significance of the time factor in building socialism in the 30's," and he explicitly defended Stalin's collectivization of agriculture. A subsequent article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (9 December 1987) was more explicit:

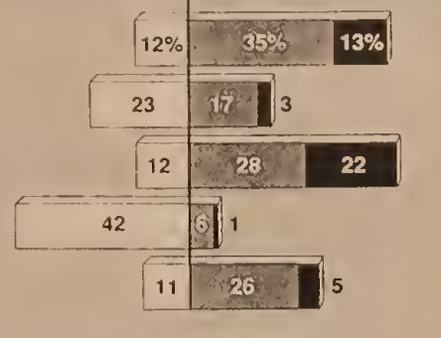
> "Today, one can assert that if Trotsky had taken the helm of the Party it could have expected even greater ordeals, ordeals fraught with the loss of socialist gains—especially because Trotsky did not have a clear and scientific program of building socialism in the USSR. Bukharin did have such a program; he had his own vision of goals for the Party as a whole. However, despite all his personal attractiveness, his great intellect, his gentleness and humaneness, Bukharin for a long time did not understand the historical need for the country to make a sharp spurt forward in building up its economic might."

Leon Trotsky, who was the principal "defendant" in absentia in the Moscow Trials and was felled by one of Stalin's assassins in Mexico City in 1940, remains un-"rehabilitated." (The June 13 Soviet Supreme Court decision cleared "everyone involved" in the Moscow Trials. Yet Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov had been convicted, in absentia, of "terrorism" in the same trials as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Pyatakov.) *Glasnost* notwithstanding, Trotsky cannot and will not be restored

Soviata

**Moscow Trials prosecutor, former Menshevik Andrei Vyshinsky (right), signed warrant for Lenin's arrest in 1917.**

## Soviet Leaders: View in Moscow




Based on 939 Moscow residents interviewed by telephone May 7, 8, 14, and 15 by The Institute of Sociological Research of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for The New York Times and CBS News. Those who gave neutral answers are not shown.

New York Times/27 May 1988

**Recent Moscow public opinion poll shows Bukharin is now most highly regarded past Soviet leader since Lenin.**

to his rightful place by Stalin's heirs, the hureaucracy whose intransigent foe he remained until his death: Trotsky fought for Lenin's program of world socialist revolution which was and remains anathema to the Stalinists. Bukharin, on the other hand, was part and parcel of the hurcaucracy, a fervent proponent of Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Now they want to make of Bukharin the embodiment of "Stalinism with a human face," who fought Stalin's excesses hut also opposed the "Trotskyite heresy."

The current wide-ranging dehate in the Soviet Union over the "Stalin question" is missing the central ingredient of the foundation of the Soviet state: *internationalism*. For their grandparents cared, passionately, about world socialist revolution—they lived day-today on the hope of extension of the revolution, the key to the significance and survival of the newborn Soviet workers republic they had fought and sacrificed for. Today this is presented as an esoteric "Trotskyite heresy" of "export of revolution." So even the pride of Soviet Afghanistan war veterans in having fulfilled their "internationalist duty"—as best they understood it under the stodgy conservative Brezhnev—is now subject to deprecation as a "mistake" of the "old thinking."

Recently, an important article by Otto Latsis, deputy editor of the Soviet party journal *Kommunist*, argues that Bukharin was the real heir to Lenin and that the year 1929, when the Right Opposition was smashed by Stalin, represented a "counterrevolution" (*New York Times*, 11 June). But there are clearly a lot of problems with elevating Bukharin to some kind of "Anti-Stalin." Not only did Bukharin *not* fight Stalin, this "gentle" and "humane" man was for many years Stalin's chief ideologue and henchman. And when the "Great Leader" turned against him, he capitulated with scarcely a whimper. As for Bukharin's "program of building socialism," it would have left the Soviet Union a backward, peasant-dominated country, easy prey for counterrevolutionary

**Sputnik, the Reader's Digest of the Soviet Union, runs glowing article on Bukharin under the heading "Glasnost, Democracy, Personality."**

forces within and hostile imperialist enemies without.

### Like "Soft Wax"

In his 2 Novemher 1987 speech, Gorbachev quoted Lenin's *Testament*, written on the eve of his final illness, characterizing the key party leaders:

> "Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)."

The reference to Bukharin as the party's favorite is quoted with nauseating regularity in the Soviet press these days, as though it can somehow retrospectively bestow Lenin's mantle on him. It is no accident that Bukharin was not perceived by any of his colleagues as a possible successor to Lenin. Lenin observed earlier: "We know how soft Comrade Bukharin is; it is one of the qualities which endears him to people, who cannot help liking him. We know that he has been ribbed for being as 'soft as wax.' It turns out that any 'unprincipled' person, any 'demagogue,' can leave any mark he likes on this 'soft wax'."

It was this impressionistic, scholastic quality that shifted Bukharin from the extreme left to the extreme right of the party spectrum in a matter of several years. Bukharin was scarcely 30 years old when the revolution occurred. His theoretical works to that time had been characterized by a rigid ultraleftism: a Luxemburgist opposition to Lenin on the right of national self-determination, an anarchist impulse to dismiss the need for a state following the proletarian revolution, a tendency to collapse the program of world revolution into an immediate perspective of military-revolutionary offensive.

Bukharin led the Lefts who were opposed *in principle* to the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany in 1918, counterposing revolutionary war against Germany at a time when the Soviet state scarcely had an army to speak of. The Stalinists falsely attribute this position to Trotsky. In fact, Trotsky's difference with Lenin was tactical—whether to accept the humiliating German peace terms outright or to force the Germans to break the truce and thus make it clear to the international proletariat that the Bolsheviks had no other alternative. In the upshot, Lenin was proved correct, as the Germans swept over the front and imposed much harsher terms than had originally been proposed. In the final vote in the Central Committee, Trotsky abstained in order to allow Lenin to win against Bukharin.

When it became clear that the world revolution was not around the corner, Bukharin, in knee-jerk reaction, anticipated the nascent bureaucracy's conciliationism toward hostile class forces. By 1922 he (and Stalin) were advocating the abandonment of the state monopoly over foreign trade, one of the chief economic bulwarks of the isolated workers state against imperialist encroachment. This prompted Lenin to charge him with "acting as an advocate of the profiteer, of the petty bourgeois and of the upper stratum of the peasantry in opposition to the industrial proletariat" ("Re the Monopoly of Foreign Trade," Decemher 1922).

### NEP and Perestroika

Bukharin's biographer Stephen Cohen credits him with being the "forefather of perestroika":

> "Anti-Stalinism is an essential part of Gorbachev's program. Perestroika is an effort to dismantle the system created in the thirties. Bukharin was the real defender of NEP ..the idea of cooperative socialism, the role of the market, the role of private farming, the role of competition...."
>
> —*New York Times*, 19 January

The NEP was a temporary retreat after the devastation of the Civil War in a backward, overwhelmingly peasant economy in which industry had broken down and was utterly disorganized. *Perestroika* is an attempt to regulate the Soviet economy through market forces and "enterprise competition," with potentially far-reaching consequences of

*continued on page 8*

# In Honor of Christian Rakovsky

If the rehabilitation of Bukharin and Rykov was long expected, the same cannot be said of Christian Rakovsky. From 1923 to 1934, Rakovsky was a central leader—second only to Trotsky—of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition to the Stalinist hureaucracy. Three years after the 1938 Moscow Trial, where he stood in the dock, he was shot. Notably, the 25 March *Novoe Vremya* carried a eulogistic piece on Rakovsky, even mentioning that he had been expelled in 1927 for participation in "the Trotskyist opposition." The article described his courageous behavior in Stalin's prisons, where he told an NKVD man: "So, I'll be dead soon; I'll be a corpse.... Some day the corpses will start to talk."

Born in 1873 in Romania of Bulgarian parents, Christian Rakovsky went on to play a leading role in the revolutionary movements of Bulgaria, Romania and Russia (and was also active in the French, Swiss and German movements), following his first arrest at age 14. Six years later he was a delegate to the Zurich congress of the Second International. When the Bulgarian Social Democracy split into "broad" and "narrow" wings, paralleling the split hetween Mensheviks and Bolsheviks in Russia, Rakovsky sided with the *Tesnyaki*, the "narrow" socialists who insisted on a revolutionary cadre organization. His authority among the Romanian workers was so strong that when he was arrested in 1909 they went into the streets and took on the Bucharest police in a bloody battle. He headed the first Soviet government in the Ukraine, and was elected to the Executive of the Communist International, whose founding proclamation he wrote.

Rakovsky was one of the first Bolshevik leaders to openly attack Stalin's hureaucratic methods, particularly over his chauvinist treatment of the non-Russian nationalities. At the 12th Party Congress in 1923, Rakovsky warned of "the fundamental discrepancy being created daily and growing larger and larger between our party, our programme on the one hand, and our state apparatus on the other." When, while Soviet ambassador in Paris in 1927, he signed an Opposition statement calling on workers and soldiers in the capitalist countries to defend the USSR in case of war, he was declared persona non grata and expelled by France. Shortly thereafter, he was declared persona non grata by Stalin as well.

Deported from one internal exile to another after the suppression of the Left Opposition, his health broken, demoralized by Hitler's unchallenged rise to power, he finally capitulated to Stalin in 1934. In "The Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender" (March 1934), Trotsky wrote:

> "Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. Without exaggerating by a hair's breadth, we can say that Stalin got Rakovsky with the aid of Hitler.... "We have no time to weep long over lost friends—be it even comrades of thirty years of struggle. Let every Bolshevik say to himself: 'A sixty-year-old fighter with experience and prestige left our ranks. In his place I must win three twenty-year-old ones and the gap will be filled.' Among the twenty-year-old ones, new Rakovskys will be found who, with us or after us, will carry forward our work."

Wide World

**Veteran revolutionary Christian Rakovsky (left), with Trotsky in 1927, was the second leading figure in the Left Opposition.**

While Bukharin's and Rykov's works have now been made available to the Soviet public, Rakovsky's writings remain banned to all but a handful: his powerful indictment of the Stalinist hureaucracy, his eloquent defense of Leninist internationalism, his leading role as Trotsky's comrade in the Left Opposition, represent a dagger at the throat of Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin. The Kremlin seeks only to "rehabilitate" Rakovsky the victim. We honor the memory of Christian Rakovsky, Left Oppositionist and fighter. ■

# Bukharin...

*(continued from page 7)*

dismantling central planning, the centerpiece of the socialized economy.

It was Trotsky, not Bukharin, who first proposed what became known as NEP, in February 1920, in the form of a "tax in kind" based on a percentage of production, to replace the forced requisitioning of surpluses from the peasantry necessitated by the harsh conditions of civil war—the policy of "war communism." While Trotsky's proposal was defeated in the Politburo, a year later Lenin put forward a similar plan, which became the core of the NEP. In an attempt to lend Lenin's authority to *perestroika*, supporters of "market socialism" claim that he saw NEP as defining the transition to socialism, citing his statement (at a May 1921 party conference) that the NEP was meant "seriously and for a long time." Lenin happened to be (favorably) quoting another speaker, who argued it meant 25 years. "I am not that pessimistic," replied Lenin, referring in the same paragraph to NEP as a "retreat." Earlier in the debate he emphasized:

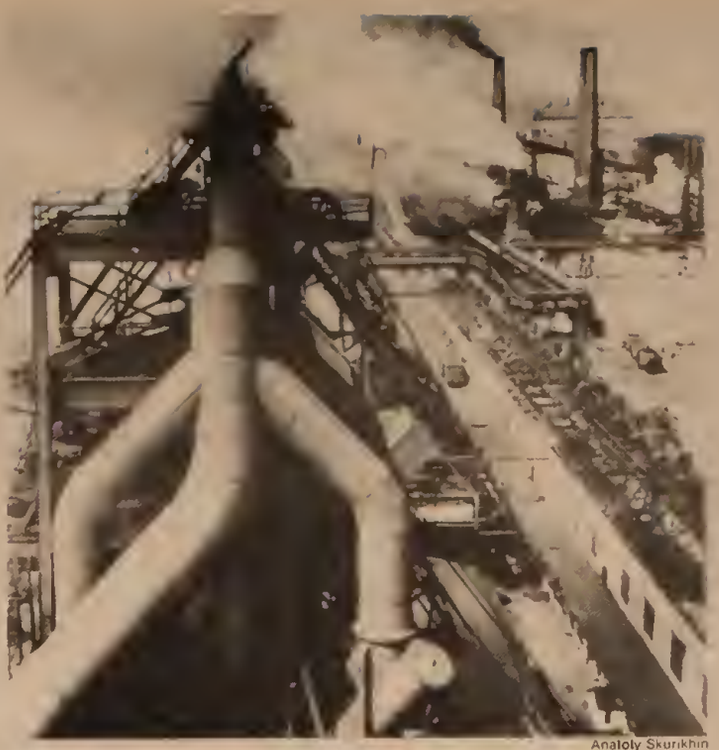
> "We tell the peasants frankly and honestly, without any deception: in order to hold the road to socialism, we are making a number of concessions to you, comrade peasants, but only within the stated limits and to the stated extent; and, of course, we ourselves shall be the judge of the limits and the extent."

It took far less than 25 years to approach the limits of the NEP. On the eve of his final, incapacitating illness in late December 1922, Lenin made a bloc with Trotsky against the developing bureaucracy. One of the issues in the bloc was the need to proceed urgently with *planned industrialization*. He communicated to the Politburo that Trotsky's proposal to grant broad legislative powers to the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) was "a sound idea," and "I think we can and must accede to the wishes of Comrade Trotsky." However, Stalin, Bukharin & Co. greeted the proposal for a five-year plan "with mockery in the spirit of the petty bourgeois who fears 'a leap into the unknown'" (Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* [1936]). At the 12th Party Congress in 1923, Trotsky gave a vivid exposition of the "scissors crisis," showing a sharp rise in industrial prices over agricultural prices. This was a danger signal: if there were not sufficient manufactured goods to exchange for agricultural produce, the peasants would begin hoarding and withholding foodstuffs from the cities.

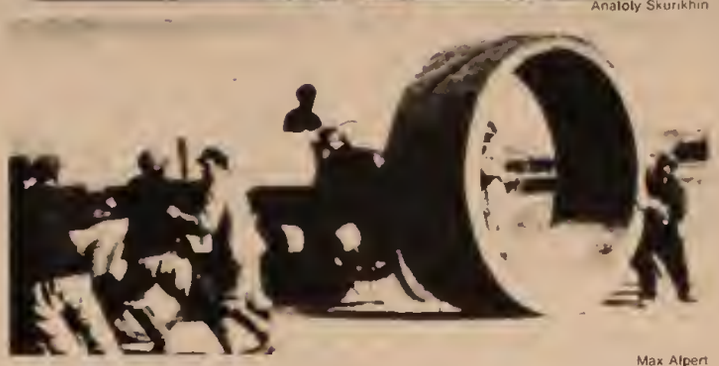
Addressing the Fifth Congress of the Communist International in 1924, even Bukharin acknowledged that the NEP had not been intended as a long-term policy:

> "The opinion prevails abroad that NEP was introduced in order to preserve power; and so indeed it was. But later we became convinced that NEP was more than a simple manoeuvre."
>
> —cited in E.H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, Vol 3

In this case, "we" was Bukharin/Stalin, for whom conciliating the peasantry and encouraging the petty-bourgeois "Nepmen" (speculators and entrepreneurs) had become part of a full-scale assault on the principles of socialism. The year 1924 marked the consolidation of power by a bureaucratic layer in the Soviet party and state, a *political counterrevolution* which usurped control from the hands of the proletarian vanguard.



Anatoly Skurikhin



Max Alpert

**Magnitogorsk iron and steel complex being constructed in early 1930s. As contradictions of NEP came to a head, Stalin undertook brutal, forced-draft industrialization.**

Bukharin grotesquely urged the peasantry, "Enrich yourselves!" and declared that socialism would proceed at "a snail's pace." Kulaks and Nepmen were welcomed into the party, where they became a significant wing of the now ascendant bureaucracy. The *early* NEP legislation, drawn up under Lenin's direct guidance, while allowing free trade in agricultural produce, severely *restricted* the hiring of labor and acquisition of land. However, in 1925 these restrictions were greatly liberalized. Thus Stalin/Bukharin's post-1925 policies were far more permissive toward agrarian capitalism than Lenin's NEP. Against these policies, the Left Opposition called for increased taxation of the kulaks to finance industrialization and for "the systematic and gradual introduction of this most numerous peasant group [the middle peasants] to the benefits of large-scale, mechanized, collective agriculture" (*Platform of the Opposition* [1927]).

The Left Opposition advocated speeding up the tempo of industrialization not only to relieve "the scissors crisis," but also to increase the social weight of the proletariat. For the Trotskyists, socialist construction within Russia was linked to the spread of proletarian revolution internationally. Against this Leninist perspective, the bureaucracy signaled its seizure of power when Stalin proclaimed the possibility of building socialism in a single country.

Following the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution, Bukharin propounded the theory of the "stabilization of capitalism," denying the prospect of the international extension of the revolution "perhaps for a considerable time." The erstwhile advocate of revolutionary war became the hatchet man for the attack on Trotsky's permanent revolution, denouncing it for sowing "the seeds of doubt about the possibility of building socialism in one country." The idea that socialism—a classless society requiring qualitatively higher levels of production than even the most advanced capitalism—could be built in one country, moreover one as backward as Russia, was so flagrantly anti-Marxist that not only Lenin, but Stalin and Bukharin themselves, had always denied it.

Wide World

**Stalin's forced collectivization at its height: Banner calls for "Liquidation of Kulaks as a Class." Left Opposition advocated voluntary collectivization with the incentive of tractors produced by planned industrial growth.**

### Bukharin the Anti-Stalin?

The "gentle," "humane" Bukharin threw himself into the struggle against the Leninist Left Opposition with a vindictiveness and viciousness which at the time surpassed even Stalin's. It was Bukharin who initiated one of the hallmarks of the Stalinist method of "polemic," dredging up disparaging quotes from Lenin out of context to use for character assassination. In 1925, Bukharin admitted to Trotsky, "We have no democracy because we are afraid of you." At a November 1926 party conference Bukharin railed at the Joint Opposition of Trotsky/Zinoviev/Kamenev in the language of an Orthodox priest, demanding the groveling confessions which were to become the *sine qua non* of the Stalin regime: "come before the party with head bowed and say: Forgive us for we have sinned against the spirit and against the letter and against the very essence of Leninism." Stalin crowed, "Well done, Bukharin, well done. He does not speak, he slashes." When Kamenev and Zinoviev did "confess," Bukharin reviled them and sneered: "You have done well to make up your mind—this is the last minute—the iron curtain of history is just coming down."

Thus was Trotskyism "ideologically defeated." Trotsky and other leading Oppositionists who refused to capitulate were not only expelled from the party but exiled from Moscow. Bukharin raised no objection. In January 1928, Trotsky and his family were placed under arrest in their Moscow apartment and forcibly evicted and deported to Alma-Ata. His wife Natalia recalled, "Later on, we were informed that the 'political direction' of the send-off had been Bukharin's." Yet Stalin's "iron curtain" was soon to fall on the head of Bukharin as well. In a matter of months, the head of the Right Opposition was secretly appealing for a bloc with the Left Opposition against Stalin, saying in terror, "*He* will strangle us—*He* will slay us." Trotsky was adamantly opposed to a political bloc, insisting that the economic program of the Right Opposition was the more immediate threat to the preservation of proletarian state power.

Bukharin's policy fueled the forces of *social counterrevolution in the Soviet Union*. The policy of "enriching" the kulaks predictably led not only to the exacerbation of class distinctions in the countryside, as the poor peasants were virtually reduced to their prerevolutionary status as sharecroppers, but also to blackmail of the cities by the kulaks. Meanwhile, the Nepmen had continued to grow in strength: at the end of 1926, nearly 60 percent of the total industrial labor force worked in privately owned small-scale industry, under the grip of petty capitalists who controlled supply and distribution. By 1928, the kulaks were organizing grain strikes, threatening to starve the cities. In Smolensk, Byelorussia kulaks were toasting the upcoming liquidation of all Communists. Stalin saw no other recourse than to lash out with an unplanned, ill-conceived and brutal policy of forced collectivization and forced-march industrialization.

And he necessarily lashed out at his erstwhile allies of the Right Opposition. Subjected to the same treatment he

**Leaders of the Left Opposition in 1928: Seated, left to right: Serebryakov, Radek, Trotsky, Boguslavsky, Preobrazhensky. Standing, left to right: Rakovsky, Drobnis, Beloborodov, Sosnovsky.**

Basil Blackwell Inc. Photos

**Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. Banner at left says: "Turn the Fire Against the Right, Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat...."**

had earlier meted out to Trotsky, Bukharin not only capitulated but crawled. He disowned his pro-peasant policy and his opposition to collectivization with grotesque paeans to Stalin's infallibility, even outdoing Stalin in his praise for a policy he opposed. A recent letter to the *New York Times* (28 February) points out that only eleven days before Stalin's cynical article, "Dizzy With Success," which tried to lay the blame for the catastrophic tempo of the collectivization on lower-level cadre, Bukharin wrote an article for *Pravda* (19 February 1930) entitled "Great Reconstruction," which happened to be the last defense of unrestrained collectivization.

For a few years, Stalin "rewarded" Bukharin for his good behavior. For a while he was editor of *Izvestia*. In 1936 he drafted the notorious "Stalin Constitution," which proclaimed the advent of socialism in the midst of the most hideous police-state terror. Having authored what was deemed to be the "most democratic constitution in the world," Bukharin was arrested. Faced with Stalin's threat to murder his young wife and son should he resist, Bukharin verbally fenced with his accusers, in the manner of Bertolt Brecht's Galileo. He sought to mock his persecutors, denying specific allegations while absurdly declaring: "I plead guilty to...the sum total of crimes committed by this counter-revolutionary organization, irrespective of whether or not I knew of, whether or not I took a direct part in, any particular act."

Bukharin supporters like Cohen call this his "finest hour." But if he did not grovel in the pitiful manner of the rest of the "defendants" in this show trial, he did, nevertheless, confess. In his book, *Nikolai Bukharin—The Last Years* (1980), Roy Medvedev quotes Bukharin's abject confession to the 17th Party Congress in 1934, when the noose was not yet hanging over his head and that of his family: "Comrade Stalin was entirely correct in speaking out so eloquently, making brilliant use of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, against many of the theoretical premises of rightist deviation which I myself had previously formulated." After quoting this, Medvedev comments: "Bukharin could scarcely have been sincere in saying all this but sometimes it is necessary to act against one's conscience." This is hardly a commendation for a Communist leader, much less one now claimed to be the leading opponent of Stalinism.

### Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

What was posed in the factional struggles of the '20s was the very existence of the Soviet state. It was Trotsky and the Left Opposition who fought Stalin and Stalinism, who had a program for developing and strengthening the Soviet workers state while fighting for its only sure defense, international extension of the revolution. And this is precisely why Trotsky remains anathema to the bureaucracy. In his 70th anniversary speech Gorbachev regurgitated timeworn Stalinist attacks on Trotsky:

> "Trotsky and the Trotskyites negated the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. "In foreign policy they gave priority to export of revolution, and in home policy to tightening the screws on the peasants, to the city exploiting the countryside, and to administrative and military fiat in running society."

So now that they've stopped trying to pass Trotsky off as the agent of Hitler, the Mikado and the King of England, the line is to portray Trotsky as "Super-Stalin," addicted to "military fiat." But in an incisive commentary on Gorbachev's speech titled "Trotsky Still Shrouded in Non-Personality Cult" (*New York Times*, 8 November 1987), Christopher Wren explained that "Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' is embarrassing when Mr. Gorbachev says he wants to cooperate with the West." Wren added, "Trotsky's castigation of Stalin as the 'gravedigger of the revolution' was far harsher than Mr. Gorbachev's description of the dictator as 'an extremely contradictory personality'...."

Stalin was not only the gravedigger of the world revolution—in China, in Spain, in Greece—he almost succeeded in digging the grave of the Soviet Union itself. Much of the hostility to Stalin within leading circles in the Soviet Union, particularly among the military, derives from his catastrophic destruction of the leading cadres of the Red Army in 1937, including Marshal Tukhachevsky. As many as 82,000 Red Army officers, including virtually all of the general staff, were slaughtered in Stalin's purges. (Twelve years earlier, Mikhail Frunze, a Civil War hero who succeeded Trotsky as war commissar, died in mysterious circumstances when Stalin insisted he have an unnecessary operation.)

The war against Nazi Germany, in which 20 million Soviet citizens died, understandably looms large in the consciousness of the Soviet population. At a recent public appearance in the New York area, Anatoly Rybakov, author of the anti-Stalin novel *Children of the Arbat*, said bitterly, "It was because of Stalin that the Germans got as far as Moscow.... We won the war despite Stalin."

Stalin's heinous crimes represented the end logic of his defense of the privileged interests of the bureaucracy, whose overthrow of the revolutionary-internationalist program of the October Revolution necessitated the "liquidation" of the cadres who had led it. The bureaucracy's anti-revolutionary policies internationally reinforced the isolation of the Soviet Union. Stalin's grotesque confidence in Hitler's assurance of peaceful intentions following the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, his destruction of the cream of the Soviet officer corps, cost the Soviet peoples millions of lives. If the policies of the Bukharinist Right Opposition had won out, there likely would have been no Soviet Union by 1941.

From the 1956 Khrushchev speech "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences," to contemporary Soviet works, Stalin is treated primarily as an aberrant, brutal personality. That he was. But, as Trotsky said, "it is not a question of a match between Stalin and Trotsky, but of an antagonism between the bureaucracy and the proletariat" ("Stalinism and Bolshevism," August 1937). It is hardly an accident that Stalin's apparatus was populated by many who had been on the other side of the barricades in 1917. The chief prosecutor in the third of the Moscow Trials, Andrei Vyshinsky, was not only a Menshevik official in Kerensky's Provisional Government, but reportedly personally signed an order for the arrest of Lenin as a German spy during the reaction of the "July Days."

With its policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the Gorbachev regime is simultaneously encouraging a re-examination of Stalin's crimes against the Soviet working people and the revolution they made, while trying to pursue economic and international policies which cut deeply against the interests of the Soviet and international proletariat. The Soviet Union is headed toward serious internal turmoil, as the working class seeks to defend its economic interests from the "market economy" and austerity measures of *perestroika*.

The *only* revolutionary alternative to the crimes of Stalinism lies in the program and history of the Trotskyist Left Opposition. The archives of Soviet history must be made available to the masses. There, in the record of earlier struggles, they will find a revolutionary answer to the problems that face them today: the perspective of international socialist revolution to defend and extend the gains of October, the program of proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic usurpers. As we wrote ten years ago in "The Campaign to 'Rehabilitate' Bukharin" (*WV* No. 220, 1 December 1978): "The real historical reckoning will only come as a result of the proletarian political revolution to oust Stalin's heirs, together with social revolution in the capitalist countries." *Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!* ■


**Spartacist**
**English Edition**
**No. 41-42**
**Winter 1987-88**
**(64 pages)**
**$1.00**

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

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# South Africa...

*(continued from page 1)*

the mine bosses, who are offering barely a quarter of that.

The massive gold and coal mine strike last August ended in a standoff—the union was forced back without winning its wage demands and had 44,000 members fired, but the NUM was not broken and many fired miners were later hired back. In April, the NUM held underground demonstrations at the world's largest gold mine, Vaal Reefs, protesting the anti-labor bill. A total of 18,000 participated in protests against the bill at Anglo American, Gencor, Goldfields and Rand Mines. But while in the June 6-8 strike coal and diamond miners went out, the gold miners stayed on the job.

### Forge a Bolshevik Party!

It is nearly four years since Crossroads "squatters" in Cape Town and black youth in the townships of the Transvaal erupted in fury, lighting the flames of protracted revolt which spread throughout South Africa. While many nationalists and leftists acted as if "the end of apartheid is near," and the ANC leadership talked optimistically of "escalation of our attack" to the point that in short order "it will be possible for us to overthrow the apartheid regime," we warned:

> "South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation. The system of apartheid—a bogus partition in which the whites give up nothing—is coming apart. Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation anymore. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got.... So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down. The danger is of a ...one-sided bloodbath in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority. "Yet the *class* principle can prevail."
>
> —"South Africa: Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985

As the black revolt continued to mount over the next year, demonstrating the masses' unwillingness to live in the old way, we noted that the government's actions were losing coherence, trying for piecemeal reform of apartheid while ordering brutal repression (as open fascists grew in strength). In short:

> "Today in South Africa all of the elements of a prerevolutionary situation are there, and yet there is one absolutely vital element missing: a Leninist vanguard party. Without revolutionary proletarian leadership the rebellious black masses can be played off against one another (e.g., along tribal lines), isolated in the segregated townships and crushed in a bloodbath of historic dimensions. What is desperately needed to prevent this outcome is a racially integrated Bolshevik party fighting for a society based on the principle that he who labors must rule."
>
> —"Black Workers Must Bury Apartheid!" *WV* No. 409, 1 August 1986

The response of the Botha regime was to institute a "state of emergency" to put a halt to the revolt. Over the next two years, the Pretoria regime played this repression out, killing well over a thousand, jailing tens of thousands, censoring the media and closing down the "alternate" press, banning anti-apartheid organizations, forcing their leaderships into hiding. Faced with "hippo" armored vehicles and mass arrests, the township revolts have been ground down. But the bedrock question the apartheid state cannot get around is insurgent black labor.

In the face of the crackdown, the popular-frontists and nationalists who yesterday claimed revolution was just a step away are now talking about making a "political settlement" with the apartheid butchers. Affiliates of the ANC's satellite United Democratic Front (UDF) talk of creating "broad alliances" with mainstream white politicians like the Progressive Federal Party and "enlightened" capitalist slave drivers like Anglo American's Gavin Relly. After the ANC met in Europe with South African white liberals, there has been a flood of rumors that anti-apartheid groups are "debating" reversing their longstanding boycott position to participate in municipal "elections" in October.

On top of this, the Gorbachev leadership in the Soviet Union has evidently sharply shifted the USSR's military/political support for the ANC guerrilla struggle to now call insistently for negotiations with the apartheid butchers. A *Los Angeles Times* (5 February) article from Lusaka reported on Soviet efforts pressuring the ANC to seek "negotiations" with Pretoria.

> "The Soviet experts have also suggested that the ANC put off the whole question of socialism until majority rule is well established in South Africa and that it forget its long-cherished ideas about a state takeover of the country's giant mining houses and industrial conglomerates.
>
> "One leading Soviet academic, Gleb Starushenko, deputy director of the Africa Institute in Moscow, went as far as to suggest a federal system made up of 'autonomous components' and a bicameral parliament that would give the white minority an effective veto within a majority-rule government."

Meanwhile, the Soviets are pushing for Afghanistan-style "national reconciliation" deals in the neighboring black African front line states of Mozambique and Angola. During the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow, according to press reports, a September 29 target date was set for a settlement in Angola. Soviet deputy foreign minister in charge of African affairs Anatoly Adamishin offered the USSR's services as "co-guarantor" of a "peace" pact with the South Africa-backed UNITA mercenaries (*New York Times*, 6 June). What does that mean for the Cuban expeditionary force in Angola, reportedly numbering some 40,000 soldiers, who have been racking up impressive battle victories right up to the border with South African-occupied Namibia? Cuban/Angolan forces won a key battle this spring when they turned back a South African assault force of 10,000 soldiers at the southern Angolan crossroads of Cuito Cunavale.

### Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Black labor is the Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism. With hundreds of thousands of black workers organized in a strategic position at the point of production, South Africa's combative industrial unions have increasingly come to the fore in the black struggle. Particularly with the banning of anti-apartheid organizations like the UDF and AZAPO, and given the impotence of the ANC's military operations against the militarily fearsome apartheid state, COSATU has emerged as the voice of broader sections of the oppressed masses. Yet while clothed in a more "workerist" language, its program is not substantially different from

Zwi/Reflex

**Armed fist of the apartheid police state.**

## Free the Alexandra Five! Save the Sharpeville Six!

The battle over the South African apartheid slave labor bill coincides with the urgent legal defense of two major groups of anti-apartheid fighters. Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), and four others are on trial for treason, subversion and sedition, accused of forming the Alexandra Action Committee which led the revolt in the black township in February 1986. The essential charge in the case is that the five usurped the authority of the apartheid state by establishing "organs of people's power" organizing Alexandra residents into yard, block and street committees, and forming "people's courts."

In the case of the Sharpeville Six, worldwide protest won a stay of execution in March, but the lives of these freedom fighters still hang by a thread. Their lawyers have applied for a new trial, since perjured testimony convicted the Six. They were charged on the Nazi-like principle of "collective guilt," that is, simply being in the area when members of an enraged crowd of black rent strikers stoned a collaborator of the apartheid regime to death in September 1984. As we go to press, the judge has rejected the appeal of the Sharpeville Six for a new trial. An international outcry of protest must immediately be raised to save them from the apartheid hangman's noose!

WV Photo

**Spartacist contingent in San Francisco protest last October calls for freedom for black South African union leader Moses Mayekiso, imprisoned on treason charges.**


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the open popular-frontism of the ANC and its satellite organizations. As set out in the Freedom Charter, this means envisioning a non-racial "democratic" society with a "mixed" (i.e., capitalist) economy.

As is frequently the case under repressive dictatorships, South Africa's black unions have become spokesmen for a broader opposition movement. But as insurgent black labor has rattled the chains of apartheid capitalism, the bosses are of two minds as to how to deal with the challenge. Following the explosive 1976-77 wildcat strikes, the Wiehahn Commission allowed the registration of black trade unions, the better to control them. But they could not keep the flood tide of unionization within bounds, and faced with escalating wage demands, repeated strike struggles and an increasingly politicized labor movement, not just the Afrikaner Nationalists but the entire South African bourgeoisie has grown increasingly nervous.

They have struck back at the black workers movement by threatening the existence of their trade unions. These are elementary forms of working-class organization. But they are inadequate as the leadership of a *revolutionary* struggle. The key to organizing the power of the proletariat for socialist revolution is a *Bolshevik vanguard party*.

In the last year, COSATU has engaged in a debate over a "workers charter" to be added to the Freedom Charter (see "South Africa: For Workers Power!" *WV* No. 434, 7 August 1987). While many black union militants want to build a socialist South Africa on the ruins of apartheid South Africa, they have not yet broken from, much less do they oppose, petty-bourgeois nationalism. The socialist aspirations of the black proletariat can only be realized through forging a revolutionary workers party in opposition to the ANC and all forms of nationalism and two-stage reformism.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party raising the banner of permanent revolution can lead the South African black workers in a direct struggle for power, uniting behind it the oppressed coloured and Indian populations, the youth, the unemployed, the women, the Bantustan and peasant populations, and, not least, those whites who do not want to live in and serve a racist police state. There will be no liberation from apartheid slavery without the revolutionary expropriation of capitalism.

### South Africa and U.S. Elections

Next month, while Atlanta cops under black mayor Andrew Young are kicking the shit out of blacks in the projects, Jesse Jackson will be inside the Omni stadium at the Democratic convention pushing his platform proposal to declare South Africa a "terrorist" state. It's cheap for Jackson to cry over black militants imprisoned in South African jails while he eggs on fellow black collaborators with racist American capitalism such as Los Angeles mayor "Uncle Tom" Bradley to round up thousands of black youth in the "war on drugs" at home.

Michael Dukakis, meanwhile, one-ups Jackson, saying South Africa is "more than a terrorist state" and is "spreading aggression all over Southern Africa." This from the governor of Massachusetts, where racist mobs stoned black kids integrating the schools while Democratic liberals killed busing in the halls of Congress. In an election year where the black vote is key, the Democrats are pushing a sweeping new sanctions bill that calls on America's racist rulers to set its South African junior partners straight. The only "divestment" that will serve to emancipate South African blacks is for the working class internationally to seize the factories, banks and wealth of their exploiters and oppressors. Break with the Democrats! From Durban to Detroit, from Soweto to Harlem—Smash racism with hard class struggle! ■

# Mr. Air Disaster...

*(continued from page 5)*

which seeks to equate "organized labor" with "organized crime." It is Lorenzo's revenge for a series of union court suits which threw a monkey wrench into his plans to cannibalize Eastern, selling its profitable operations to non-union Continental at bargain-basement prices, and siphoning off planes to a cargo airline, Orion, where he is training strikebreakers. But ALPA and the IAM won't smash "Darth Vader" Lorenzo with appeals to the capitalist courts and Democrats in Congress. The wholesale assault on the airline unions and the deterioration of air safety comes straight out of Jimmy Carter's deregulation of the industry which began in 1978. In fact, many of Lorenzo's executives at Texas Air came straight from the Carter administration. Sixty-eight percent of pilots polled by the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (10 April) believe deregulation has made flying more dangerous. One American Airlines pilot said that "Sadly, it will probably take multiple midair collisions in this country to bring a significant change."

At the April IAM convention in Atlanta there were calls to "smash Reaganism." IAM chief "Wimpy" Winpisinger railed against the "corporate Ramhos," while hosting capitalist politicians Jackson and Dukakis. But it was Winpisinger who ordered the IAM to *scab* on the air controllers strike, the opening shot in Reagan's war on labor. And in 1983, IAM Local 100 head Charles Bryan, like Autoworkers president and company cop Doug Fraser, traded millions in concessions so he could sit on the Eastern board of directors with his buddy Frank Borman.

WV Photo

**Thousands of Machinists march on April 30 during IAM convention in Atlanta, protesting Texas Air chief Lorenzo's union-busting.**

Now the program of the ALPA and IAM tops is to mortgage the unions' pension funds (to the tune of $1.5 billion) and take massive concessions in order to help corporate raider T. Boone Pickens grab Eastern, saddling the unions with its $3 billion debt! (The popular movie *Wall Street*, showing a takeover artist who tries to destroy an airline union, dramatically exposes that con game.) Wimpy not only plays by the bosses' rules—he wants to administer the austerity that Lorenzo has thus far been unable to shove down the workers' throats.

Lorenzo and the rest of the air pirates count on slicing up the unions one by one, company by company. But airline workers have a powerful position, with their hands on the throttle of capitalist commerce. There must be coordinated, industrywide strike action to smash the Lorenzos and Icahns, building an industrial airline union of all workers, from mechanics to flight attendants to pilots. Yet the scabherders and aspiring corporate board members, who are running the unions into the ground in order to put a Democrat in the White House, are the enemies of such a struggle. What is necessary is a class-struggle leadership, fighting to forge a revolutionary workers party that can put an end to capitalism and make air travel safe. ■

# Atlanta Cops...

*(continued from page 12)*

Young, Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson all hyped for "Super Tuesday" in a well-publicized march for the homeless. But the Democrats' real program for the homeless is Young's eviction of "bridge people" living in cardboard shanties in view of the Omni. One MARTA rapid transit station will be closed because it empties into a "sanitized zone" at the convention center. Protesters chosen by lottery will be bused to a fenced-in "peaceful protest zone" near the center. Public schools are to be used as holding pens for protesters. (They could use the federal pen if Cuban detainees hadn't torched it!)

Black mayor Young is straining to keep the lid on Atlanta's black majority. But the racist cops are chomping at the bit. Police marched on city hall last winter demanding more pay for their rampages, and last year the cops failed in their attempt to frame up Julian Bond on drug charges. Young just managed to sidestep the witchhunt himself. Today around the country it is black Democratic mayors who oversee the Reagan cutbacks and the killer cops. Young's former bodyguard commands the cops who killed Callahan and has set arrest quotas in southwest Atlanta's "Zone 3" police district.

The identification of "Zone 3" as "drug infested" has turned a black working-class area with union halls and a GM assembly plant into something resembling a free-fire war zone for the cops. This stark reality of cop terror accounts for why a recent anti-drug march hosted by black Democratic mayoral contenders Maynard Jackson, the former mayor who busted the 1978 sanitation strike, and yuppie Michael Lomax, chairman of the Fulton County Commission, drew only a couple hundred people.

While the walls are covered with slogans of "Stop Police Brutality," the cops smear all protesters as nothing but Uzi-toting drug dealers. As despair mounts among black youth with no jobs in sight and the inner cities lurch toward a social explosion, the capitalist ruling class escalates its attempts to regiment the population under the guise of the anti-drug war. The ghetto social pathology of drugs and crime cannot be eliminated until youth have real education, decent jobs and a future to look forward to—and it will take nothing less than socialist revolution to get that.

In "New South" Atlanta, a black city administration fronts for the Coca-Cola capitalists of the Woodruff family and their class. (Before he became a big-time bourgeois politician, Jesse Jackson was Coca-Cola's man in the ghetto, brokering his boycott schemes for a few distributor's franchises.) Along with cop terror comes racist union-bashing directed at Atlanta city workers. Currently, MARTA transit bosses have threatened to more than double the fares as a club against the union's minimal wage demands. While city workers get paid plantation wages, a coordinated media blitz daily pounds out its anti-union message. In a particularly nasty, racist series, the local NBC affiliate recently aired a three-part series trashing the city workers as malingerers, with a TV "surveillance team" even filming workmen urinating behind trees!

Yet Atlanta labor shows signs that it's fed up. In January, 600 city workers packed city hall demanding a pay increase, and a lot of Atlanta's homes didn't get garbage service that day. The slaying of Eddie Callahan was followed by mass protests. What's needed is not voting for another black Democratic front man, whether it's Jesse Jackson or gubernatorial hopeful Andrew Young, but breaking with the racist Democrats. A joint militant struggle of transit and city workers could shut Atlanta down tight, throw back "givebacks" and make the cops think twice about pulling the trigger! A class-struggle workers party is needed to forge the links between labor and the oppressed black poor into a powerful force to smash the exploitation and racist oppression of capitalist rule once and for all. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Dress Rehearsal for Democratic Convention

# Atlanta Cops Attack Blacks, Homeless

ATLANTA—Racist cop terror (a.k.a. the "war on drugs") has sparked black outrage here at the site of the upcoming Democratic National Convention in July. In "Operation Red Dog," an elite cop unit has conducted dragnet raids for a month in Atlanta's public housing projects.

On the evening of May 18, the cops used the pretext of a drug-related killing to invade Carver Homes, opening fire as a crowd of 200 massed in outrage. Twice in March at Bowen and McDaniel-Glenn housing projects, residents acted in self-defense against police. At Bowen Homes, 200 residents blocked a squad car and released the cops' prisoner. Squad cars were pelted with rocks.

Earlier, on February 27, a young black man, Baxter Williams, was murdered by the cops. The cops say "someone" in the crowd removed an "alleged weapon" (never found). "They shot my brother like a dog," said Johnny Williams. Last September, white cops pumped eight hollow-point bullets into black Vietnam veteran Eddie Lee Callahan...and walked, although hundreds of eyewitnesses *saw* their crime.

With the Democratic convention only weeks away, the cops are getting itchy trigger fingers. Atlanta police chief Morris Redding says, "We want to get the word out...this is going to be an orderly convention." Redding's "message" is that blacks are fair game while the "Forsyth County Defense League" and mobs of fascist Klansmen "rallying" to spread racist terror will be protected by the capitalist state's repressive apparatus

Hannans-Atlanta Journal and Constitution

**Police dragnet targets Atlanta black youth in racist "war on drugs."**

The FBI and Georgia Bureau of Investigation say they are "monitoring" supposed "terrorists." TV flashes show Fulton County sheriffs hitting Omni Convention Center with grappling hooks and shimmying down ropes. In April police agencies simulated a mythical left-wing "terrorist" assassination attempt on David Duke, the fascist running for president as a Democrat. Yet it is Jesse Jackson who has received hundreds of death threats, as America's racist death squads vow that no black man will be president. On May 19, a member of the fascist "Order" and his wife were arrested in Missouri in a plot to assassinate Jackson on the Fourth of July.

Atlanta will be a virtual armed camp come July, and it's already well on the way. Last March Mayor Andrew

*continued on page 11*

## Mexican Workers Gunned Down in Perth Amboy, New Jersey

# Hispanic Outrage Over Racist Cop Terror

Last week up to 2,000 furious Hispanic and black residents of Perth Amboy, New Jersey took to the streets protesting the June 6 cop murder of Mexican immigrant Carmen Coria. For three consecutive nights pent-up community outrage boiled over as they struck back against a notoriously brutal police force that is more than 80 percent white in this majority Hispanic town just across the river from Staten Island. The Perth Amboy cops are currently facing a dozen police brutality cases. This latest wanton police killing reflects rising racist attacks against Hispanics as the Spanish-speaking population has risen sharply in the area. In February, New York City police beat Juan Rodriguez to death in his Brooklyn apartment after responding to an emergency call for help.

Carmen Coria, who came to the U.S. from the impoverished Mexican state of Michoacán in 1980 and worked for a little more than minimum wage for a landscaping company, was killed outside a bar early Monday morning. Allen Fuller, an off-duty narc who had been drinking in the bar, shot Carmen once in the head, then critically wounded his brother Mateo. Fuller claimed that Carmen Coria had attacked him with a beer bottle, although no evidence has been produced. Fuller is notorious in the Hispanic community for his vicious attacks on youths. Nine days earlier he had smashed in the head of 19-year-old Edwin Ramos during a drug arrest, an assault for which Fuller faces a civil suit. Following the June 6 shooting, the police department gave the killer cop a vacation with full pay.

Connolly/Asbury Park Press

**Hundreds of community residents protest killer cops outside Perth Amboy police station, June 9.**

Community reaction to this latest cop shooting spree was swift. On Wednesday outraged residents marched through the Hispanic neighborhoods, swelling to 800. When Mayor George Otlowski took a powder rather than reply to their calls for justice, the crowd pelted the windows of City Hall with rocks. The following day a phalanx of riot cops blocked a funeral procession of hundreds heading for police headquarters, setting off running skirmishes which lasted through the night. On Friday, nervous city authorities met with local Hispanic representatives and called for a citizen review board and "sensitivity training" for the rampaging cops. But only hours later, the Perth Amboy cops dragged José Cortez from his car by his hair and beat him and a friend with riot sticks.

The murderous police attack on the Coria brothers is no isolated incident. As Hispanic workers have moved into aging industrial cities in northern New Jersey, in a belt from Elizabeth to Paterson, the cops act as an occupation army, riding roughshod over an immigrant population without legal rights. The racist hacklash reached a flash point last fall when murderous gangs of white youth set upon Indians in Jersey City, beating one to death. The workers movement must take the lead in defending immigrants, mobilizing against racist cop terror and demanding full citizenship rights for the foreign-born. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Jesse Jackson Fronts for Party of War and Racism

# Unchain Labor, Blacks—Break with the Democrats!

AP

WV Photo

**Democrats Dukakis and Jackson, no friends of labor and blacks. Spartacists at Harlem Hospital protest against racist austerity and cop terror in Democrat Koch's New York.**

## Fight for a Workers Party!

*We print below excerpts from a talk given in San Francisco on June 10 by Don Alexander of the Spartacist League Central Committee.*

About a decade ago, at a news conference Democrat Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter, in response to a decision which denied Medicare for poor women for abortions, had the following to say: "Life is not fair." Now, if that's what Jimmy Carter said a decade ago, the bourgeoisie's prescription for working people and oppressed in America today, particularly in light of the stock market crisis, is more pain and more suffering. Because it was this "born again" anti-Soviet *Democrat* who launched Cold War II over Afghanistan and paved the way for the certified nuclear nut Ronald Reagan, and a stargazer at that.

The imperialist racist Democratic Party, which brought World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Roosevelt, the Korean War under Truman, and the Vietnam War under JFK and LBJ, is no longer even making the cynical promises of yesteryear. Like their twins and partners in the Republican Party, they have been waging a bipartisan class war against working people and oppressed minorities as an integral part of their war drive against the Soviet Union.

Our starting point as revolutionaries is that capitalism cannot be reformed. The whole system is set up to oppress and exploit working people and minorities, and it will take a socialist revolution under the leadership of a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party to lead a united working-class struggle to the seizure of state power, by smashing the bourgeois state machine and replacing it with the rule of the working class.

The fight for black liberation is strategic to the fight for proletarian revolution in the U.S. The all-sided brutal racial oppression is widely documented, there's a proliferation of studies with regard to the deterioration of life—things are worse for the black masses in comparison to the 1930s in terms of sheer social misery. Blacks are forcibly segregated at the bottom of American society as an oppressed race-color caste—ghettoized, lumpenized and terrorized. The last hired, the first fired, the specially oppressed black population will achieve its centuries-old quest for genuine freedom by helping to build that revolutionary workers party that can put an end to the decrepit system of capitalism.

Now the American dream is not only a racist nightmare for the black population in this country, but it's a racist nightmare a thousand and a million times over. The system of capitalist anarchy in this country increasingly is no longer even functioning off a reserve army of the unemployed, who historically have been disproportionately black. Today in racist capitalist America, we witness the absolute rot and decay of this sick, dying capitalist system, as reflected in the homelessness, the police terror and murder, the number of poverty-stricken women heading up families, the number of babies dying in their early years. The absolute pauperization of the ghetto masses and the immiseration of the working class in America is the unmistakable sign of capitalism in its death agony.

### Jackson Campaign a Trap for Labor and Blacks

So this is an election year, and the labor fakers, the fake-left and other defenders of capitalism are saying: Vote Democrat, Don't Fight. They're playing the capitalist game once again, and pushing the greatest deception and fraud: that the party of Kennedy and the party of George Wallace, the party of the Klansman Tom Metzger, is the party of the "little people" and the "common man." The reformist fake-left in this country is sprinting at breakneck speed to chain labor and blacks to the chariot of the so-called "lesser evil" capitalist Democratic Party. For the left, the Jackson campaign has become *the* issue of the American popular front, the vehicle for class collaboration which ties the working class to the bourgeois parties.

Obviously, Jackson can't come to the masses with a program like the late Clarence Pendleton of the Civil Rights Commission, or with a program offered by a character like Reverend Ike, who once said that the best way to help poor people is not to be one. So he's running around posturing as a New Deal liberal in the spirit of Roosevelt, combining anti-corporate rhetoric, flag-waving protectionism and anti-drug crusading. And he's the only one of the bourgeois candidates who's making cynical promises. His advisers, like the crooked Georgia banker Bert Lance, they don't mind it, because they know he's following the master's advice, to get those blacks to the polls and shut up about black rights.

He's done that and more. For example, initially he said the death penalty was supposed to be central to his campaign. So during the primaries while he was running around, Willie Darden was executed in Florida. Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Panther, MOVE, journalist, class-war prisoner, on death row—nothing said about that. The incineration of the Philly MOVE commune, orchestrated by the black Democratic Party mayor there, Wilson Goode, along with the FBI and Edwin Meese. Jackson's response to that? We need black contractors to rebuild! Geronimo Pratt, foremost class-war prisoner in America, who's languished in jails for close to 20 years, victim of

*continued on page 9*

**The "Blank Space" That Haunts Gorbachev's Russia**

**Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution**

SEE PAGE 3

**Capitalist America in Physical Decay**

**New York Bridges Are Falling Down**

SEE PAGE 4

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Free Leaders of Turkish CP!

Nihat Sargin (left) and Haydar Kutlu, leaders of United Communist Party of Turkey, imprisoned and tortured by NATO regime.

Committee for the Freedom of Kutlu and Sargin

On 16 November 1987 Turkish police arrested Dr. Nihat Sargin, general secretary of the Turkish Workers Party, and Haydar Kutlu, head of the "official" pro-Moscow Communist Party of Turkey, as they emerged from a plane at Istanbul airport. Handcuffed and blindfolded, Sargin and Kutlu were taken to the notorious "Deep Investigation Laboratory" of the security police and thrown into solitary confinement for 19 days of torture. Sixty-year-old Sargin was kicked, hosed with freezing water and hung by his arms from the ceiling.

Sargin and Kutlu are charged under the infamous articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, modeled on Mussolini's fascist Code of 1936. The charges include "making Communist propaganda," "insulting the president" and "forming an illegal organization aiming to overthrow the constitutional order." They were arrested as they stepped off the plane in their well-publicized return to join in the "democratization" (!) process in Turkey and establish their newly merged party, the United Communist Party of Turkey (TBKP), as a legal organization.

Since Turkey's 1980 NATO military coup, half a million people have been detained, the trade-union federation DISK was banned and many of its leaders imprisoned. Thousands remain in jails for political "crimes," 400 face the death penalty, and the genocidal repression of the Kurds in eastern Turkey continues.

Over the past 18 months a new wave of workers' strikes and student struggles against the brutal austerity rule of the Evren regime has swept Turkey. The charges against Kutlu and Sargin are a sinister attack on all Turkish workers and leftists. But in an act of sectarian stupidity, the rival left-Stalinist Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) responded by branding Kutlu and Sargin as "traitors," suggesting they arranged their own arrest as part of a "deal" with the Turkish government. Whatever their illusions in Turkish "democracy," Kutlu and Sargin are in the hands of the notorious security police. This hideous frame-up must be defeated—and the TKP's criminal sectarianism repudiated—by mass workers protests in Turkey and around the world.

Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain and the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands have joined in publicizing the case of Kutlu and Sargin. On June 16 the Partisan Defense Committee protested to the Turkish embassy in Washington, "Even among your reactionary NATO allies Turkey stands unique as the only European country in which communist parties and workers organizations such as the DISK are outlawed.... We demand the immediate release of Sargin and Kutlu, their lawyers Atillo Conkum and Rasim Oz and the 12 others arrested with them."

* * *

Socialist Workers Party member Mark Curtis is the victim of a dirty frame-up in Des Moines, Iowa. On March 1 INS cops raided the Swift meatpacking plant and arrested 17 of Curtis' immigrant coworkers. On March 4, after Curtis left a meeting protesting the arrests, cops charged onto a porch where Curtis waited for a woman whom he had driven home, and arrested him on charges of attempted rape. They later tacked on a burglary charge. During interrogation at the city jail, one cop chided, "You're one of those Mexican-lovers aren't you? Just like you love those coloreds." The cops broke Curtis' cheekbone and charged him with assaulting them.

The PDC has sent a letter to the Des Moines chief of police demanding that all charges against Mark Curtis be dropped. We also sent $100 for Curtis' defense, along with a letter of support, noting:

> "From Austin, Minnesota to Ottumwa, Iowa the meatpacking bosses have been playing hardball... The brutal attack and frame-up of Mark Curtis is an attempt to intimidate those who struggle back in any way. To smash this anti-labor offensive, the workers must play hardball too. Working-class solidarity is key—foremost are the principles that picket lines mean don't cross, and capitalist courts out of the unions!"

Curtis' trial is scheduled to open July 6. Smash the frame-up of Mark Curtis! Send letters of protest to: William Moulder, Chief of Police, 25 East 1st Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Contributions can be sent to: Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

* * *

On May 13 MOVE member Alberta Africa was finally released from Muncy state prison, Pennsylvania state officials forced Alberta to serve every single day of her seven-year sentence on charges arising from a 1977 cop siege on MOVE's Powelton Village home. They released her on the third anniversary of the hideous police bombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home. Now MOVE's Minister of Information, Alberta vowed to continue the struggle for the release of all imprisoned MOVE members.

* * *

Time is running out for the Sharpeville Six, who still face the apartheid hangman. Worldwide protest won a stay of execution in March. But on June 13 a South African Supreme Court judge cleared the way for a July hanging, rejecting their application for a new trial. The Six were convicted, by the state's use of a Nazi-like theory of "collective guilt," for being in an area where an enraged crowd of black rent strikers stoned to death a hated collaborator of the white supremacist regime in September 1984. On June 20 the PDC sent a letter demanding their immediate release, stating, "The Sharpeville Six have been condemned to die for one reason—they 'shared a common purpose' with the millions of black South Africans, and hundreds of millions around the world, who detest your racist apartheid regime." An international outcry of protest must immediately be raised to save them from the apartheid hangman's noose!

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal continues to fight for his life (see "Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" *WV* No. 454, 3 June). There has been an

*continued on page 10*

### Behind the Moscow Trials

TROTSKY

LENIN

*The Soviet bureaucracy has just exonerated the victims of Stalin's 1936 show trial, among them Lenin's close comrades-in-arms Gregory Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev. Trotsky's son and comrade in the Left Opposition, Leon Sedov, himself among those accused and later a victim of Stalin's terror, wrote in a pamphlet exposing the Moscow Trials that the nationalist bureaucracy's aim was to drown the internationalist foundations of Leninism in a sea of blood. The Stalinist degeneration of the October Revolution cannot be reversed by bureaucratic fiat, but only through the revolutionary action of the Soviet masses.*

The corpses of Zinoviev and Kamenev are intended to prove to the world bourgeoisie Stalin's break with the revolution, to serve as a certificate of his dependability and maturity as a national statesman....

The Moscow trial has shown once again to what extent the bureaucracy has played out its progressive role as the keeper of the achievements of the October Revolution. It has become an *obstacle to the further development of the USSR*, as the interests of this development come into irreconcilable conflict with this bureaucracy, socially, culturally and politically. *To open the way for the development of the USSR to socialism, what's needed is to liquidate the bureaucracy....*

The Soviet proletariat can arrive at socialism only through the rebirth and free development of soviet democracy through the legalization of soviet parties, above all the party of revolutionary Bolshevism. Yet the rebirth of soviet democracy is possible only as the result of the overthrow of the bureaucracy. Only the power of the revolutionary working masses can overthrow the bureaucracy.

—Leon Sedov, *Rotbuch uber den Moskauer Prozeß*
(Red Book on the Moscow Trial, October 1936)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO New York NY 10116

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**No. 456** **1 July 1988**



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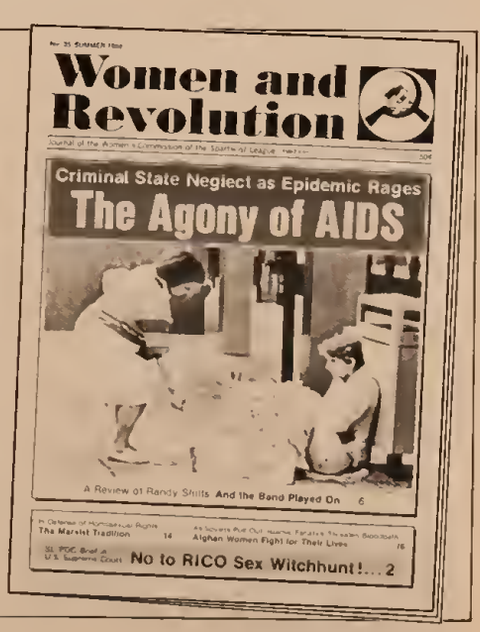

# Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution

Wide World

**Trotsky exposes Moscow Trials frame-up from Mexican exile in 1938.**

JUNE 27—As tensions mount within the Soviet bureaucracy with the approach of the Communist Party's special conference, set to open June 28, the "historical" issue of the victims of Stalin's purge trials has become one of burning immediacy. But as the Gorbachev regime rehabilitates the leaders of the Bukharinite Right Opposition and the Zinoviev-Kamenev capitulators, there is one glaring "blank space" which continues to haunt Gorbachev's Russia: Leon Trotsky, co-leader together with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, founder of the Red Army and leader of the Left Opposition—the only ones who fought Stalin to the end, those who stood on the Leninist program of communist internationalism.

On Monday, June 13, the Supreme Court of the USSR formally reversed

Bulletin of the Opposition

**Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son and organizer of International Left Opposition, victim of Stalin's terror.**

the convictions of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Pyatakov, Radek, and 29 other Bolshevik leaders framed up in the first two Moscow Trials in 1936 and 1937. Earlier, the court had rehabilitated Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky and 17 others convicted in the 1938 frame-up trial of the so-called "Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." Although the latest court decision cleared "everyone involved in their trials," there was no mention of Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov. But on Friday, June 17, Yuri Afanasyev, rector of the State Institute of Historical Archives, called at a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the juridical exoneration of Trotsky and for the publication of his works:

> "We have to rehabilitate all who were oppressed or wrongly accused and, as a matter of justice, Leon Trotsky stands equally with all the victims of Stalin.... It is very strange that professors and teachers try to criticise Trotsky when they have never read a word that he wrote. The same is still true of Bukharin and Kamenev and Zinoviev."

Meanwhile, the London *Guardian* (23 June) reported that a public memorial in central Moscow to millions of Stalin's victims is expected to be authorized by the CPSU conference. A public rally for the memorial was held June 25 outside Moscow's Dinamo Stadium, with speakers including prominent Gorbachev supporters such as Afanasyev and Vitaly Korotich, editor of the *glasnost* weekly *Ogonyok*. And on the eve of the conference, *Moscow News* (26 June) ran a lengthy article, "The Poisonous Mist Disperses," on the rehabilitation of the victims of the Moscow Trials. The article admits that "the main defendant at the trial—in absentia, to Stalin's great dismay—was Trotsky, whom Stalin hated bitterly." And it adds:

> "Trotsky, then living in Norway, couldn't believe his ears. How could he—a Jew and an anti-fascist—and his former supporters be accused of conspiring with the Gestapo?"

Elsewhere in the same issue of *Moscow News*, the heretofore number one "non-person" in the Soviet Union is mentioned in an interview with Healyite actress Vanessa Redgrave (who calls for Trotsky's works to be published), and a column by Afanasyev urges tour guides in Leningrad's Smolny Institute, the hub of the 1917 October Revolution, to point out Trotsky's study. Yet *MN*'s back page gives even more prominent coverage to the millennium of the Russian Orthodox church, that bastion of Russian nationalism, obscurantism and anti-Semitism. And in a succinct expression of *glasnost* today, they announce that George Orwell's *1984* will soon be published in the Soviet Union (while Trotsky's works are still banned).

As we noted in "The Bukharin Dossier" (*WV* No. 455, 17 June), the common thread behind the rehabilitations has been the "desperate need to find some historical alternative to the discredited Stalin *on the same political ground of 'socialism in one country'*." Thus the *Izvestia* (14 June) article on the rehabilitation of Zinoviev and Kamenev baldly claims, "Everyone knows today that Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin was another Lenin, the favorite of the party and its most prominent theoretician." Gorbachev's brain trusters look to the leader of the Right Opposition as the granddaddy of their market-oriented economic policies (*perestroika*). Trotsky remains anathema because his name is synonymous with the program of world revolution.

Moreover, with the rehabilitations they seek not to solidarize with the generation of the October Revolution that Stalin murdered in the Moscow Trials, but to conciliate Western liberal (imperialist) opinion. The *Moscow News* article makes this explicit. Not only does it grotesquely suggest that the seeds of Stalinism are to be found in the intransigent defense of revolutionary Russia during the Civil War, castigating Trotsky and Zinoviev for regarding "their well-known ruthlessness during the Revolution as a sign of valour" and claiming, "They themselves put into the operation the bone-crushing machine which crushed them." The author's main objection to the purge trials is that: "Satisfying his thirst for blood... Stalin himself undermined the anti-fascist front then taking shape, and ignited the democratic West's mistrust for the USSR."

In fact, the *opposite* is the case. The Western press overwhelmingly bought the Moscow Trials and helped to spread Stalin's murderous slanders around the world, with such mouthpieces as the *New York Times*' Walter Duranty, the British Fabian "socialists" Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and various Stalinist fellow travelers. A Boston paper gleefully summed up the bloody purges, saying that the Third International had been stood against the wall and shot. At the same time, Stalin was beheading the Spanish Revolution by starving it of weapons, smashing the Barcelona workers and executing militant leftist leaders. As the then-Trotskyist Max Shachtman wrote in his 1936 pamphlet, *Behind the Moscow Trials*:

> "The dramatic indictment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, their ruthless execution, the indictment of Trotsky—that is, the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred."

Yet this was not enough for the "democratic" imperialists, who refused Stalin's entreaties for an alliance. They were counting on Hitler to finish off the "Bolshevik menace." As Trotsky wrote in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

> "In spite of all the efforts on the part of the Moscow clique to demonstrate its conservative reliability (the counterrevolutionary politics of Stalin in Spain!), world imperialism does not trust Stalin, does not spare him the most humiliating flicks and is ready at the first favorable opportunity to overthrow him. Hitler—and therein lies his strength—simply more consistently and frankly expresses the attitude of the world bourgeoisie to the Soviet bureaucracy. For the bourgeoisie—fascist as well as democratic—isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice, it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of property and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."

In explaining the "confessions" extorted by Stalin and his GPU thugs, and to explain away the political capitulations, the *Moscow News* writes that "a torture can be found to break anyone, even the staunchest." Yet there were those who did not confess, who fought to the end. The Soviet people in the search for the truth about their own history will rediscover the courageous Left Oppositionists, whose commitment to international socialist revolution armed them for irreconcilable battle against Stalin's destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and program. As an eyewitness at the prison camp of Vorkuta reported, when the Trotskyists were shot during the bloody spring of 1938, "As they marched away, the condemned sang the 'Internationale,' joined by the voices of hundreds of prisoners remaining in camp."

The Trotskyists do not look to the bureaucracy, but to the Soviet workers to restore the Bolshevik leaders to their rightful place in history. Soviet democracy will only be restored through proletarian political revolution which will oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy in fighting to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution throughout the world. As Trotsky wrote at the height of the Moscow Trials: "Revolution will unlock all the secret compartments, review all the trials, rehabilitate the slandered, raise memorials to the victims of wantonness, and cover with eternal infamy the names of the executioners" ("The Beginning of the End," June 1937). Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! ■


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# Capitalist America in Physical Decay

# New York Bridges Are Falling Down

The chief engineer of New York City's Transportation Department stopped during an inspection of the Williamsburg Bridge one morning in April to listen to a "squealing or screeching sound, which was then abruptly cut off and followed by a bang. 'That was one of the most frightening things'," he told the *New York Times*. "'It was the sound of something going'."

The inspection had already discovered that 90 percent of the cross section of several beams holding up the roadway had been lost to corrosion. However, cars and trucks with their unsuspecting occupants continued to use the structure until almost 36 hours later, when 30 such beams had been found. At that point NYC mayor Ed Koch decided the spectre of collapse of the roadway into the East River, with possible deaths and certain political embarrassment, outweighed the predictable uproar over requiring 240,000 commuters to find another way across the river. The bridge was closed; an army of traffic guards was sent out to try to unsnarl the clogged streets. Small businesses near the bridge were devastated. And the engineers went out with pick hammers to see how far the damage went.

City officials knew that the bridge was in very bad shape, but they were making every effort to keep from replacing it. (For one thing, more federal money is available for repairs.) A 1985 engineering study concluded the huge suspension cables holding up the entire span wouldn't last a decade. The entire top of the bridge was wired with strain sensors, vibration monitors, frequency analyzers. But nobody looked underneath. On May 26, after closing the bridge for six weeks to patch rotted beams at breakneck speed, the city partially reopened the Williamsburg to light traffic. The very next day, four construction workers were injured when a repair platform collapsed. Now a new city study calls for $350 million in repairs to the roadway, but claims nothing is wrong with the main suspension cables. Even Koch's friends at the *New York Times* (11 June) don't believe it, editorializing: "Fix the Bridge? Get a Second Opinion."

And the Williamsburg is just the tip of the iceberg. Jim Bishop, secretary-treasurer of the bridge painters union, told the *New York Post* (25 May):

> "A truck could fall through the lower deck of the Manhattan Bridge any day. The Williamsburg? That could go down any time. The only thing holding them up is rust . . . When it comes to bridges, and highways, New York is a disaster waiting to happen."

But it's not a "natural" disaster: the state of NYC's bridges, like the condition of the streets and water system, the schools and housing stock, is literally the product of the decay of capitalism.

Mark Ivins

Raia/Newsday

**Disaster waiting to happen: Williamsburg Bridge (above), shut down because of massive corrosion. Koch reopened bridge after patchwork repairs.**

### Fish Oil and Salt

The Williamsburg Bridge, built in 1903 in conscious competition with the then 20-year-old Brooklyn Bridge, is a rusting monument to the low bidder system. They built it to carry subway trains, they eliminated any designed-in safety factors, and they finished it in half the time. To save money they didn't galvanize the suspension cables, as was standard practice. Instead, the cables were treated with graphite and linseed oil. Seven years after the bridge was opened, the cables were found to be deteriorating. By 1922 the city was pouring *fish oil* on the foot-and-a-half-thick cables to try to halt the rust. A concrete roadway was installed in the 1950s, without drainage. Water and road salt collected in cracks, seeped down into steel pockets.

The *New York Times* (10 June) reports that by 1971 an engineering consultant recommended "repair of corroded members be undertaken at an early date." (The *Times*, which finds very little critical of the NYC fathers "fit to print," entitled its article a "Chronicle of City's Neglect.") Nothing was fixed, just painted over. In 1980 another study warned of "heavily corroded" beams. In 1985 the understructure passed a state inspection—a few cracks were repaired, then more paint. Last August Mayor Koch announced flatly, "This bridge is safe." But finally, many years of neglect, coupled with an active corrosion agent—salt—took its toll.

Salt is cheap. At the first snowflake, city trucks fan out across the city, pouring salt onto every major roadway and bridge. Steel and air and salty water form a complete electrochemical cell producing current which greatly accelerates the oxidation of the metallic iron by air. Steel bridges contain thousands of pockets where this reaction can occur, thousands of such cells producing current and corroding away the structure. Freeze and thaw cycles produce cracks in the concrete roadbed. Saltwater works its way in toward the steel reinforcing bar. The rusting rebar expands against the concrete, which cracks and falls out of the roadbed.

The technology exists—cathodic protection—to prevent the ravages of this corrosion cell activity by running a small electric charge through a bridge's steel components. And for years there have been recognized, elementary measures which can be taken to protect a bridge from salt (and particularly in a marine environment), notably maintenance—washing it down after the snows are ended, providing for drainage and keeping the drains clean, and keeping it painted. But NYC bridges aren't washed down, and what little paint is applied goes over salt, pigeon droppings, dirt and acid automobile exhaust residues, sealing in the wet corrosives.

The Williamsburg is the symbol of all the 2,098 city bridges; 32 are closed, 471 must be repaired or replaced in the next few years to avoid collapse, at an estimated cost of $2.5 billion, more than twice the amount budgeted. The most heavily used East River bridge, the Queensboro, is in worse shape than the Williamsburg, and the Manhattan Bridge "has a distressing tendency to twist whenever a subway train rumbles across it" (*New York Times*, 21 February). The Sheridan Bridge in the Bronx was opened in 1967 as a temporary wooden timber detour. So many cars used it that they paved over the wood. When that gave out they installed steel plates. Twenty years later the timbers finally gave way, so they start to build a bridge.

The city's bridges are going the way of the subway system and highways. The Wall Street bankers have let the transit system go to hell, while assaulting the heavily minority Transport Workers Union. Now, after years of derailments, subway fires and deaths due to faulty doors, the bourgeoisie has announced a $8.6 billion "rebuilding plan." But once again the bankers will feed at the trough, as interest payments on the financing bonds funnel hundreds of millions of

**NYC public employees union exposed crumbling bridges in 1976.**

dollars to the Wall Street profiteers.

And Manhattan is left with only one overcrowded, deteriorating north-south highway. After a truck fell through a hole in the West Side Highway in 1973, the roadway was used by joggers until its final demise years later. Unlike the rad-lib opponents of "Westway," our 1978 NYC election campaign (under the watchword of a "Socialist Fight to Save New York") called for a ten-lane underground West Side highway, as part of a massive program of public works under union control.

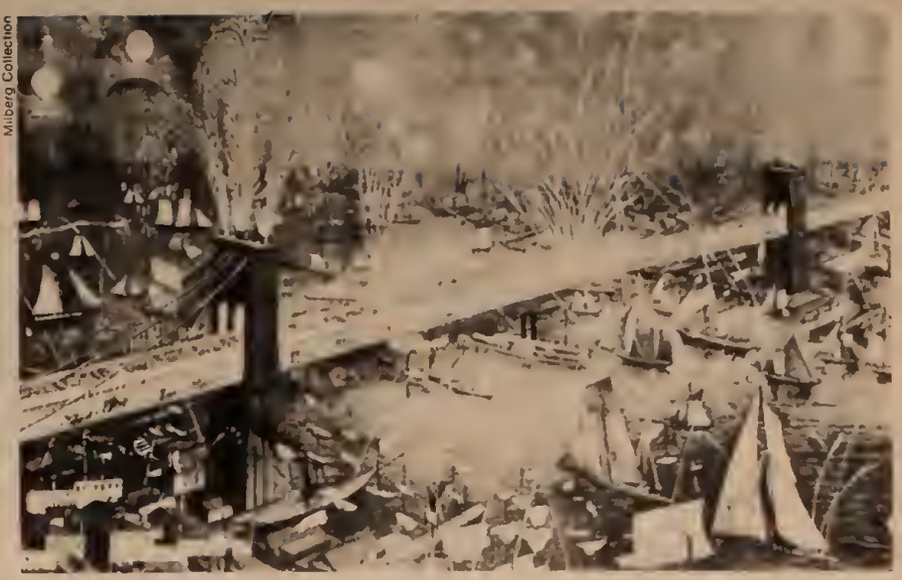
### Koch's Cuts Kill

The decay of this city's infrastructure is directly connected to Koch's calls for more murderous police and his attacks on city workers unions. Koch lets black and minority youth rot in the streets and the prisons he calls schools, while the bankers and arbitragers plunder this country's industry. The ports and rail yards, bridges and water mains rust away in the shadow of tax-supported luxury housing. The only things being built for minority and working people are more prisons. And until those are ready, they've added a prison barge—a floating jail—which was first docked in the shadow of the Williamsburg Bridge and now (following community uproar) has been moved to the Hudson River.

Meanwhile, under his administration the number of bridge workers and painters was slashed by more than one-third. Koch was installed to finish the job begun by the bankers with "Big MAC" in 1975, when New York was put in receivership to the direct rule of finance capital. A *fifth* of the entire city budget went to *debt service* to the banks. To pay for this they launched a wholesale assault on the unions and city services, used overwhelmingly by the poor and working people:

> "Wages were frozen, 30,000 workers were axed, future pension benefits were reduced, and the unions' pension funds themselves—not the banks—became the major source of emergency city financing. Hospitals were closed. Transit fares [...] were increased 43 per cent. A free university education—the traditional passport between poverty and the middle class—would soon be abolished."
>
> —Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul, *The Abuse of Power, The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York* (1977)

Even before the cutbacks, in April 1967, Jim Bishop of the bridge painters union had warned Mayor Lindsay that he was facing a "catastrophe—with the bridges of New York City." What did Lindsay do about it? He eliminated bridge painting from the budget (*New York Post*, 25 May). And AFSCME District 37, the largest NYC union, recalled that it warned the city more than a decade ago when it headlined the union paper "New York's Bridges Are Rusting, Crumbling" (*Public Employee Press*, 9 April 1976) But the union tops didn't lift a finger to fight the cutbacks and layoffs. In 1898 there were 206 maintenance workers assigned to the Brooklyn Bridge alone. Today 160 workers are responsible for 846 bridges—less than *five* for the Brooklyn Bridge. It's barely enough to watch them rust.



Milberg Collection

**Grand opening of Brooklyn Bridge, 1883. Ascendant capitalism built magnificent public works, capitalism in its decline is letting them go to hell.**

### Coast-to-Coast Rust Belt

New York City bridges are a symbol of the decaying infrastructure across the United States. Almost *one-quarter* of the country's bridges are closed, have reduced load limits, or need immediate rehabilitation to remain open. Over 150 bridges collapse each year. An estimated $51 billion is required to fix them. And it's not just bridges: in 1960, 3.6 percent of the GNP was spent on infrastructure. This dropped to 1.7 percent in 1980, and then climbed back to only 2.6 percent in 1985. From highways to water and sewer systems, from schools and hospitals to the subways and railroads, the bourgeoisie in its decline is letting the physical plant of this country go to hell.

Historically, the bourgeoisie has produced massive public works in periods of capitalist expansion...and for war. In early 1800s Britain every new mile of railway laid inland from the ports produced a thousandfold return for the capitalists, as colonial markets exploded and factories were built to supply them. The broad boulevards of Paris were built by Emperor Napoleon III as a defense against militant Parisian workers, who in the defeated 1848 Revolution held the old neighborhoods with barricades of paving stones. In the 19th century, the American system of canals and railways was the path of expansion to the West. Today's 42,000-mile "National System of Interstate and Defense Highways," begun in the 1950s, was patterned after the Third Reich Autobahn system which was designed by the Nazis to speed their invasion of Europe.

After U.S. imperialism's dreams of an "American Century" were shattered by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, the bourgeoisie decided it had to massively rearm. Beginning under Democrat Carter and sharply escalating under Reagan, billions which could have gone into capital investment were put into Trident subs and "Star Wars" nuclear first-strike schemes. Last year the Center for Defense Information reported, "Preparations for war have cost the United States $2 Trillion since 1981," and current spending is more than double that of all U.S. imperialist allies (including NATO and Japan).

American capitalism in its heyday had an international reputation for building things to last, from machine tools to construction. A recent article in the *New York Times* (28 April) described the use in Vietnam of small American pumps which have been operating since the '50s to drain land and irrigate fields. So widespread and integral to Vietnamese farming are they, that the generic word for pump is derived from Kohler, the manufacturer. The article quotes a peasant requesting recently built pumps. But the pumps being built today by the notoriously anti-union Kohler Company now have plastic ("no-lube") bearings and rotors, and a five-year life expectancy.

The Brooklyn Bridge just reached its 100th birthday, and its first major overhaul. It was designed by the brilliant German-born engineer (and student of Hegel) John Roebling, and built by his son, Washington Roebling, a Union veteran of many of the Civil War's bloodiest battles. In the 1930s, Robert Moses, the public works czar of New York, built a municipal water system that dazzled the world, a magnificent system of reservoirs and lakes, aqueducts and tunnels. Even today people in Los Angeles pay for bottles of New York City tap water. But the system is living on the investments of the past. A new water tunnel to Manhattan, under construction for decades, has run into mishap after mishap. The two existing tunnels have not been inspected since they were built. On the block grid level, tens of millions of gallons of water are wasted, and frequent main breaks result in closing subway lines, roadways, and even buildings.

### For Socialist Revolution to Rebuild America

A recent study called for an increase of "up to 100% in the amount of capital the nation invests each year in new and existing public works"—some $50 billion annually (*Engineering News Record*, 25 February). But the ideologues around the White House apparently think they can solve all problems with an apocalypse now. Other members of the bourgeoisie, who don't trust in the stars, are worried. Privatization is proposed as one solution. Everything from prisons to highways is being built by private investors, who will use chain gangs and tolls and tax breaks to return a profit.

The feds are urging Donald Trump to rebuild the Williamsburg Bridge for cheap. He visited the bridge in a heavy-duty photo opportunity, to declare great plans. It would be "Trump's Folly"—there's a big difference between a recreational skating rink and a major transportation link. The resources to maintain and rebuild the infrastructure of this country cannot be squeezed out of an economic base increasingly made of junk bonds and junk food joints.

During the New York state primary, Jesse Jackson led a march across the closed Williamsburg Bridge, calling for "rebuilding people to rebuild the bridges"—a WPA-style program for a new New Deal. He proposes an "American Investment Bank," financed with the pension funds of public employees! But NYC workers have already had their pension money siphoned into the Big MAC sinkhole. Dukakis, meanwhile, calls for "Rebuilding America." The Democrats, and their reformist supporters on the left, call for "reordering priorities," for butter not guns. But the Democrats and Republicans are solidly united around a mounting war drive against the Soviet Union to restore the U.S. as a hegemonic world power.

The program of the Democratic Party (and their kept labor lieutenants) is to make the working class pay for decades of capitalist looting of this country's wealth. At Chrysler, the Democrats and the UAW company cops conspired with the auto bosses to steal billions in concessions and throw auto workers on the scrap heap. That's what Dukakis' and Jackson's "Rebuild America" slogan means: racist Japan-bashing protectionism, givebacks and war.

From factories to people, the ravaging of the country's productive forces reflects the decay of American capitalism. A Pentagon study lamented that private investment in plant and equipment, as a percentage of the Gross National Product, is currently a paltry 10 percent in the U.S. By comparison, in Japan it is 17 percent (*Wall Street Journal*, 16 May). The economic lifeblood of this country—the steel, the autos, the farm machinery and tools and oil—needs highways, railroads, waterways, bridges. The capitalist class is letting the factories rust into the ground, while the industrial working class rots in low-paid McDonald's jobs. The black youth of this country are being deliberately wasted, kept out of any meaningful role in this racist, rotting society.

A workers revolution would put America back to work rebuilding the bridges, highways and factories. And not just here—massive aid programs to rebuild Vietnam, Latin America, Africa, everywhere the imperialists have plundered and destroyed. The capitalist class in its twilight has shown that it is incapable of maintaining society. The working class led by its revolutionary vanguard must wrench society from the bourgeoisie's death grip. ■

Sobolik/Black Star

**Jesse Jackson leads march over Williamsburg Bridge during NY primary campaign, calling for grabbing workers' pension funds to pay for years of neglect by capitalist rulers.**

## Anatomy of a Healyite Russia Hater

# David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son

Workers Press

Workers League leader David North has made no small effort to ensconce himself as *the* undisputed "leader" of the shattered remnants of Gerry Healy's corrupt International Committee (IC). To do so of course requires that North declare all of the other former leading lights of Healyism (including the "founder-leader" himself) to be hopeless "renegades." Never mind that North was trained, tutored and installed as a leader by the same crew he now denounces in order to proclaim himself to be the sole surviving repository of Healyite "orthodoxy."

One of the most recent installments of this cynical charade is North's book *The Heritage We Defend*. Ever so modestly described as "A Contribution to the History of the Fourth International," in reality it is a 500-page treatise against Healy's longtime hatchet man Michael Banda. Against Banda's ignorant, anti-Trotskyist "Twenty-Seven Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried Forthwith and the Fourth International Built"—a way station on Banda's road to becoming a Stalinist PR man—North attempts to claim as his own the revolutionary heritage of James P. Cannon's Socialist Workers Party. This is really egregious considering that the Workers League published hundreds of pages written by their former leader Tim Wohlforth, sneering that Cannon was a barely Marxist, vulgar "window smasher." This was Wohlforth's way of making himself out to be, in effect, the first real American Marxist.

As for North, he was specially chosen by Healy to be the WL "leader" as a reward for his eager services as mouthpiece for Healy's obscene "Security and the Fourth International" campaign—a psychotic smear job impugning the integrity of the old, revolutionary SWP and Trotsky himself. Slandering the SWP's Joseph Hansen as a conscious agent of the FBI and the Russian secret police, and an accomplice in the murder of Trotsky, the Northites have for over a decade echoed the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by one of his own.

"Security and the Fourth International" grew straight out of Gerry Healy's own particular combination of years of political banditry and paranoid megalomania. It was Healy's way of "explaining" his International Committee's failure to definitively expose and defeat Pabloism, the revisionist current originated by Michel Pablo which in the early 1950s abandoned Trotskyism with the perspective of liquidation into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the 1960s Joseph Hansen became the main spokesman of the Pabloite degeneration of the SWP as it abandoned the struggle for an independent proletarian vanguard. But instead of political struggle the Healyites concocted their devil theory that Hansen had been hired by the U.S. government *and* the Kremlin Stalinists to destroy the SWP.

Declaring themselves to be the Fourth International, Healy's IC kept up a vicious vendetta against the long-since reformist SWP, including the use of the capitalist courts. This is not the only time they crossed the class line. A secret report (which surfaced as part of the fallout from the Healyites' spectacular implosion) by an IC Commission to investigate "the corruption of G. Healy" details payoffs that were received for services rendered to a variety of oil-rich Arab despots. This included supplying photographs to the Iraqi embassy of a demonstration of opponents of Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime in Iraq. The report of the IC investigation says that while the "Commission has not yet been able to establish all the facts...a receipt for £1,600 for 16 minutes of documentary footage of a demonstration is in the possession of the Commission." An indisputable and monstrous fact is that the Healyites hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by Ba'ath rulers in 1979. Healy's payoff was blood money!

As the Spring 1988 issue of *Solidarity*, a British journal of "libertarian socialism" which leaked the secret IC report, notes: "It is certain that the anti-Healy camp know far more about the dirtier aspects of the WRP's past than they have so far publicly admitted.... These include North, who has resolutely chosen not to make public even the skeletal information we publish...." Of course he hasn't. Of all Healy's former lieutenants, North is uniquely the one who clings to the real "heritage" of Healyism—in particular the scandalous "Security and the Fourth International" campaign.

Stanton/Pathfinder Press

**American SWP's Joseph Hansen framed by Healy/North's psychotic "Security and the Fourth International" smear, which parroted Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by "one of his own."**

**Spartacist protest against Healyite Big Lie campaign. We defended Hansen as "an honest revisionist."**

WV Photo

### "Counterrevolutionary Through and Through"

But North could well be hoist on his own petard. In *The Heritage We Defend* he writes that "Trotsky had branded the Stalinist bureaucracy as 'counterrevolutionary through and through'...." One can look through everything Trotsky ever wrote and never find this falsely and stupidly one-sided formulation. On the contrary, as he said in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933): "Whoever fails to understand th[e] dual role of Stalinism in the USSR has understood nothing." The formulation "counterrevolutionary through and through" which North embraces was the work of...none other than the devil incarnate of Healyism, the arch-agent himself—Joseph Hansen.

It first issued from the big and unwise mouth of Dave Weiss (D. Stevens) during the 1952-53 fight against the pro-Stalinist liquidators in the Cochran-Clarke faction in the SWP. And it was Hansen who landed the assignment of defending Weiss' statement. This Hansen did with his usual quite capable vigor, including the amplification that the Kremlin Stalinists were not only "counterrevolutionary through and through" but "to the core" ("What the New York Discussion Has Revealed," Joseph Hansen, SWP Internal Bulletin, Vol. 15, No. 4, February 1953). Indeed Hansen was the biggest exponent, if the number of pages count, of the view North falsely ascribes to Trotsky.

Yet who in the Soviet Union could be characterized as "counterrevolutionary through and through"? Only an out-and-out Great Russian fascist, something out of the present-day *Pamyat* or perhaps a CIA mole in the KGB could fit this bill. But this certainly doesn't describe the Stalinist bureaucracy. A conservative nationalist caste resting on the proletarian property forms established by the Russian Revolution, the Kremlin bureaucracy is the product of and reflects the *contradictions* of a bonapartist regime issuing from the degeneration of a workers revolution in a backward country surrounded by imperialism.

In "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937), Trotsky explained.

> "The proletariat of the USSR is the ruling class in a *backward* country where

there is still a lack of the most vital necessities of life. The proletariat of the USSR rules in a land consisting of only one-twelfth part of humanity; imperialism rules over the remaining eleven-twelfths. The rule of the proletariat, already maimed by the backwardness and poverty of the country, is doubly and triply deformed under the pressure of world imperialism....

"In its capacity of a transmitting mechanism in this struggle, the bureaucracy leans now on the proletariat against imperialism, now on imperialism against the proletariat, in order to increase its own power. At the same time it mercilessly exploits its role as distributor of the meager necessities of life in order to safeguard its own well-being and power. By this token the rule of the proletariat assumes an abridged, cirbed, distorted character. One can with full justification say that the proletariat, *ruling* in one backward and isolated country, still remains an *oppressed* class. The source of oppression is world imperialism; the mechanism of transmission of the oppression—the bureaucracy. If in the words 'a ruling and at the same time an oppressed class' there is a contradiction, then it flows not from the mistakes of thought but from the contradiction in the very situation of the USSR. It is precisely because of this that we reject the theory of socialism in one country."

Far from characterizing the bureaucracy as "counterrevolutionary through and through," in the *Transitional Program*, the founding document of the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote that "all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko)." The dual nature of the Kremlin oligarchy is fundamental to the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union combined with the call for political revolution to oust the bureaucracy.

Trotsky presented his fullest analysis of the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the last political battle of his life, against the repudiation of Soviet defensism by the petty-bourgeois Shachtman/Burnham opposition in the SWP in 1939-40. Even in the context of some of the most heinous counterrevolutionary crimes of the Soviet government—the destruction of the Bolshevik Party, the strangulation of proletarian revolution in Spain by the Kremlin bureaucrats, the beheading of the Red Army—Trotsky never characterized the bureaucracy as "counterrevolutionary through and through." But Shachtman certainly did.

Donald Press

**Max Shachtman**

Defending Baron von Mannerheim's Finland against Soviet intervention, Shachtman argued that in Poland the Red Army had acted only as a "counterrevolutionary force." Trotsky, who saw the possibility for a social transformation in Finland coming with the Red Army intervention, pointed to the expropriation of the capitalists and large landowners in Eastern Poland which took place despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state. Against Shachtman he argued:

World Publishing

G. Neri

**Who in the Soviet Union could be "counterrevolutionary through and through"? Only CIA agents or Russian fascists like General Vlasov (left), who collaborated with Nazi invaders, or anti-Semitic Pamyat leader Dmitri Vassiliev (right).**

"the Kremlin with its bureaucratic methods gave an impulse to the socialist revolution in Poland.... This impulse in the direction of socialist revolution was possible only because the bureaucracy of the USSR straddles and has its roots in the economy of a workers state."

As Trotsky noted, the seizure of Eastern Poland was both "a pledge of the alliance with Hitler" and "a guarantee against Hitler" through the nationalization of semi-feudal and capitalist property. To understand this means understanding real dialectical materialism as opposed to the cynical shell game of "dialectics" employed by the Healyites. For years they were distinguished by obfuscating, idealist lectures on the ever-mystical "dialectic" which nobody could understand—except Healy. Only the self-declared "founder-leader" was meant to understand, just as only he could determine "security" clearances. "Dialectics" and the "Security" slanders were the underpinnings of the Healy cult, designed to keep the membership completely confused and above all intimidated by their omnipotent leaders.

## David North: A Joseph Hansen of the Second Mobilization

But just how is it that David North has come to embrace the politics of Joseph Hansen—a man he has reviled as the sinister arch-nemesis of Trotskyism and slandered as the number one agent responsible for the supposed infiltration and takeover of the SWP by the U.S. government? Applying the demonology of Healyism to North himself one can only ask: can he be far behind? Not subscribing to the paranoid conspiracy theories that are the stock-in-trade of Healyism against their opponents, we can trace the political genealogy of Hansen/North's shared anti-Soviet revisionism back to the source.

In his 1953 document "What the New York Discussion Has Revealed," Hansen proclaims, "I trace the current differences back to the discussion on Eastern Europe.... First of all, in taking the position that Stalinism had brought about an overturn in property forms in these countries, I raised the question myself as to how this affected our estimate of the political character of Stalinism. My answer was that the power to make such changes did not require us to revise the concept of Stalinism developed by Trotsky. Stalinism still remained counterrevolutionary to the core."

Leaving aside Hansen's wrongful attribution to Trotsky the view that the Kremlin bureaucracy was "counterrevolutionary to the core," his analysis of the differences that developed within the SWP and the Fourth International are quite to the point. The SWP had a very hard time for a couple of years explaining how deformed workers states were created in Eastern Europe. So did the leadership that emerged at the head of the Fourth International in Europe where the most promising cadres had been killed by war and by fascist and Stalinist repression. As we noted in "Genesis of Pablоism" (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972), they were confronted with the question:

> "...is the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism correct if Stalinism shows itself willing in some cases to accomplish any sort of anti-capitalist social transformation? Clinging to orthodoxy, the Trotskyists had lost a real grasp of theory and suppressed part of Trotsky's *dialectical* understanding of Stalinism as a parasitic and counterrevolutionary caste sitting atop the gains of the October Revolution, a kind of treacherous middle-man poised between the victorious Russian proletariat and world imperialism."

Empirical evidence tore a gaping hole through the Trotskyists' post-WW II attempt at wooden orthodoxy. The impressionistic Pablo simply threw overboard "the old Trotskyism" and declared that the Stalinists could play an "objectively revolutionary" role; his conclusion was deep entrism into the Stalinist and mass reformist parties in Europe. During 1951-53, Pablo's liquidationism led to the destruction of the Fourth International. The SWP (with Healy in tow) waged a belated and partial fight against Pablоism, splitting out the anti-liquidationist International Committee. But a few years later over the Cuban Revolution the SWP followed suit and Joseph Hansen was the main theoretical apologist. The need for a Trotskyist party was dropped as Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillas were embraced as the modern-day equivalent of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

In the name of combatting Pablоite revisionism the Healyites reacted by simply putting a minus where the SWP put a plus. Making a caricature of the sterile, formal "orthodoxy" that had characterized the post-World War II SWP, the Healyites argued that since there was no Trotskyist party in Cuba no social transformation had taken place—in short they stood Pablоism on its head. In contrast the Spartacist delegation to the 1966 conference of Healy's International Committee argued:

> "...the petty-bourgeois peasantry under the most *favorable* historic circumstances conceivable could achieve no third road, neither capitalist, nor working class. Instead all that has come out of China and Cuba was a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, the degeneration of the October. That is why we are led to define states such as these as *deformed workers states*. And the experience since the Second World War, properly understood, offers not a basis for revisionist turning away from the perspective and necessity of revolutionary working-class power, but rather it is a great vindication of Marxian theory and conclusions under new and not previously expected circumstances."
>
> —"Spartacist Statement to International Conference," *Spartacist* No. 6, June-July 1966

The Healyites' opposition to the SWP over the Cuban Revolution had little to do with fighting the Pablоist liquidation of Trotskyism. In fact Healy's line was that the Fourth International had been rebuilt, the International Committee was it, and Pablоism was simply proto-Stalinism. In contrast the Spartacist delegation to Healy's 1966 IC conference argued that the actual reconstruction of the Fourth International could only be achieved through completely rooting out this revisionism: "Up to now, we have not done very well, in our opinion, in smashing the Pablоites; the impact of events alone, no matter how favorable objectively or devastating to revisionist doctrines, will not do the job." As we pointed out: "The 'orthodox' movement has still to face up to the *new* theoretical problems which rendered it susceptible to Pablоism in 1943-50 and gave rise to a ragged, partial split in 1952-54." This was borne out in the Healyites' embrace of various "Third World" Stalinists like Ho Chi Minh and Mao's "Cultural Revolution."

For daring to raise our political differences openly in 1966, we were denounced by Healy as petty-bourgeois American chauvinists, and expelled for refusing to confess to the charge. False confessions were a matter of "discipline" in the political cult of the megalomaniac Gerry Healy, the man whose shoes David North is desperate to fill. Almost two decades later Healy himself was ousted amidst lurid charges of moral turpitude leveled by his former lieutenants. In an interview "On the

*continued on page 8*

Pathfinder Press

**Leon Trotsky in Mexican exile. His last political battle was against petty-bourgeois faction that abandoned defense of Soviet Union.**

## David North...

*(continued from page 7)*

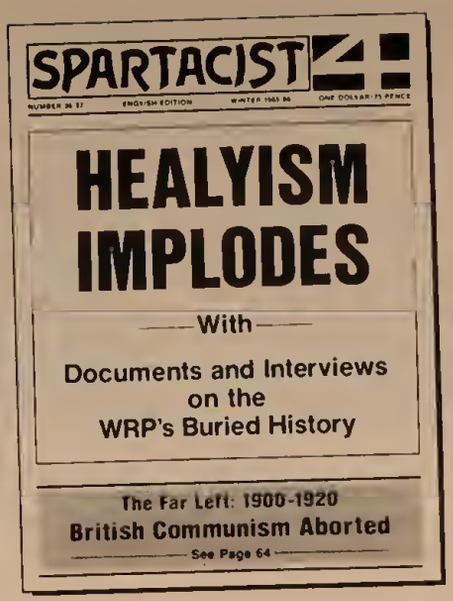
1966 Split" in *Spartacist* (No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86) covering the subsequent rather spectacular implosion of Healy's British Workers Revolutionary Party, comrade James Robertson commented:

> "...we have some stuff to say now, because we were the principled people the whole way. And I would suggest that the main reason is not some morality associated with Americans versus English persons, but that over a long period of time, through many fights, through one tendency after another, we stood concretely for the defense of the Soviet Union, against imperialism, and against the damn Russian bureaucracy. That has in fact been our political compass, and it also generates a certain cultural superstructure and a certain morality."

### The "Principles" of Political Bandits

The Healyites had no such compass. Despite their inverted Pabloism over Cuba, denying that a social revolution ever took place, Healy's International Committee had a perfectly Pabloite tailist line toward the Vietnamese Stalinists and went on to herald Mao's "Cultural Revolution." It was their support to the mythical "Arab Revolution" in 1967 that provided the theoretical preparation for their various forays across the class line, some of which have come home to haunt them. And it was under the cover of "anti-Stalinism" that the Healyites hailed the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime.

While they lined their pockets with Arab gold and availed themselves of the forces of the bourgeois state against leftist political opponents, the Healyites would still invoke Leninist "orthodoxy" when it suited their purposes. Last year saw North screaming loul at the SWP for using the capitalist courts against the workers movement, to wit suing the Workers League for costs in North's years-long court suit against the SWP (see "David North and the Law," *WV* No. 430, 12 June 1987). More recently, witness the 1988 "Election Manifesto" of the Workers League's candidates for president and vice president. The call to "establish the political independence of the American working class from the capitalist class" is rather remarkable from an organization which continues to drag leftists through the bosses' courts.




**When Healy's WRP/IC spectacularly blew up in 1985, special issue of Spartacist explored political roots: two decades of cynical political banditry. To receive a copy, send $1.00 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.**

The WL's election manifesto also demands that "The working class must defend the Soviet Union." But repeatedly over the past two decades North's Workers League has taken the side of virulently anti-Soviet forces—with Khomeini's mullahs in Iran, with the CIA's company union Solidarność in Poland, with U.S. imperialism's Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan. To cover for their anti-Sovietism the WL has invented a global conspiracy between Washington and Moscow. Or rather, they borrowed it from Pierre Lambert, Healy's one-time bloc partner, who regularly vituperates against a "counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance, sealed at Yalta," supposedly uniting the White House and the Kremlin. They just leave out the Cold War, and for a reason.

"Down with Imperialism and Stalinism! Unite Soviet and American Workers" was the front-page headline of a "Workers League Political Committee Statement" in the 27 May *Bulletin*. This slogan, equating the bureaucratic misleaders of the degenerated/deformed workers states with the capitalist class enemy, comes straight out of Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. "Long live the struggle of the youth against the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialism!" was the clarion call for the Lambertistes' 1971 Essen Conference. The OCI's Stalinophobia led it straight into the camp of the most right-wing Cold War social democrats. For example, several dozen of the OCI's members, including Lambert himself, served as paid functionaries of the French social-democratic union Force

# Workers Power: The Baggage of State Capitalism

## Tony Cliff's Stepchildren

David North's *The Heritage We Defend* is the subject of a critical review by *Trotskyist International* (Summer 1988), new journal of the centrist current led by the British Workers Power group, the Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International (MRCI). In a nutshell, the review is devoted to again vindicating WP's "plague on both your houses" line on the 1953 split by the International Committee, then led by the American Trotskyist SWP of James P. Cannon, from the Pabloist liquidationism which destroyed the Fourth International. Yet, throughout five densely packed pages, the review never takes note of North's ludicrous misattribution to Trotsky of Hansen's formulation that "Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through."

On the contrary, it takes the logic of this stupidly one-sided formulation to absurdity, asserting that "Castro and co. like Mao and Tito before them, carried out a counter-revolutionary overthrow of capitalism." Ditto for the bureaucratically imposed social revolutions in Soviet-occupied East Europe following World War II. In brief, according to Workers Power, *every* overthrow of capitalism since the Russian Revolution has been "counter-revolutionary." What could a counter-revolutionary overturn of capitalism mean—except, perhaps, a return to feudalism? The closest thing to this in recent times was the "Islamic revolution" in Iran. But there WP backed the mullah-led "mass movement" unconditionally, just as they supported Polish Solidarność' full-blown attempt at counterrevolution *despite* admitting the Solidarność leadership was committed to the restoration of capitalism.

Workers Power carries the political baggage of its origins in a 1975 split from Tony Cliff's International Socialists (now the Socialist Workers Party of Great Britain). It was not until February 1980 and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan that WP renounced Cliff's "third camp" ("Neither Washington nor Moscow") line, adopting a formally Trotskyist position that the Soviet Union was a degenerated workers state.

Socialist Challenge

**"State capitalist" Tony Cliff broke with Trotskyist Fourth International in 1950.**

In typically centrist fashion, however, Workers Power recoiled from drawing the hard revolutionary conclusions. In the abstract, WP called for defense of the Soviet Union; in the concrete, they had "no hesitation in condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan" (*Workers Power*, February 1980). But with mealy-mouthed gutlessness, they deemed it "tactically wrong" to openly join the imperialist outcry for Soviet withdrawal until "the forces exist in Afghanistan which can mobilise the masses for the major democratic and socialist goals, and hold the pro-imperialist forces at bay." Now, with a bloodbath looming, an April 1988 MRCI resolution continues to "condemn the invasion as counter-revolutionary," while simultaneously denouncing the Soviet withdrawal! Not one of the some two dozen slogans at the end of the resolution raises defense of the Soviet Union.

Workers Power's line on Afghanistan is a quintessential example of the "crystallized confusion" that Trotsky cited as a prime characteristic of centrism. In the eight years since it repudiated its state capitalist position, WP has continued to try to keep one foot in each camp. In its "Twenty two theses in defence of Trotskyism" (May 1987), the MRCI asserts:

> "We reject Stalinophobia—a differential hostility to Stalinism over social democracy or other alien class influences. This, with its emphasis on a monolithic nature for Stalinism (*'counter-revolutionary through and through'*), has led to softness and accommodation to social-democratic reformism ."

But in practice, on every contemporary issue, Workers Power ends up refusing to defend the deformed/degenerated workers states. And elsewhere WP asserts: "Essential to Pablo's position was a revision of the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism, i.e. that it is invariably a counter-revolutionary force" (*The Death Agony of the Fourth International*, 1983).

This is hardly an original thesis. Workers Power's Cliffite godparents like to claim occasionally (when *overt* anti-Sovietism is not in vogue) that they originated in a fight against "the shamelessly opportunist support for Tito's Yugoslavia by the rest of the Trotskyist movement" (*International Socialism* No. 76, March 1975). The Cliff group *fought against Trotskyism*, not Pabloism, arguing as early as 1948 that the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states were "state capitalist." They got themselves expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for publicly repudiating the FI's defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism. And it is precisely in the period 1948-51 that WP locates the definitive "collapse" into centrism of the FI.

Seizing upon the disorientation that gripped the entire world Trotskyist movement in the face of the post-WWII Stalinist overturns of capitalism in East Europe, Workers Power contemptuously dismisses the Trotskyists who fought the liquidationism of Michel Pablo, albeit belatedly, partially and primarily on their own national terrain, and who reconstituted themselves as the IC. Cannon just isn't up to snuff for Workers Power, because it took him a few years to catch on. But he led a fight to preserve Trotskyism against those who sought to destroy it. Workers Power takes *no side* in this struggle for revolutionary continuity, and they can hardly claim Cliff as the continuity of Trotskyism.

To believe WP/MRCI, from the FI's "collapse" until WP emerged full-blown on the scene like Athena from the head of Zeus, there existed no real Trotskyists on this planet. It requires a big dose of hubris for a group to anoint itself the first Trotskyists since Trotsky. We can only lay claim to continuing, as best we can, the struggle passed on to us by Cannon, and to him by Trotsky. We can, however, boast that we make available 25 years of our written material in bound volumes for critical examination by the working-class public. Workers Power, like all centrists, is loathe to deal honestly with its *own* heritage.■

Ouvrière, which has been linked to the notorious CIA operative Irving Brown going back to 1947.

Applied to the U.S. the Northites' resurrection of this slogan leads straight to the State Department "socialism" of Norman Thomas and Max Shachtman in his later years. The *Bulletin* writes that "Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) are the road to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the transformation of Stalinist bureaucrats into capitalists." Evidently, for the Northites, no counterrevolution to overthrow the remaining gains of the October Revolution would be required, just a cold transformation of the Soviet degenerated workers state into a capitalist state imposed from the top. As Trotsky argued, this is to run the film of reformism in reverse, positing a peaceful transition from a workers state to capitalism.

The Northites' "analysis" of where Gorbachev's Russia is going is unmitigated Third Campism, which parenthetically is a quintessential expression of petty-bourgeois American chauvinism—the charge which Healy came up with and North continues to trumpet against the Spartacist League. North's view is reality seen through the prism and under the pressure of U.S. imperialism. As Trotsky argued against Shachtman and Burnham in "A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party":

> "A vulgar petty-bourgeois radical is similar to a liberal 'progressive' in that he takes the USSR as a whole, failing to understand its internal contradictions and dynamics. When Stalin concluded an alliance with Hitler, invaded Poland, and now Finland, the vulgar radicals triumphed; the identity of the methods of Stalinism and fascism was proved! They found themselves in difficulties however when the new authorities invited the population to expropriate the landowners and capitalists—they had not foreseen this possibility at all!"
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism*

Healy and North also charged the Spartacist League with being "agents" of Joseph Hansen because we were among the first to protest Healy's despicable "Security and the Fourth International" slanders. In protest demonstrations outside Workers League meetings we defended Hansen as "an honest revisionist." That's more than we can say for North and his gang who have grievously crossed the class line so many times that who, what or where they are is forever a subject for debate.

We waged a relentless political struggle against Hansen's anti-Trotskyist revisionism. Healy could never have done so because it would mean confronting his own politics. So he "explained" the SWP's degeneration by slandering Hansen as a government agent who was hired to infiltrate and destroy the SWP. Yet here is North peddling Hansen's "counterrevolutionary through and through" line. Any of the WL leader's acolytes who accept the demented logic of his "Security" scam ought to be asking some nervous questions. How did it happen? Did Hansen secretly recruit North? And who will the next "great leader" be?

Consider the fate of North's former *líderes máximos*. Yesterday's self-declared "founder-leader" Gerry Healy is today's KGB agent, according to the *Bulletin*. In North's eyes, every one of Healy's lieutenants (except North himself, of course) has become a demoralized renegade—from Banda to Cliff Slaughter, the longtime "theoretical" mouthpiece for Healyite crimes, who now admits that the "Security" slanders were a fraud. And let's not forget Tim Wohlforth, Healy's former hapless American toady, who warmed the seat North now occupies at the head of the Workers League. Wohlforth was axed amidst allegations of CIA connections through the family of his girlfriend Nancy Fields. Actually, to say he was axed is unfair to the real character of Wohlforth—he even voted for his own expulsion. Truly the son of "the god that failed," in 1981 Wohlforth resurfaced in the pages of *New Left Review* in the role of saved-again social democrat denouncing Soviet totalitarianism.

Stalin never claimed that *all* the Bolshevik Central Committee at the time of the October Revolution were counterrevolutionary spies and traitors. Exempted were Lenin, a few who died early and a couple who lucked out and died a natural death at old age. David North, the new boy of the IC leadership, declares that *every* well-known leader of the British Healyites (SLL/WRP), and not least the leading American satellite, Wohlforth, are degenerate if not deeply flawed or downright wrong from the beginning. Thus North claims that he is the legitimate heir to what? At least Stalin, by hiding Lenin's break with him, could claim the great Lenin. Moreover, Stalin could cite himself as an "Old Bolshevik." But North, until the final implosion of the WRP, was a self-confessed toady to the "great" Gerry Healy and the heir to Tim Wohlforth.

Only someone who wanted to be "the leader," no matter of what, would be so desperate to claim the heritage of authentic Healyism. To any rational elements in North's WL and IC we can only say: Your organization is rotten through and through and to the core! North is attempting to secure his position at the head of an organization with a heritage of corrupt links with various murderous Arab colonels and sheiks. That this is not a suitable vehicle for the socialist liberation of mankind is a vast understatement. ■

WV Photo

**Don Alexander addresses Spartacist-initiated mobilization to stop Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago, 1982.**

# Unchain Labor/Blacks...

*(continued from page 1)*

a monstrous FBI/Meese/L.A. Police Department frame-up. Jackson must remain silent about these issues, he must not make a stink about this, because that would alienate the white racist Southern votes the Democrats are after, the Dixiecrat vote.

So they're trying to out-Reagan Reagan, talking about the global war against drugs, the sanctity of the family and American values, and the need for more budget cuts. Dukakis, the other day, he said, well, look, he's more conservative than Bush. And Mr. Anti-Struggle, Jesse "I Have a Scheme" Jackson, is an important component in a Dixiecrat Democratic Party to rope in the working people, to deliver blacks to the highest bidder, come Atlanta in July.

Now he wants something in return for his role as black fireman in extinguishing the flames of revolt in the past and in the present. Maybe he'll get the position we've talked about, as head narc coordinating the war against drugs globally. Or maybe he'll get a post as head of the Department of Education in order to complete the drive for school segregation, which he favors.

Malcolm X, who had x-ray vision in terms of the Republican foxes and Democratic wolves—though he was not a revolutionary Marxist with an understanding that class struggle is the motor force of history—could nonetheless, given his militant hatred of the racist status quo, put his finger on the various self-serving schemes of the petty-bourgeois black hustlers. I just want to quote, he was trying to sum up the prospects in 1965 for the fight for black freedom. The Voting Rights Act had been voted in, etc. And he was talking about these black misleaders who played a role of front man.

> "What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other. "And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people, 'Look how much progress we're making. I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House. I'm your spokesman, I'm your, you know, your leader.'. But will it work? Can that one, whom they are going to put down there, step into the fire and put it out when the flames begin to leap up? When people take to the streets in their explosive mood, will that one, that they're going to put in the cabinet, be able to go among those people? Why, they'll burn him faster than they burn the ones who sent him."

Now, you have a lot of misleaders running around, duping the black masses once again. They're fearful of any type of social explosion in this country, talking about, "Well, you better vote, black people died for the vote." But the question is, vote for what? And will that save us from the rope? We in the Spartacist League say that it will take a new mass movement for black rights, linked to and led by a revolutionary labor movement and a revolutionary party fighting for workers power, in order to smash the chains of racial oppression.

Our political track record speaks for itself. The several anti-fascist mobilizations, labor-centered, that we initiated in Northern cities several years ago, which stopped Klan/Nazi provocations. Not to mention the latest extremely important victory in Segregation City, Chicago. Cassandra Seay, a black transit union driver beaten up by the police, she and her mother; they tried to frame up the family and her, to put them away for a long, long time. And the Spartacist League and class-struggle militants in the unions there, and others, mobilized the power of the labor movement and stopped that frame-up. So there's an alternative to this Democratic Party liberalism and the petty-bourgeois separatism as reflected in the politics of black

*continued on page 10*

WV Photo

**1987 Oakland rally demands freedom for framed-up former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.**

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

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Cambridge, MA 02139
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# Unchain Labor/Blacks...

*(continued from page 9)*

demagogues, anti-Semitic and Hitler-loving demagogues like Farrakhan.

### Black Overseers on Reagan's Plantation

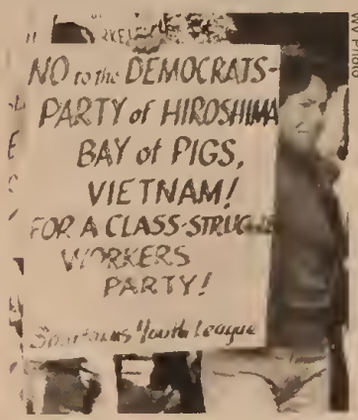
So Jackson invokes the memory of the civil rights movement only to preach reconciliation between the bosses and the workers, the oppressed and the oppressors, the capitalist exploiters and all those whom they oppress, rob, enslave and destroy. Jackson came to prominence in Chicago as a product of the *defeat* of the civil rights movement, after Martin Luther King signed the Palmer House agreements acknowledging the failure to integrate Segregation City. What conclusion did Jackson draw from this? That the struggle for integration and black equality should be abandoned. So he built his Operation Breadbasket, which became PUSH, to get his cut by brokering black business in the ghetto. Except, in this deeply racist society there's no space for a black bourgeoisie. So Jesse's brand of black capitalism was to push or boycott, depending on the percentage in it for him and his own, white corporate giants like Coca-Cola and Burger King.

Now, a comrade once told me that a Russian anarchist, I believe it was Bakunin, was told by another anarchist comrade of his that there was this prominent black leader in the United States that was a conservative. And Bakunin responded by saying, but what is there to conserve? Well, for the pro-capitalist black misleaders of America, from the standpoint of the defense of their interests, a lot. Because, of course, the civil rights movement opened up the gates for today's black overseers on Reagan's plantations. So when there are strikes that need to be broken in the big cities, cops to be unleashed against rebellious blacks, red carpets to be rolled out for the Klan and Nazi scum in order to organize for racist murder and terror, they've done it all. Coleman Young in Detroit; Andrew Young in Atlanta; Harold Washington in Chicago, before he died; Tom Bradley in Los Angeles.

As for the white counterparts of these black Democrats, look at the racist pig Koch. You know, the police department in New York ought to open up a cemetery just to be prepared for the future victims of racist police murder. Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, this Latina [Lydia Ferraro] that they recently killed, the list just goes on and on. Look at Art Agnos in San Francisco, so-called friend of labor: first thing he did was sic his cops and these bloody scabs on striking workers—a rampage, an assault against city labor.

The bourgeoisie learned a lot from the ghetto explosions of the '60s: Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Chicago. They learned that they could keep the lid on better if they had black faces in high places presiding over the deteriorating ghettos. So they began actively cultivating and co-opting a layer of blacks who were active in civil rights struggles, to carry out the necessary attacks on the democratic aspirations and just demands of the ghetto masses. And the Panthers began to challenge the so-called "liberal" pro-capitalist black misleaders, like King. Now, tragically, these militants were isolated in the ghetto and they were not armed with a revolutionary program and perspective to link the struggle of the ghettos to the factories, to link the struggle for black rights to the powerful organized integrated labor movement. And it made it much easier for the racist bourgeois state to kill these militants with impunity.

But mobilizing the power of labor under a class-struggle leadership was the key then, and it's the key today. The unleashing of labor/black power can only come about by fighting within the unions to dump the labor lieutenants of capital, and the fight to forge a class-struggle leadership that will forge a workers party that will fight for a workers government. And we're not just fighting for working people and oppressed here, but internationally, where the black front men have played a very vital role for the bourgeoisie. Jesse Jackson shares fundamental political agreement with both capitalist parties. He supported Reagan's attempted ouster of Noriega. He denounced the Soviet Union for shooting down the KAL spy plane, which was a Cold War provocation by the U.S. He opposes independence for Puerto Rico. And of course, he supports racist protectionism and he's a self-described general in the war against drugs.




WV Photo

TWU Express

**Spartacists say: Party of imperialist war uses black front men to enforce racist terror at home. Jackson embraces Philadelphia's Mayor of Murder Wilson Goode, who unleashed MOVE massacre, and transit union local president Roger Tauss (far right) in Pennsylvania primary.**

### Down with Anti-Drug Witchhunt!

Now, in the name of waging a war on drugs, the Democratic Party Congress and the Republican White House are declaring a war not only on the American people, but a war on the world. The bourgeoisie in this country is increasingly taking police-state measures. Their sinister anti-drug campaign must be seen in that light, in terms of preparation for war. It's a hypocritical sham from beginning to end. It's widely known that the CIA are the biggest drug dealers in the world. Their Nicaraguan contras and Afghan mullahs and their Third World dictators over the years are the biggest drug peddlers.

U.S. imperialism thinks they can just stalk over in places like Bolivia. But they got run out; the masses there had a general strike against the U.S. Army being there, and also in protest against the IMF. So they think they can slash and burn their way throughout the Third World countries. Ultimately, Russia is what they want. They want to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union—the first and only successful workers revolution in history.

The anti-drug witchhunt is laced with racism. A few years ago, Peter Ueberroth, the baseball commissioner, spearheaded it, particularly targeting black athletes, and in order to break the players union. With the death of black basketball star Len Bias it began to pick up some steam and now it's running in full gear. Jackson showed up at Len Bias' funeral where there were a lot of mourning blacks. He said that [KKK lynch] ropes never killed as many of our young people as the pushers of drugs. Now that's really obscene, when you think about the hundreds of years of lynching in this country, and racist murder and terror. Not to mention what's going on currently: you know, MOVE! This is a disgusting apology.

But that won't save Jackson's ass. This is a deeply racist country. Even his own party redbaits him and race-baits him. And there have been various threats on his life. Now the whole spectrum of black capitalist politicians have jumped on the "Crackdown" handwagon. So-called radicals of yesteryear who were writing these pamphlets about "Capitalism Plus Dope Equals Genocide," are now carrying out these little vigilante sprees. It's got so bad that ex-Panthers in New York City are hooking up with Al Sharpton, a self-admitted FBI informant, and a man who has led marches against Arab merchants. And of course, Farrakhan's outfit is involved.

This whole campaign has a certain amount of support among working people, black people, because of the desperate conditions. Phony leftists go along with it. But the hopelessness and the unemployment, the despair in the ghetto, and the glaring absence of black struggle, that's what leads people to destroy themselves. And all of this serves to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the viciously racist capitalist state. So what we say is, the laws against so-called crimes without victims—drugs, gambling, prostitution, sodomy and homosexuality—threaten the privacy and rights of everyone and should be abolished!

Jackson went to Watts with his anti-drug message. There was a certain amount of cynicism involved in it. He went into the gangs' territory—the Reds, the other gang didn't show up. He's lucky he got out of there alive, especially since as the self-proclaimed general in the war against drugs, he has a deep responsibility for the thousands of minority youth who have been swept up in the mass roundup by Bradley's killer police. Even [LAPD chief] Darryl Gates said, yes, I love you, Jesse! And that's the point of this phony war, to bring blacks and working people more tightly under police control and to disarm them.

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

So what we're talking about is socialist revolution. From our inception the Spartacist League has fought for the program of black liberation through socialist revolution, for revolutionary integrationism, which means integrated, revolutionary class struggle for the assimilation of blacks in a socialist society. The struggle for the most elementary democratic aspirations and just demands poses the question: *which class will rule*. It poses directly the need for united working-class struggle of black and white workers fighting for power. And that struggle has to be and can only succeed under the leadership of a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party which has a large black component to it.

The kind of party we need is a party like Lenin and Trotsky built, a Bolshevik party to smash the capitalist system, establishing a workers government and a planned economy. And in fighting for the rebirth of the Fourth International, we call on revolutionary-minded Russian workers to oust the bureaucracy as part of defending the Soviet Union and fighting for the international extension of the gains of October, and return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky. Let all of those who are here tonight, who would have a better life for all of oppressed humanity, join with us and help finish off the imperialist beast. ■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# PDC Notes...

*(continued from page 2)*

immediate positive response to our campaign to save Mumia. The PDC has collected over 1,500 names on petitions and individual letters to the Governor of Pennsylvania, demanding that he act to stop the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal. New signatories to individual letters include: Neil Gleason, President, AFSCME Local 144; Lennox Hinds, Permanent United Nations Representative, International Association of Democratic Lawyers; Chokwe Lumumba, Chairman, New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO); Conrad Lynn, Mid-Hudson Regional Counsel, NAACP; Norman Roth, former President, UAW Local 6; Mark Thomas, President, AFSCME Local 171; Howard Zinn, Professor of Political Science, Boston University [organizations listed for identification purposes only]. Thousands more are needed. Please help us bring Mumia Abu-Jamal's case to your union, civil rights or community organizations.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the Partisan Defense Committee. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1.00 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. Send for additional newsletters and Mumia petitions. Be a PDC sustainer! Build the PDC! ■

# Mexican Elections...

*(continued from page 12)*

*latifundista*, Manuel Clouthier, for president, and receiving a good deal of clerical support. As recently as this spring, 150,000 Catholics marched in Mexico City against "sacrilegious" modern art (a painting which put Marilyn Monroe's face on the Virgin of Guadalupe). And in the Caribbean oil town of Villahermosa, the archbishop led a parade shouting "*¡Viva Cristo Rey!*" (Long live Christ the King—the battle cry of clerical reaction in the civil war which shook Mexico in the 1920s) as people gave the Nazi straight-arm salute.

Far more ominous for Mexico's capitalist rulers was the growing labor militancy. Following Reagan's example with PATCO, when uranium workers of the left-led SUTIN union struck in 1983, De la Madrid simply shut down the state-owned Uramex plant. In following years, while many strikes were declared illegal, working-class struggles kept spreading...and occasionally winning. So in order to really clamp down, when 7,500 workers at Aeroméxico struck this spring, the government simply "liquidated" its flagship airline. Now the government is attempting to sell off the Cananea copper mines in Sonora, birthplace of unionism in Mexico and site of the 1906 massacre of striking workers by Mexican and U.S. police.

And with the PRI in trouble, bonapartist terror is mounting, giving the lie to the regime's democratic pretensions. Teachers on strike for months in the southern states of Oaxaca and Chiapas have seen 60 of their fellow unionists killed by PRI union gun-thugs in recent years. And last week two members of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican affiliate of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," were killed by pro-government *pistoleros* in the state of Puebla. The victims were Alvaro Zamora and Melitón Hernández Velasco, a veteran Indian peasant leader and PRT candidate for federal deputy (*La Jornada*, 26 June).

But in addition to terror, the Mexican bourgeoisie also needs an escape valve to let off the pressure of mass discontent. This is the job of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the former PRI governor of Michoacán who decided to go "independent" when the governing party turned down his reform candidacy last fall. So now there is a division of labor: the gray flannel technocrat Salinas to win back votes from the PAN; Cárdenas for the impoverished masses, implicitly promising a reconstituted PRI and reviving the populist traditions of yesteryear. As a *popular front* has formed with myriad "socialists" flocking to the new tri-color coalition, the urgent need is for independent, authentically communist leadership to break the Mexican working class from the stranglehold of bourgeois nationalism, which has kept the proletariat chained to the "national" exploiters and their program of starvation and repression.

Gamma — Ediciones Era

**Chile 1973: Allende's Unidad Popular paved way for bloody Pinochet coup (left). Mexico City 1968: Mexican army kills over 500 in Tlatelolco massacre (right). Popular front and bonapartist repression, last resort of capitalism in crisis.**

## Cárdenas and the New Popular Front

Today Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas denounces the government's electoral fraud, yet his co-leader of the National Democratic Front (FDN), Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, is a former president of the PRI, well known for stealing the election in the state of Nayarit in 1975. Cárdenas makes clear his loyalty to the established order, meeting with army leaders and flattering the bloodstained officers who carried out the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre. At his June 25 Mexico City rally, Cárdenas declared: "The people have faith that the Armed Forces will be the first guarantee of legality...." Yet the bulk of the Mexican "left," steeped in class collaboration and parliamentary cretinism (in a country where "parliament" is a fig leaf for semi-bonapartist rule!), rushed to embrace Cárdenas.

When Cárdenas formed a "Democratic Current" inside the government party, fake-lefts began salivating. Then he split from the PRI to run for president with the endorsement of several of the PRI satellite parties. The PARM, PPS and PST (now rebaptized the Cardenista Front of National Reconstruction) put him on their tickets. Next was a split from the fake-Trotskyist PRT. PRT parliamentary deputies and student leaders followed "theoretician" Adolfo Gilly to form a new pro-Cárdenas group, the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism). Then leaders of many "independent" trade unions climbed on board. Soon ex-guerrillaists, syndicalists, local leftist coalitions, Social Democrats, Greens and a host of neighborhood associations abandoned their abstentionist "principles" to join the Cárdenas popular front.

And the pressure kept building on the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS) to withdraw its presidential candidate Heberto Castillo. Castillo had laboriously cobbled together a lash-up of his nationalist outfit with the remnants of the Mexican CP (both old-line Stalinists and "Eurocommunists"), hoping to become a pole for left regroupment. But on June 7, the PMS sealed a "long-term political, programmatic alliance" with Cárdenas' Democratic Current, with a 13-point accord calling for "suspension" of the foreign debt, Mexico's traditional "mixed economy," a "purged and reorganized" police force, "resuming" "Mexico's historic military doctrine, based on national defense," etc. (*La Unidad*, 12 June). For the Stalinists, it was their yearned-for chance to "unite" with the "progressive, national bourgeoisie."

Arturo Fuentes

**PRT presidential candidate Rosario Ibarra, head of committee for the defense of the disappeared.**

At a PMS rally the next day, chants rang out: "Unity, unity! The people united will never be defeated!" This was the slogan of Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile—"People's Unity" with the bourgeoisie—which by holding back and suppressing the struggles of the workers led to bloody defeat in September 1973 at the hands of Pinochet and his "constitutionalist" army. Now Cárdenas and his reformist allies are preaching faith that "the armed forces can never again be used against the people." Yet who in Mexico can forget the black night of Tlatelolco on the eve of the 1968 Olympics when the army, under orders of PRI interior minister Echeverria, massacred hundreds. When Echeverria became president two years later, the head of the PRI was Muñoz Ledo, the same one who now heads the "Democratic Current."

## Reformists on the Hot Seat

Now the PRT was on the hot seat, as Cárdenas, the PMS and the left-liberal press appealed to them to drop their presidential candidate, Rosario Ibarra, leader of the courageous committee for the defense of the disappeared. The parliamentary "socialist" PRT was ill-prepared to resist the siren song of the new "progressive" coalition, being themselves inveterate "unity"-mongers with all and sundry. Some of the smaller components of the PRT's own Unidad Popular electoral lash-up had begun drifting over to the Cárdenas camp. Now a number of well-known PRT members demonstratively quit, denouncing the party for "isolating" itself from "the great mass movement which Cárdenas is generating."

After a two-day meeting, Central Committee spokesmen announced the PRT's decision to maintain its presidential candidacy. It declared with a tone of reluctance that "We cannot join those who support Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas," while "appreciating" Cárdenas' gesture in "not pressuring the PRT further for a single candidacy." While proclaiming itself to now be "the only independent socialist option," the PRT would seek "deeper" ways to "hook up" to "establish fraternal links with the national movement which has been formed against the PRI" (*La Jornada*, 12 and 13 June). What this is all about is the PRT's call for a "pact of democratic solidarity," "a great front of opposition parties" to "defend the vote" (*Bandera Socialista*, 6 June). Like the PRT's participation in the Assembly for Effective Suffrage with rightist parties, and its joint actions with the PAN (most recently blocking highways in the northern town of Monclova).

The PRT's election campaign is "independent" only by default. Month after month these reformists appealed to the PMS for a "single candidacy" of "unity of the left." But PMS caudillo Castillo had bigger fish to fry. The PRT reaped what it had sown when the MAS split off to bask in "unity" with Cárdenas. The PRT's statement criticized the idea of "an alliance with the national bourgeoisie," but declared "the present phase we are going through...is fundamentally democratic." Indeed, the electoral platform of the PRT's Unidad Popular is *purely bourgeois-democratic*. It's easy to see why they have difficulty saying no to Cárdenas: there's nothing in their own program that a bolder bourgeois nationalist politician—like Cárdenas senior—couldn't support!

The PRT/UP's platform is filled with vague calls for "a national and popular banking system," "rational use and exploitation of the oil," etc. While calling for "refusing to recognize the foreign debt" (compared to Cárdenas' "suspension"), this is no more "anti-imperialist" than when most of Latin America defaulted during the '30s Depression. Rather than calling for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the PRT/UP is for "nationalization of priority industries"—in a country where well over half of industry is already nationalized! It calls for a sliding scale not of wages (desperately needed in the face of 177 percent inflation last year) but of prices for agricultural products. In fact, the only demand that goes one millimeter beyond what the bourgeoisie could grant is its call (in a "sewer socialism" program for Mexico City) for "clean air"! That will take a socialist revolution, and then some.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WV Photo

**For proletarian internationalism, not bourgeois nationalism! Banner of militant nuclear energy workers in 1988 Mexico City May Day march says, "Workers of the World Unite!"**

WORKERS VANGUARD

Perez Sygma

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. At right, skilled workers beg for jobs.

UPI

Larry Reider

PRI's Carlos Salinas orders austerity for Mexico's workers.

## Left Peddles "Unity" with Cárdenas Popular Front

# Mexico: Starvation Elections

MEXICO CITY—Every six years, a new president of Mexico is selected by a procedure that makes the selection of the Pope look downright democratic. The outgoing ruler picks his successor by pointing a finger (*el dedazo*). Instantly, walls all across the country are painted with his initials and portrait in red-white-green, the colors of the flag and of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), whose iron-fisted rule has administered Mexican capitalism for decades. In 59 years, it has never lost a single presidential, senatorial or gubernatorial election. But as the July 6 vote approaches, with the country mired in its worst economic crisis of the century, the PRI is facing its first serious competition.

On June 25, half a million people packed Mexico City's *Zócalo*, the huge square in front of the presidential palace, to hear the populist candidate, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. The challenger is the son of former president General Lázaro Cárdenas, who ruled Mexico in the late 1930s. Cárdenas senior nationalized the oil industry, infuriating British and American imperialism. Cárdenas junior is a pale reflection of his nationalist father, calling only for "democratization" and "renegotiating" the debt to New York banks, and accusing *current* (but not former) PRI rulers of "betraying the principles of the Mexican Revolution." But this, plus his legendary name and Indian features, has turned Cárdenas II into a rallying point for opposition to the pro-Washington technocrats now running Mexico.

President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado is a Harvard-trained economist who has responded to the "debt crisis" by carrying out brutal austerity, ordered by the IMF international bankers cartel. So far in his six-year administration more than 1,000 industrial enterprises have closed, more than four million workers have been thrown out of their jobs, and real wages have been slashed by more than 50 percent (*La Jornada*, 27 April). This record has only been equaled by Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile and Argentina during the generals' "dirty war." No wonder that when hundreds of thousands of workers marched through the capital on February 18, accompanied by Cárdenas, signs with the president's initials read "*MMH: México Muriendo de Hambre*" (Mexico dying of hunger).

De la Madrid's hand-picked successor is Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the former budget minister who is derided as Carlos Recortari—"Charlie Cutbacks"—for his brutal economic policies. CSG is another "Harvard boy" economist who openly favors "private enterprise" over Mexico's traditional "mixed economy" in which the capitalist state controls large sectors of industry, banking and commerce. When the president "unveiled" his successor, the wizened leader of the pro-government CTM union federation, Fidel Velásquez (a veteran kingmaker who likes to say "I am the PRI"), ostentatiously walked off the stage. So unpopular is the government's wage-freezing Economic Solidarity Pact with workers that the PRI didn't dare put its candidate on the presidential balcony to review the 1.3 million-strong May Day parade. Yet labor boss Velásquez still defends the starvation "pact," protesting against employers who wanted to raise wages a few percentage points instead of "holding the line"... at *0 percent!*

Xavier Audifred

May Day 1987: 100,000 workers in independent union marches in Mexico City protest PRI union-busting and austerity.

For the first time ever, it appears that a lot of people are going to vote for the "opposition" in Mexico's rigged elections. Of course the PRI will win. Already, both left- and right-wing parties are denouncing massive vote fraud (a secret "ballot factory" was recently exposed in the capital). Yet Mexico is not a parliamentary democracy but a semi-bonapartist regime in which elections are really *plebiscites*—for or against the PRI. What counts is by *how much* the government party wins. With rampant discontent extending from the huge poor and working-class "lost cities" to middle-class *colonias*, too big a margin could spark anti-fraud protests while a bare majority would give the impression that the "strong state" is on the brink of collapse.

From the 1930s on, Mexico has been ruled not by the rubber-stamp parliament but through a system of mass organizations tightly controlled by the "PRI-government." These "institutions" into which the Mexican Revolution is supposed to have congealed have confined the working people in a corporatist straitjacket. With a combination of populist-nationalist demagogy, fear and corruption, the formula has worked for decades—sometimes drenched with blood, sometimes greased with oil profits. Hungry peasants, striking workers or rebellious students were crushed or co-opted. But then Mexico's oil boom went bust, and when the Reagan depression took hold the banks and corporate conglomerates tottered, producing the debt crisis which broke out one month after De la Madrid's election.

As the government cut back tortilla subsidies, fired workers wholesale and impoverished the middle class, discontent turned against the PRI. In the border states near *El Norte* (the U.S.), the rightist National Action Party (PAN) gained support ranging from businessmen and farmers to slum dwellers. The PAN, which was mixed up in Oliver North's schemes to finance the Nicaraguan contras, is running a millionaire

*continued on page 11*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 457 | 15 July 1988


## U.S. Warship Kills 290 Airline Passengers

# Massacre in the Persian Gulf

AP Photos

Independent

**Pentagon orders: shoot first, ask questions later. U.S. cruiser Vincennes firing Standard missile like one that blasted Iranian Airbus jetliner out of the sky. At right, anguished Iranian who lost entire family on Flight 655.**

Bloated corpses floated in the water. Distraught relatives broke down in tears, overcome by grief and anger over the senseless killing of their loved ones. One man who had just seen off 13 members of his family, including wife and children, went mad when he heard they were all dead and began hanging his head against a wall. The scenes were shattering and grisly.

Minutes after taking off from Bandar Abbas early on the morning of July 3 on its short 120-mile hop to Dubai airport, piloted by an experienced 17-year veteran, Iran Air Flight 655 was blown out of the skies by a U.S. surface-to-air missile. Every man, woman and child aboard the A300 Airbus was flung into the Persian Gulf like so much debris. In one fiery instant, they were all dead: 66 children, 52 women, 290 people in all.

It was a wanton, gruesome massacre—made in the U.S.A. The same rapacious, racist ruling class which turned two Japanese cities into irradiated rubble, which slaughtered two million Vietnamese peasants and napalmed their babies, which bombed an entire neighborhood of black Philadelphia, had once again recklessly killed innocent people in pursuit of its deranged imperialist mission.

After the massacre came the lies. It was an "understandable accident," said Reagan, justifying the USS *Vincennes*' missile attack on a civilian airliner as a "proper defensive action." The capitalist media snapped to attention, retailing the government's lies, as the war criminals in Washington draped themselves in a blood-drenched Stars and Stripes for the Fourth of July. Vice President Bush praised "those heroic kids... the finest young sailors this Navy has ever had" to loud applause from an Independence Day rally near Chicago.

The imperial president showed arrogant racist contempt for his victims, not bothering to interrupt his Camp David weekend, while Secretary of State Shultz nonchalantly completed 18 holes of golf as reports of the carnage poured in. In Britain, Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher gave her blessings to Reagan's cover-up; after all, she ordered the wanton murder of over 300 Argentine sailors aboard the *Belgrano* while enjoying a lunch at her country residence, Chequers. The Italian government (which recently received the U.S. F-16s kicked out of Spain) acted as whores for Reagan, volunteering substantiation for Washington's line that the plane had been amply warned before being blown away. As the lies unraveled, they issued a "clarification."

The Democrats on Capitol Hill rallied behind Reagan. Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis blustered he was no wimp, declaring: "Plainly our armed forces have a right to defend themselves when attacked." So what the hell was the U.S. doing there in the first place? It is, after all, the *Persian* Gulf. But Washington made it clear from the start that it went in to stop "the spread of Soviet influence." The pro-Democratic Party popular-front "left" showed where it stood by its silence: across the country scarcely a couple of hundred people turned out to protest, many of them Iranian leftists. In contrast, Spartacist League signs at a New York protest said, "Reagan, Democrats: Blood Is on Your Hands!" "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!" "U.S. Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World!"

By any standard of decency and morality, the captain and responsible officers of the *Vincennes* should be facing a court-martial. Instead, they're being treated as heroes. Because their orders were cut right at the top: shoot first and ask questions later. Reagan's cops of the world are subjecting the people of the Near East to a grotesquely magnified version of the murderous treatment racist cops mete out to racial minorities in American ghettos. This gang is capable of blowing up a lot more than 290 people. With a whole trigger-happy U.S. fleet in this tiny lake, the Gulf has become one more trip wire for nuclear World War III

### U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!

#### Reagan's Story Stinks!

When the Iranians announced early on July 3 that the U.S. had shot down an unarmed airliner, Washington at first insisted that it was an attacking Iranian

*continued on page 8*

**Reaganite Court Throws Out Pratt Appeal**

**S.F. Demo: "Free Geronimo!"**

SEE PAGE SIX

## Build Low Cost, Quality Public Housing!

# Integrate Boston Housing!

BOSTON—As long overdue measures are finally being enacted for the integration of Boston's woefully inadequate public housing facilities, this city may again be headed to the brink of race war. On June 16, after months of wrangling and foot-dragging to cover up years of systematic denial to black families of access to affordable housing, liberal mayor Raymond Flynn reached an agreement with the federal government to allow for the integration of Boston's notoriously segregated housing projects. On June 11, two courageous black families, who had been evicted from apartments in Mattapan, moved into the old South Boston Mary Ellen McCormack project. Meanwhile hundreds of racist poor whites, whipped up by demagogic Democratic Party politicians and a couple of "pious" priests, are assembling under the grotesque banner of "No to forced housing."

Loo/NY Times Photos

**For decades public housing project in South Boston was for "whites only."**

You know the discrimination had to be really extreme to come to the attention of the Reaganite Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Last October, HUD warned the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) that its practices opened the city to potential legal liabilities. In two South Boston projects, Mary Ellen McCormack and Old Colony, where 2,345 families reside, there is exactly one Hispanic family and no blacks. Two-thirds of those on the waiting list for the project in white Charlestown are minorities, but presently less than 1 percent of the units are occupied by blacks. This blatant discrimination is no surprise in the city where "Southie" became synonymous with racist anti-busing backlash in the '70s. As of the 1980 census, there was not a single black family in all of South Boston or Charlestown.

The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights (LCCR) and the NAACP filed suit against the city on behalf of three black families. Typical was the case of Amey Murphy. When she told BHA authorities, who were apparently confused by her Irish surname, that she was black, she went from 28th on the list for a South Boston project to 517th. The BHA was shameless. While 600 black families waited on the list to get into the Charlestown project, housing authorities took out advertisements for the white readership of the Charlestown *Patriot Ledger* indicating apartments were immediately available.

At first Flynn charged that HUD's accusations were "outdated." Later he allowed that dozens and then hundreds of black families had been discriminated against. But rather than assign housing on a first-come, first-served basis for any available unit, in negotiations with HUD the mayor has come up with a complicated series of citywide and project-specific lists. The recent "settlement" gives first choice in upcoming vacancies to the 500 or more minority families who have been passed over in the biased selection process. Of course, HUD let the city off without paying a dime of restitution for the poor families blatantly denied equal access.

Right after the HUD-BHA agreement, two Irish Catholic priests decided to go public with their opposition to the "specifics" of the plan and thereby give their blessing to the most brazen racists in their "flocks." Shortly thereafter Flynn was forced to announce the imminent desegregation of the McCormack Development when two brave black families accepted placement in this, the oldest housing project in New England, under emergency provisions agreed to before the HUD deal. In the last attempt to desegregate a South Boston project, in 1978, a black pre-med student, Faith Evans, and her one-year-old son were harassed, intimidated and victimized by arsonists until they moved out of the Old Colony development.

One of the leaders of the mob that forced the black family out was James M. Kelly, then president of the South Boston Information Center. "She'll never be an acceptable member of the South Boston community," he said. Kelly has certainly remained true to his vile racist traditions. He is now orchestrating the firestorm of bigotry in the mayor's home district of South Boston. He and fellow Democratic city councilman Albert O'Neill have twice led jeering, screaming whites in confrontations with Flynn in a South Boston Catholic church. Kelly has made thinly veiled threats of violence against black families. When asked to elaborate on "potential trouble," he said: "Let your imagination run wild." It is not hard to imagine racist vigilantes in the streets like the South Boston Marshals who in tandem with the limousine liberal Democrats in Congress effectively killed busing in the '70s as a means to desegregate education.

South Boston Democratic pols have cynically exploited their constituency's social backwardness and precarious economic situation to whip up a dangerous racist climate. There are pockets of poverty in South Boston that rival and exceed poverty levels even in majority black Roxbury. The 1980 census showed four census tracts out of eleven in South Boston with median household incomes below $7,000 while the overall more impoverished Roxbury area had three out of 21. The "Southie" racists are not "lace-curtain Irish" but poor whites, jammed together in triple-decker firetraps; their aging parents live not in nursing homes but in the projects. They are mobilized by slick racist demagogues whipping up fears that integration will only lead to the ever-worsening conditions of ghetto life. Kelly even hypocritically proposed integrating white suburbs like Weston—not to extend, obviously, but to stop desegregation in South Boston. Kelly has often defended the bloodsucking real-estate moguls and condo converters who are "yuppifying" Boston, throwing thousands out of apartments (and contributing handsomely to his electoral campaigns).

As for Ray Flynn, it's a case of chickens coming home to roost. Flynn got his start in Boston city politics hand in hand with Kelly, mobilizing white mobs against "forced busing." One white woman at St. Monica's church shouted, "I wish I was dealing with the Ray Flynn of ten years ago." That Flynn can posture today as some kind of advocate of integration is patently absurd, but the mayor feels he can afford to alienate his home district as he eyes statewide or national office. (There was even short-lived talk of Flynn as vice presidential candidate on Jesse Jackson's ticket.)

Meanwhile, the liberal nationalist sponsors of the failed "Mandela, Mass." black secession movement exposed their defeatist strategy when they, too, opposed plans to integrate South Boston. Sadiki Kambon, chairman of Project F.A.T.E. (Focusing Attention Toward Empowerment), cited justifiable concern over the safety of black families while charging that Flynn's policies were forcing blacks out of "their" neighborhoods. "We feel the plan is dangerous, illogical and we call on Mayor Flynn and the BHA to provide our community with a full explanation of this proposed South Boston

*continued on page 11*

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Latin America: For Revolutionary Working-Class Independence

*In Mexico, as in Latin America generally, the working class and its unions are subordinated to the semi-colonial bourgeois state. Thus, the struggle against Yankee imperialist exploitation and domination is necessarily a struggle for the independence of the unions from the state and for workers parties opposed to all forms of bourgeois nationalism and popular-frontism. This was the revolutionary perspective outlined by Leon Trotsky in a collective statement denouncing a Stalinist trade-union front claiming to represent the unity of the Latin American proletariat.*

"Democratic" imperialism, which is infinitely stronger in Latin America than fascist imperialism, endeavors—and not without success—by means of bribery, doles, and privileges to establish its own political agents in our countries, not only within the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois bureaucracy, and the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, but in the upper strata of the working class as well....

To this must be added the fact that in Mexico where the unions, unfortunately, are directly dependent on the state, posts in the union bureaucracy are frequently filled from the ranks of the bourgeois intelligentsia, attorneys, engineers, etc.—by people who have nothing in common with the working class and who seek only to use the trade union organizations in the interests of their own personal material well-being or their political careers....

We, the undersigned, are ardent and devoted supporters of the unification of the Latin American proletariat as well as of the closest possible ties between it and the proletariat of the United States of North America....

Our proletariat must step out in solid ranks into the arena of history in order to take the fate of Latin America into its hands and make its future secure. The unified proletariat will attract to its side the tens of millions of Indo-American peasants, eliminate the hostile borders dividing us, and unite the two dozen republics and colonial possessions under the banner of a Workers' and Peasants' United States of Latin America.

—Draft petition by Leon Trotsky, "Tasks of the Trade Union Movement in Latin America" (October 1938)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-710) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial); 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 457** **15 July 1988**

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**Speaker:** Brian Manning, Spartacist League

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# Victory to Electric Boat Strikers!

## 10,000 Out at General Dynamics Shipyard

GROTON, Connecticut—Over 10,000 workers at the General Dynamics Electric Boat shipyard here struck this key Pentagon supplier July 1. Chanting "Out the Gate in '88," angry workers voted down by a five-to-three margin Electric Boat's "final offer" of a wage freeze and huge cuts in benefits. Members of the ten unions which form the Metal Trades Council (MTC) at Electric Boat packed up their tools and shut down work on seven nuclear-powered Trident missile submarines and another eight Los Angeles-class attack subs.

The 10,000 MTC members at Electric Boat are a key industrial concentration of workers, with a strategic position at the heart of the war industry. The strikers have the power to *win* against the giant General Dynamics, showing the rest of labor that some hard class struggle can reverse the years of union-busting and givebacks. As we said in the *Workers Vanguard* supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," which was distributed on the picket line at Electric Boat:

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power."

The workers at this key shipyard have got real power, but they're going to have to *use it* to win. Their last strike, in 1975, lasted for more than five months. Now General Dynamics, which in 1986 raked in $175 million in profits from Electric Boat alone, is out to extract another round of givebacks before the Reagan years draw to an end. When the strike began, Electric Boat (EB) general manager Fritz Tovar threatened to hire scabs and move work out of Groton, announcing "we will still be building submarines" (*Hartford Courant*, 1 July). But the workers at EB are in no mood to eat the massive medical co-payments the company is demanding, or take paltry lump-sum payments in place of a real wage increase. Chanting "Dump the Lump" as they picked up picket signs, workers told *WV* they are digging in for a long, hard-fought strike and have prepared with savings and outside jobs.

And it won't be so easy to isolate and defeat the strikers at EB, as the bourgeoisie and their labor lieutenants did to the PATCO air controllers' and Midwest meatpackers' strikes, which were knifed in the back as workers were tied to useless, impotent "strategies" of consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns." As with the longshoremen's strike which briefly shut down East Coast ports in 1986 before it was scuttled by the union misleaders, the capitalists are well aware the EB strike is an important class confrontation. Labor had better play hardball as well.

### "Scab Patrol"—Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

The night the contract expired, buses and squad cars of cops from surrounding towns, accompanied by Connecticut state troopers with riot gear, were positioned near the yard to intimidate union members. As the strike deadline approached, police tried to clear workers from the street in front of the main gate. But the cops backed down when 200 unionists picked up their picket signs and marched down the street to greet the

WV Photo

**Last day shift pours out of Groton shipyards with their tools on eve of strike.**

thousands of workers who poured out of the shipyard gates at midnight, and the strike was on.

If the unions are going to win this one, they must act immediately to *shut the yard down tight*. Just hours before the strike the company delivered an advanced attack sub with new sonar technology and cruise missile capability, the USS *San Juan*, to the Navy for sea trials. EB plans to use 3,000 salaried employees to try to perform the strikers' highly skilled work, and the company is already boasting that 153 MTC members have scabbed in the first week of the strike. In addition, some 1,500 members of the Marine Draftsmen Association, a United Auto Workers affiliate, are crossing the picket lines. (In a 1983 strike by MDA-UAW draftsmen at the yard, the MTC unions along with 900 draftsmen crossed the lines, as the strike dragged on for 14 months.) The MTC unions, backed up by area labor, must mass pickets at the EB gates. Scabs, whose names are listed on the MTC's "Scab Patrol" banner, should be given a lesson from the Kentucky coal fields: "Scabbing is hazardous to your health."

WV Photo

**Unionists in Metal Trades Council shut down work on Pentagon submarines.**

Untouched by the strike thus far is Electric Boat's huge facility at Quonset Point, Rhode Island, where 4,400 non-union workers fabricate submarine hulls for the Groton yard and where the company has announced plans to send struck work. Quonset Point workers average even less than the lousy wages at Groton, and workers at both yards start at $4.80 per hour! Conditions at Quonset Point are so bad that last year even Reagan's OSHA proposed fines of $615,000 against EB. The Groton strike must be extended to Quonset Point, organizing the workforce there into a *common industrial union of all shipyard workers*—trades, draftsmen and clericals—and *shutting down* the entire EB operation.

### Union-Busting for "National Security"

The complete collapse of commercial shipbuilding in the U.S., coupled with intense pressure from the Pentagon to "reduce labor costs," has led to an all-out assault on shipyard and waterfront workers. Shipbuilders at the Bath Iron Works in Maine, who waged a bitter strike in 1985, face an August 14 contract deadline. The Pentagon has pitted the Bath workers against those at Litton's shipyard in Pascagoula, Mississippi. Last year, striking workers at Todd and other West Coast shipyards were beaten after the treacherous International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union tops worked overtime to prevent united strike action by shipyard workers, striking tugboat men and longshoremen.

The Pentagon is also using Reagan's and the Democrats' "war on drugs" to regiment the three million employees of "defense" contractors by using mandatory drug tests. But strikers told *WV* that Electric Boat, in a move exposing the real purpose of Reagan's drug war, isn't testing the newly hired scabs!

For months leading up to the strike, the Navy and EB have sought to pit Groton workers against their even lower-paid brothers and sisters at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company in Virginia, the only other facility capable of building subs. Workers at the Tenneco conglomerate's Newport News yard, organized by Steelworkers Local 8888, fought a three-month strike for union recognition in 1979, where scores of strikers were injured and arrested. Last year, Local 8888 members had a *four-year wage freeze* and health benefits cuts rammed down their throats, as the company and the Pentagon whipsawed them against workers at Electric Boat. Now Groton workers are told to "sacrifice" for "national security." Enough! The MTC at Groton and Local 8888 at Newport News must demand common bargaining and expiration dates, with *joint strike action*.

One Groton striker carried a sign reading "National security begins with us!" But "national security" means union-busting at home, while Reagan lays a wreath on Nazi graves at Bitburg to further his "holy crusade" against the Soviet Union. The bipartisan war drive which targets the gains of the October Revolution in Russia is literally being paid for out of the sweat and blood of workers and minorities. The highly skilled workers at Electric Boat face

*continued on page 9*

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# North Sea Workers Burned Alive

## Oil Bosses: Murder, Inc.

*The following article is adapted from* Workers Hammer *No. 99, July/August 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.*

[London] Guardian

**Occidental's Piper Alpha oil rig in flames off northeast Scotland, July 7.**

LONDON, July 9—It was the worst disaster in the history of North Sea oil production. Some 166 workers were killed when the oil platform Piper Alpha turned into a giant fireball on the night of July 6. Most of the men, trapped in the crew quarters *located directly above the gas compression module where the initial explosion erupted*, hardly stood a chance. Others clawed their way up to the helipad, hoping desperately to be rescued by helicopters. But nothing could get close to the Piper Alpha because of the intense, searing heat. It was, as one survivor grimly put it, "fry and die or jump and try." So men launched themselves from heights of up to 100 feet into the sea below, desperately attempting to cling to debris until they were rescued. Many didn't make it—and had this been wintertime, there would have been far fewer survivors. As it is, 21 workers are still in hospital, half of them badly burned and others with spinal fractures.

It was shortly before 10 p.m. that a horrific high-pitched wail pierced the Piper Alpha. It was the first indication that gas lines had ruptured. The "automatic" gas detection system gave no warning. Thirty seconds later came the first explosion, wiping out the control room and plunging the oil platform into darkness. In a short time came more explosions, and the Piper Alpha was consumed with flames and smoke that rose 700 feet in the air, while giant natural gas bubbles exploded as they rose to the surface of the ocean. The platform was split in two and its oil derrick toppled. The heat was so intense that pilots could feel it from over a mile away. The crew of the *Sandhaven*, a standby oil tug, courageously attempted to launch a rescue dinghy, but this also was consumed by flames as the rig collapsed above it.

Today the capitalist press, assorted royalty and, most obscenely of all, Margaret Thatcher, are hypocritically paying tribute to the courage of the oil workers. "The men know the risks, and they're well paid for it," goes their chorus. But Armand Hammer, the chairman of Occidental Petroleum, admitted that the design of the oil rig was fundamentally deficient. The mass slaughter on the Piper Alpha was not an "accident"—it was industrial murder! What else can you call it when they pack the crew quarters in right adjacent to large amounts of combustible materials, power generation equipment and processing machinery. The Piper Alpha was a major gas collection centre, pumping methane from neighbouring Occidental and Texaco installations to the mainland. Enormous pressures of up to 7,000 pounds per square inch are produced in the piping and manifolds, probably making this the most dangerous area in the complex. And if you were an oil worker on Piper Alpha, you slept right above that!

The Piper Alpha, commissioned 12 years ago, had a history of safety problems. Occidental's former loss prevention manager in the North Sea, Jack Donaldson, termed it "the most highly dangerous platform in the North Sea" (*Observer*, 10 July). Veteran divers point out that it was common knowledge that it had been slipping into the seabed for a long time. Six years ago three workers died when a gangway collapsed. Then in March 1984 there was a gas explosion, and the oil platform had to be evacuated. The subsequent inquiry and report was suppressed by the company and government! Protesting the company's refusal to take safety matters seriously, the union pulled its representatives off the "safety" committee at Piper Alpha. One survivor of the earlier gas explosion put it bluntly: "Every time I went on that rig I had a feeling that something was going to happen. It was a timebomb just waiting to go off" (*Daily Mirror*, 8 July).

Reuters

**Survivor rushed to hospital in Aberdeen. Death toll to date is 166.**

Of course, there are safety measures that can be taken: adequate separation of the living area from production facilities or even better, quartering the crew on an entirely separate platform ("flotels"). In the Norwegian sector of the North Sea oilfields, they are introducing flame-proof evacuation chutes and escape capsules as a backup to the lifeboats. But safety costs money, and as long as the oilfields are subject to capitalist exploitation, the industrial murder will continue. Already 500 people have died directly in North Sea oil disasters, while another 100 have perished on the hazardous helicopter transport system. Not much has changed since 1977, when the Texas oil troubleshooter "Red" Adair warned that "...there'll be a disaster in the North Sea, sooner or later. There are no proper facilities for coping with it" (*New Yorker*, 27 January 1986).

If you are highly skilled and land a permanent job, you can make relatively good money on an offshore oil rig. In exchange for that, oil workers labour on platforms battered by 100 mph winds and 60-foot waves on 12-hour shifts, two weeks at a stretch—doing a job nine times more dangerous than even coal mining. Then there's the prison-like regime—no alcohol and no women. But the majority, employed by contractors, don't even get the pay and benefits, and have to pay for essentials like emergency evacuation training out of their own pockets. Angry workers, interviewed on BBC television, bitterly displayed pay stubs showing earnings of under £4 an hour. And now, as the bosses cut costs to compensate for lower oil prices, wage cuts of up to £5,000 a year and elimination of holiday pay are commonplace. On top of that, safety has been one of the first things thrown out the window. Is there anyone foolish enough to believe that it's a coincidence that the rate of serious accidents on oil rigs has shot up 80 per cent over the last three years!

As we wrote when 45 oil workers were killed in November 1986 aboard a defective Chinook helicopter operated by Robert Maxwell, newspaper tycoon and big-time Kinnock supporter: "For the capitalist bloodsuckers, the bottom line—literally—is their profit statement at the end of the fiscal year; and to that end, human life is expendable. In particular, the English-centred bourgeoisie has routinely treated Scottish working people as expendable, be it as cannon fodder in the Scottish regiments or as workers on North Sea oil rigs" (*Workers Hammer* No. 84, December 1986/January 1987).

Some 115 oil workers employed at three British Petroleum gas platforms in Humberside angrily walked off their jobs a day after the Piper Alpha disaster, demanding better health and safety conditions. The entire industry should be shut down in protest! Workers must demand that effective independent union safety committees be established *with the power to shut down unsafe operations on the spot!* Hit the bosses where it counts—in their pocketbooks! North Sea oil adds something like £2 million *per hour* to the coffers of the oil magnates—every pence leeched out of the blood of the workforce.

Thatcher has predictably called for another whitewash public inquiry. This is a sick joke: the same government just gave Piper Alpha a clean bill of health ten days before it blew up! The capitalist state's assault on safety standards goes hand in hand with union-busting. After the powerful miners strike was defeated, the bosses unleashed a wholesale assault on jobs, working conditions and social spending. In short order there has been mass slaughter at the Zeebrugge ferry disaster, King's Cross tube fire and the North Sea, not to mention the effects of starving the National Health Service of funds. Thatcher's cronies like P&O scabherder Sir Jeffrey Sterling are routinely permitted to operate ferries designed to sink immediately after they take any water. Public transport in London operates without any fire prevention system. And now, after months and months of phoney "investigations" of King's Cross, what is the result? The bosses are slated to chop the jobs of another 2,000 workers, when everyone knows they don't have the manpower to do even the most elementary maintenance!

In this moribund capitalist society, there's no margin for spending on safety and health, or providing decent jobs for all. It will literally take a proletarian revolution and a couple of ambitious five-year plans to turn things around. Britain desperately needs workers revolution: not Labourite "nationalisations," but the revolutionary expropriation of the parasitic capitalist class. ■

# North Sea Workers Burned Alive

## Oil Bosses: Murder, Inc.

*The following article is adapted from* Workers Hammer *No. 99, July/August 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.*

[London] Guardian

**Occidental's Piper Alpha oil rig in flames off northeast Scotland, July 7.**

LONDON, July 9—It was the worst disaster in the history of North Sea oil production. Some 166 workers were killed when the oil platform Piper Alpha turned into a giant fireball on the night of July 6. Most of the men, trapped in the crew quarters *located directly above the gas compression module where the initial explosion erupted*, hardly stood a chance. Others clawed their way up to the helipad, hoping desperately to be rescued by helicopters. But nothing could get close to the Piper Alpha because of the intense, searing heat. It was, as one survivor grimly put it, "fry and die or jump and try." So men launched themselves from heights of up to 100 feet into the sea below, desperately attempting to cling to debris until they were rescued. Many didn't make it—and had this been wintertime, there would have been far fewer survivors. As it is, 21 workers are still in hospital, half of them badly burned and others with spinal fractures.

It was shortly before 10 p.m. that a horrific high-pitched wail pierced the Piper Alpha. It was the first indication that gas lines had ruptured. The "automatic" gas detection system gave no warning. Thirty seconds later came the first explosion, wiping out the control room and plunging the oil platform into darkness. In a short time came more explosions, and the Piper Alpha was consumed with flames and smoke that rose 700 feet in the air, while giant natural gas bubbles exploded as they rose to the surface of the ocean. The platform was split in two and its oil derrick toppled. The heat was so intense that pilots could feel it from over a mile away. The crew of the *Sandhaven*, a standby oil tug, courageously attempted to launch a rescue dinghy, but this also was consumed by flames as the rig collapsed above it.

Today the capitalist press, assorted royalty and, most obscenely of all, Margaret Thatcher, are hypocritically paying tribute to the courage of the oil workers. "The men know the risks, and they're well paid for it," goes their chorus. But Armand Hammer, the chairman of Occidental Petroleum, admitted that the design of the oil rig was fundamentally deficient. The mass slaughter on the Piper Alpha was not an "accident"—it was industrial murder! What else can you call it when they pack the crew quarters in right adjacent to large amounts of combustible materials, power generation equipment and processing machinery. The Piper Alpha was a major gas collection centre, pumping methane from neighbouring Occidental and Texaco installations to the mainland. Enormous pressures of up to 7,000 pounds per square inch are produced in the piping and manifolds, probably making this the most dangerous area in the complex. And if you were an oil worker on Piper Alpha, you slept right above that!

The Piper Alpha, commissioned 12 years ago, had a history of safety problems. Occidental's former loss prevention manager in the North Sea, Jack Donaldson, termed it "the most highly dangerous platform in the North Sea" (*Observer*, 10 July). Veteran divers point out that it was common knowledge that it had been slipping into the seabed for a long time. Six years ago three workers died when a gangway collapsed. Then in March 1984 there was a gas explosion, and the oil platform had to be evacuated. The subsequent inquiry and report was suppressed by the company and government! Protesting the company's refusal to take safety matters seriously, the union pulled its representatives off the "safety" committee at Piper Alpha. One survivor of the earlier gas explosion put it bluntly: "Every time I went on that rig I had a feeling that something was going to happen. It was a timebomb just waiting to go off" (*Daily Mirror*, 8 July).

Of course, there are safety measures that can be taken: adequate separation of the living area from production facilities or even better, quartering the crew on an entirely separate platform ("flotels"). In the Norwegian sector of the North Sea oilfields, they are introducing flame-proof evacuation chutes and escape capsules as a backup to the lifeboats. But safety costs money, and as long as the oilfields are subject to capitalist exploitation, the industrial murder will continue. Already 500 people have died directly in North Sea oil disasters, while another 100 have perished on the hazardous helicopter transport system. Not much has changed since 1977, when the Texas oil troubleshooter "Red" Adair warned that "...there'll be a disaster in the North Sea, sooner or later. There are no proper facilities for coping with it" (*New Yorker*, 27 January 1986).

If you are highly skilled and land a permanent job, you can make relatively good money on an offshore oil rig. In exchange for that, oil workers labour on platforms battered by 100 mph winds and 60-foot waves on 12-hour shifts, two weeks at a stretch—doing a job nine times more dangerous than even coal mining. Then there's the prison-like regime—no alcohol and no women. But the majority, employed by contractors, don't even get the pay and benefits, and have to pay for essentials like emergency evacuation training out of their own pockets. Angry workers, interviewed on BBC television, bitterly displayed pay stubs showing earnings of under £4 an hour. And now, as the bosses cut costs to compensate for lower oil prices, wage cuts of up to £5,000 a year and elimination of holiday pay are commonplace. On top of that, safety has been one of the first things thrown out the window. Is there anyone foolish enough to believe that it's a coincidence that the rate of serious accidents on oil rigs has shot up 80 per cent over the last three years!

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Reuters

**Survivor rushed to hospital in Aberdeen. Death toll to date is 166.**

# Reaganite Court Throws Out Pratt Appeal

WV Photos

**Militant protest in front of San Francisco Federal Building, June 29. Former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt (right) has been behind bars for 18 years in notorious racist frame-up.**

# S.F. Demo: "Free Geronimo!"

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 150 unionists, blacks, students and socialists rallied June 29 outside the SF Federal Building to demand "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!" and "Down with the Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!" Pratt, a decorated Vietnam vet and former Black Panther Party leader, has been in jail for 18 years for a crime he did not and could not have committed.

The demonstrators were infuriated to learn that earlier that day a three-judge panel of the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals threw out Pratt's appeal on an insignificant legal technicality that the appeal was filed ten days late. Eighteen months *after* a federal district court accepted the late filing; *after* the Court of Appeals scheduled the case for submission of briefs and accepted and read the written briefs; *after* hearing oral argument exposing the government conspiracy that has stolen 18 years of Pratt's life—*now* the three-judge panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees rules that "judicial integrity" requires that this innocent man be condemned to spend the rest of his life in a prison hellhole, in order to keep the dirty crimes of COINTELPRO concealed.

So these haughty keepers of the keys, who sit in judgment on whether those who stand before them will go free or languish behind bars, hold, as Supreme Court Justice Roger Taney put it in sending fugitive slave Dred Scott back to slavery in 1857, that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The court has inherent power to waive any procedural defect "in the interests of justice." But to those given their lofty positions by the same men who put Pratt where he is today—Nixon, Reagan and Meese—finally setting free America's foremost class-war prisoner is not in the interests of American capitalism's racist "justice."

Among those who addressed the rally organized by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense were Willie Lee Bell, Legislative Chair of Machinists Union Local 739; Lee Halterman, District Counsel for Congressman Ron Dellums; columnist Warren Hinckle; and Don Alexander of the Spartacist League. The rally heard taped messages from Pratt and Mumia Abu-Jamal, a black journalist, MOVE supporter and former Panther currently on death row in Pennsylvania. Mumia has been sentenced to death for his political beliefs and activities. Messages of support for Pratt from San Francisco Supervisors Harry Britt and Nancy Walker were read to the crowd.

"This filthy, racist outrage today comes as no surprise and is a continuation of the state's racist vindictiveness against Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner," said Don Alexander of the Spartacist League. Stuart Hanlon, Pratt's attorney, told the rally that Pratt remains "in prison for no reason other than his political beliefs." Halterman described House Resolution 413 introduced by Congressman Dellums "to call for the release of Pratt [and] to press the Congress to investigate the circumstances that have resulted in the erroneous and long-term incarceration of this person."

Speaking for the Partisan Defense Committee, Staff Counsel Valerie West outlined the FBI's campaign under the notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" the Black Panthers through bloody state terror and repression. Pratt was framed up for the murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher; FBI wiretaps proving Pratt was 400 miles away at the time have been suppressed. Former FBI agent Wesley Swearingen testified that Pratt was "set up." The June 29 decision shows that COINTELPRO "also comfortably resides in the less than august chambers of the federal bench," West said.

Calling for "outrage, real outrage" in response to the "classic '60s frame-up" of Pratt, Warren Hinckle said: "the cops know, the courts know...even the warden in San Quentin knows... [Pratt] is in jail on a phony charge." Hinckle followed up his appearance at the demonstration with a column in the 3 July *San Francisco Examiner* titled, "Law an ass." He said, "The case of Geronimo Pratt outrages the decent opinion of mankind," and observed that Pratt "was just another notch in J. Edgar Hoover's belt, another black trouble maker put away for life."

A dispatch by the Soviet news agency TASS reported on the protest and the federal circuit court's outrageous dismissal of Pratt's appeal. Citing Don Alexander, the dispatch noted: "The FBI hid from the judges and lawyers recordings, made with the help of listening devices, of a 'Black Panther' meeting in Oakland which Pratt was attending at the moment of the crime ascribed to him. But even though this fact has been established, and also that the 'witnesses' who gave evidence against Pratt at the trial turned out to be paid police [*Okhrana*] agents, the rulers stubbornly refuse to review the 'trial'."

WV Photo

**Unionists who spoke at rally: (from left) Ben Visnick of Oakland teachers, Willie Lee Bell of Machinists Local 739 and Malcolm Samuels of Hotel and Restaurant Workers.**

WV Photos

**Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander (left), San Francisco Examiner columnist Warren Hinckle.**

## Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

# "Free Pratt from Net of Naked State Terror!"

*On June 13, from the depths of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison's death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal recorded the following message of solidarity with Geronimo Pratt. Jamal, himself a former Black Panther and renowned journalist, was sentenced to die by the racist Philadelphia courts because of his background as a Panther and his outspoken support of the Philadelphia MOVE organization (see "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Death Penalty!" Workers Vanguard No. 454, 20 May 1988). A transcript of that recording follows:*

Years before the Reagan scourge lashed across America, blacks, browns, yellows and white poor folk of California felt the first stirrings of this rabid refugee from Death Valley. California's Black Panthers fell prey to a dual plague. One, the slimy, sinister intrigues of J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO, or FBI Counter-Intelligence Program; and two, the brutal repression of local police.

Caught up in this net of naked state terror was a well-known and well-respected Panther Party militant: Geronimo Pratt. The Panthers, reeling under police executions of over a score of young party members, faced the then-unknown, but far greater threat—that of an unsuspected core of police agents, FBI informers, and utter traitors. One such snitch, Julio Butler, was instructed to bring down Geronimo, and he did so by lying against him in a trial for murder which he knew Geronimo didn't and couldn't commit. And also lying about whether he was an informer for the state. Such lies have to date cost Geronimo over 18 years of his life encaged in California's cruel dungeons. For five years he was held in solitary, but to no avail, for Geronimo could be betrayed as the Negro traitor Butler has shown, but he remained unbroken.

As a young Panther assigned to the national headquarters in Berkeley, I remember Geronimo's visits north with warmth. In a time when we Panthers tried to outdo each other in seeming seriousness, Geronimo's constant smile and light laughing voice was a relief. Never aloof nor ever stodgy, Geronimo treated Panthers like brothers and sisters in the struggle. His style wasn't "Deputy Minister of Defense," but "Panther." And he was loved by brothers and sisters across this country for his dedication and his easygoing nature.

L.A. has its place in the struggle of Africans in America for independence. 1969 marked the vicious raid on L.A.'s Central Avenue headquarters where police unleashed an assault designed to liquidate party members, among them Geronimo. Hundreds of rounds whistled through the Southern California air, targeted at Panthers. Out of this conflict emerged the political prisoners known as the "L.A. 13," and in the aftermath a plan to "neutralize" chapter leadership—none other than Elmer Geronimo Pratt, L.A.'s Deputy Defense Minister.

Reagan had been governor of California for three years and the plans were hatched to have Geronimo off the streets before the end of his term. By 1970, by a criminal convergence of state and federal officials, Geronimo's frame was complete. Geronimo was imprisoned. By 1970 Reagan was re-elected to a second term as California's governor.

Think about this: today, nearly two decades later, this same Reagan can prance around the Soviet city of Moscow and utter hypocritical inanities about human rights. What about Geronimo's human right to be free from frame-up? What about Ramona Africa's human right to be free? What about

no credit

**Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980.**

the rights of the Africas, imprisoned and encaged in hellholes across Pennsylvania for the crime of being MOVE members? What about Leonard Peltier? What about the many political prisoners in dungeons across this modern-day Babylon who hear about Reagan lecturing Gorbachev about human rights in Russia? What human rights are being observed by Geronimo in San Quentin? Dhoruba [one of the NY "Panther 21"] in Fallsburg? Ramona in Muncy? Chuckie Africa in Dallas? Reagan says dissidents in the Soviet Union get Siberia and the Gulag. What he doesn't say is dissidents in the U.S. get bombed in their homes and thrown into dungeons.

It's time to resist this madness and one way to begin is to demand freedom for Geronimo and all political prisoners. Congressman Ron Dellums of California has authored a resolution, No. 413, which calls for a Congressional investigation into COINTELPRO and the set-up of Geronimo. It also calls for his immediate release. Get your local Congressman to co-sponsor this bill. Also you can write direct to Congressman Peter Rodino, Jr., the chair of the Committee on the Judiciary at 2137 Rayburn House Office Building in Washington, D.C. 20515.

It's a beginning, but it's a beginning a long time coming. It's long past time for us all to stand up and resist this system of destruction. It's long past time for us all to demand and work for freedom for political prisoners and prisoners of war. To quote MOVE founder John Africa, "It is insane not to resist something that gives nothing but sickness to you, your mothers, your fathers, your babies, your family."

This sickness can be seen in the drugs eating our community's life—drugs flown in by contra supply planes who dump death one way, only to return to the U.S. laden with another form of death to deaden the godly instinct of resistance. That sickness that breeds corruption and encages militants who dare to speak out against it. Fight back and resist by fighting for and working for the freedom of Geronimo and all political prisoners now.

This is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee is campaigning to prevent the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. To obtain petitions to save Jamal or to donate to the work of the PDC, write to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, or call (212) 732-7861 ■

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Among the trade-union officials who spoke, Willie Lee Bell denounced the "terroristic tactics used by our state judicial system" against Pratt. Also addressing the rally were Tony Gonzalez of the American Indian Movement (recently returned from Moscow where he met with Soviet leaders on behalf of imprisoned militant Leonard Peltier and Pratt); Randy Johnese of Service Employees International Union Local 535; Malcolm Samuels of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 28; Hursey Bush for the Labor Black League for Social Defense; and Ben Visnick of the Oakland Educational Association, who spoke of the recent resolution passed by the 230,000-member California Teachers Association supporting the Dellums resolution.

WV Photo

**Spartacists at June 29 S.F. rally recall victims of U.S. government's murderous vendetta against Black Panthers.**

Among those who turned out for the rally were phone workers, government maintenance workers from the Presidio, Muni bus drivers, machinists from Oakland, ILWU warehousemen, and students from UC Berkeley, Laney College and SF State. Also present were members of the Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt, supported by the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee; a couple of supporters of the Workers Socialist League; and shamelessly, supporters of the wretched Bolshevik Tendency, whose spokesman this time whined about "sectarianism" to a united-front demonstration. Statements were read to the rally from JoNina Abron, former editor of the *Black Panther*; San Francisco State University professor Nathan Hare; Chicago Labor Black Struggle League; and Gilles Cazin, French auto worker and candidate of the Ligue Trotskyste de France in the recent French parliamentary elections.

As Don Alexander of the Spartacist League told the rally:

> "[Pratt] is in jail for the same reason that the bosses put PATCO leaders in leg irons, the same reason why Kentucky miners are in prison for defending their union against the bosses and scabs: to regiment the working class and oppressed for their racist, union-busting, anti-Soviet war drive."

Taking up the demonstrators' chant "For Mass Labor Action to Free Geronimo Pratt!" Alexander said: "To free Pratt and all class-war prisoners like Ramona Africa, the Kentucky miners, to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, to get rid of the whole blood-soaked apparatus of the capitalist state and its secret political police... means hard class struggle, the building of an integrated revolutionary party and the establishment of a socialist society which is the only way to put this horror without end called capitalism... behind us. Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO frame-up!" ■


**Spartacist League Public Offices**

*—MARXIST LITERATURE—*

**Bay Area**
Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

**Chicago**
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161 W. Harrison St 10th Floor
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# Persian Gulf...

*(continued from page 1)*

F-14 jet fighter. Just in time for the TV evening news and next day's newspaper deadlines, the administration got its story together and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William J. Crowe, held a press briefing to present the "mistaken identity" line. According to Crowe, it all started early that Sunday morning when, in the midst of fighting off attacking Iranian gunships, the *Vincennes* spotted a plane flying outside commercial air corridors, emitting electronic signals of an F-14 fighter jet and speeding toward it on a "threatening flight profile." Since the plane supposedly refused to identify itself, he said, Captain Will Rogers III fired off two Standard surface-to-air missiles to defend his ship against attack.

One by one, practically hour by hour, the lies dissolved. Flight 655 was one of five regularly scheduled flights each week over that route. It never once left its air corridor (whose width expanded from one day to the next in newspaper maps). But the *Vincennes* happened to be sitting smack in the middle of that corridor. Then the 5 July *Washington Post* revealed that both air traffic control at Bandar Abbas *and another U.S. Navy ship*, the USS *Sides*, confirmed that the Airbus was *not* flying in a "threatening" rapid descent toward the *Vincennes* but was climbing. The last transmission from Flight 655 to Bandar Abbas control tower was its routine request for permission to climb to 14,000 feet. And the only signals the *Sides* radar picked up from the Airbus transponder, which automatically emits the plane's characteristics, were on a *civilian* channel.

In any case, an enemy jet moving in for a sneak attack would hardly announce itself on a military transponder channel to its intended target! Even the story about the initial engagement turned out to be a pack of lies. The *Vincennes* provoked a battle with the Iranian boats—in reality modified yachts—by sending out a helicopter to buzz them after having horned in to "defend" a Norwegian freighter which had conspicuously *not* asked for any assistance. The only response from the boats was gunfire, but that was enough excuse for the *Vincennes* and a nearby frigate to blast them out of the water.

The half-billion-dollar Aegis electronic surveillance and firing system—which couldn't tell the difference between a wide-bodied Airbus and an F-14 one-third its size and with a completely different configuration—has such an abysmal track record for accuracy that its very use in the heavily trafficked Gulf region is an invitation to the sort of disaster that happened. *Boston Globe* (4 July) correspondent Fred Kaplan pointedly asked: "If the most sophisticated tracking radar in the US fleet cannot distinguish a commercial airliner from an F-14 fighter jet, how can it distinguish an F-14 from, say, a Soviet MiG-25?" Two years ago, the Aegis-equipped *Yorktown* off Libya fired missiles at what turned out to be a low-hanging cloud.

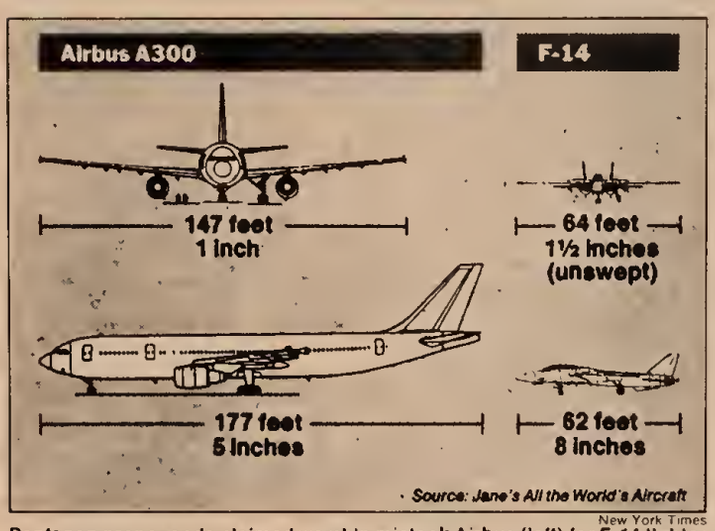
But, even if Washington's story were true, the *Vincennes* knew it was not facing an imminent threat. If the plane had been an attack fighter moving in for the kill, it would have been flying considerably lower and faster at that point and it would have *locked on* its attack radar, making its hostile intent unambiguously clear. But in fact, an F-14 was incapable of attacking the *Vincennes* from that distance *because it is not designed to carry air-to-surface missiles!* The F-14 is an American-made air defense fighter equipped only for air-to-air missiles. A veteran Navy pilot told the *Washington Post* (6 July): "An F14 nine miles away at 9,000 feet just isn't a threat to a big ship." Besides, Iran hasn't launched an aerial attack on shipping in the Gulf for nearly two years.

After the USS *Stark* was hit by an Exocet missile fired from an Iraqi Mirage jet in May 1987, the rules of engagement for American warships in the Gulf were changed from firing only after positive identification of hostile intent to opening up on anything which has not been positively identified as "friendly." Was the captain of the *Vincennes* worried that he'd be bounced out in disgrace like the captain of the *Stark*, or did he see that blip on his radar screen as a heaven-sent opportunity to notch up another "kill"?

The Americans' justification for going into the Persian Gulf in the first place was to protect freedom of shipping on the high seas. In fact, as a Senate committee report recently admitted, commercial shipping in the Gulf is now more dangerous than ever before, while the air lanes have been turned into a shooting gallery. Alone among naval forces in the region, the Americans refuse to monitor civilian control tower frequencies, unilaterally countermanding air traffic controllers' instructions and bullying pilots. Last October the *Washington Post* quoted an exchange between the Navy and one air traffic controller in Dubai so exasperated by a series of reckless actions that he finally demanded: "'U.S. warship, you are posing a hazard to civilian aviation. Are you going to be doing this for the rest of the day?' 'That's affirmative, sir,' the Navy replied."

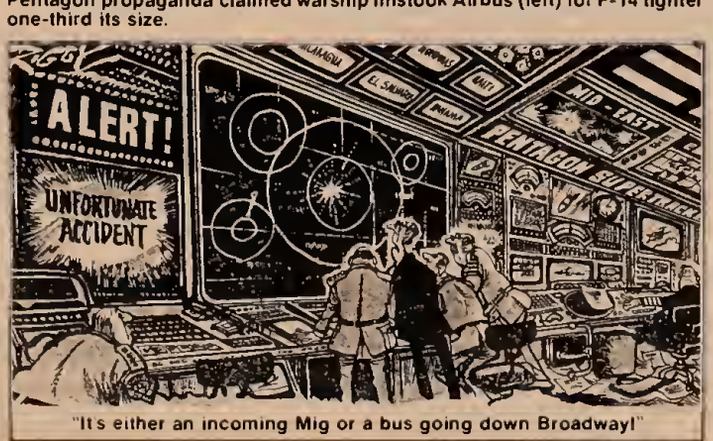
On June 8, a Navy warship almost forced two 747 jumbo jets to collide, when it ordered the pilot of one of the planes, on its final descent into Dubai, to veer left. Had the pilot followed Navy orders, he would have flown right into the flight path of a second 747 just taking off from nearby Sharjah airport, a major international transit point for flights between Europe and the Orient. A *New York Times* (5 July) editorial baldly claimed that not only the seas but the skies as well belong to the U.S. Sixth Fleet, saying that "the onus for avoiding such accidents in the future rests on civilian aircraft: avoid combat zones, fly high, acknowledge warnings"—or be shot down like the 290 people aboard Iran Air 655!

**Spartacist contingent in New York protest of U.S. Persian Gulf atrocity, July 7.**




New York Times

**Pentagon propaganda claimed warship mistook Airbus (left) for F-14 fighter one-third its size.**




**"It's either an incoming Mig or a bus going down Broadway!"**

Rigby/NY Daily News

## KAL 007—Anti-Soviet War Provocation

The shooting down of the Iranian airliner immediately raised comparisons with Korean Air Lines Flight 007, shot down over Soviet territory in 1983. Reagan angrily denied any comparison, again claiming the Russians *knew* they were shooting down a civilian plane even though his own intelligence agencies now admit this is not true. Admiral Crowe argued at his press conference that "the fundamental differences are, of course, that it was not a war zone... and, secondly, the KAL 007 was not warned in any way, form, or fashion." *Bullshit!*

On one point Reagan and Crowe are right: there is no comparison. While Iran Air 655 was shot down over *Iranian airspace*, KAL 007 flew more than 350 miles off course deep into Soviet territory. It passed directly over some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations in the Far East. For an hour and a half after scrambling, Soviet jets tried to get KAL 007 to identify itself without success and issued *repeated warnings*, even firing tracer shells past its cockpit four times. Not only did the Korean airliner ignore all the warnings, but it had all its navigation lights turned off. When the Soviet pilot finally shot it down, he thought he was shooting down a U.S. RC-135 espionage-reconnaissance plane, with a profile similar to the 747, whose flight path had deliberately intersected that of KAL 007 as it entered Soviet airspace.

*KAL 007 was an anti-Soviet war provocation*, with over 200 civilian hostages on board. All the while it was over Soviet territory it was being tracked by American and Japanese electronic stations, which at no time notified the Russians of any problem. Its purpose was to trigger Soviet defensive radar responses and its flight was timed to coincide with an overpass by a U.S. intelligence-gathering satellite. If there is any connection between the two incidents, it is that in both cases, as we headlined over KAL 007, *Reagan's story stinks!*

## Workers Revolution—The Only Road to Peace!

As we said at the time of Democrat Carter's failed "Desert One" helicopter raid, "In a military confrontation between Iran, even under the leadership of the reactionary mullahs, and U.S. imperialism, workers must demand: Hands Off Iran!" (*WV* No. 255, 2 May 1980). But the American presence in the Gulf has not transformed the Iran-Iraq war into an imperialist war against Iran. Until two years ago, when the Iran/contra affair exploded, the U.S. was shipping arms to Iran by the planeload. Now it engages in repeated murderous provocations against the Iranians. Yet it turns out the Iranians have made repeated initiatives to normalize relations with Washington, while backing away from their earlier insistence on the overthrow of the Iraqi Ba'athist regime as a condition for ending the war. On the American side, Shultz is pushing for "compensation" to the victims of Flight 655, using blood money to accomplish what a kosher cake, Bible, pearl-handled revolvers and TOW missiles didn't: open up a dialogue with Teheran.

The Iran-Iraq war is a continuing squalid slaughter which has already consumed the lives of over a million Iraqi and Iranian toilers. Both regimes are vicious enemies, first and foremost, of their "own" workers and peasants; both are murderous oppressors of national minorities within their borders, particularly Kurds. Eight years of fratricidal slaughter with no end in sight has fueled growing war-weariness and popular opposition, but pacifist appeals will not put an end to this bloodbath. Marxists understand that war breeds revolution, and it will take revolutionary class struggle by the workers and oppressed in each country against their main enemy—the Iranian mullahs and the Iraqi colonels—to stop this horror.

Yet at a New York protest against the Persian Gulf shootdown on July 7, the Marcyite Workers World Party simultaneously apologized for the Iranian mullahcracy while pushing the social-

AP Photos

**KAL 007 and Iran Air 655 incidents have one thing in common—Reagan's story stinks! Soviet Marshal Ogarkov (left) shows Korean airliner deep over militarily sensitive Soviet territory. Admiral Crowe's map shows "attacking" Iranian civilian plane in its own airspace.**

pacifist call to "Bring Peace to Iran!" by supporting UN Resolution 598. In contrast, Spartacist contingents at this and another protest in New York that day denounced the U.S. massacre while advancing the perspective of revolutionary defeatism in the war between the Iranian mullahs and the Iraqi colonels. Our comrades carried signs reading, "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!" "Down with the Mullahs and Colonels! For Workers Revolution in Iran and Iraq!" and "Down with CIA's Afghan Cutthroats—Soviet Withdrawal Poses Bloodbath!"

Continuing the policy of cringing conciliation to U.S. imperialism exemplified by its unilateral withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Gorbachev regime has handled this gruesome massacre with kid gloves. While early on, Radio Moscow called the Iran Air massacre "deliberate cruel murder," a few hours later Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov borrowed the language of the Reagan administration in treating the U.S.' terrorist act as a "tragic accident," while appealing for the U.S. to withdraw the Sixth Fleet in favor of a United Nations "peacekeeping" force.

Given the U.S.' stated intention for going in "to head off further involvement in the Gulf by the Soviet Union," this is absurdly, willfully blind. The Near East already has one UN "peacekeeping" force—which acts as border guards for the Zionist terrorists. Should a UN force replace the Sixth Fleet it would simply provide a United Nations cover for imperialist policing of the region, just as the U.S. imperialist war against North Korea and Red China was waged under the guise of a UN "peacekeeping force."

The cynical arrogance with which U.S. rulers justify blowing 290 innocent people out of the air underscores the dangerous idiocy of the Stalinist bureaucracy's quest for "peaceful coexistence." We have noted in the past that Ayatollah Khomeini and his seventh-century theocratic outlook come off rational compared to the madmen in the White House. With their reckless disregard for anything that stands in their way, the war-crazed American rulers could easily trigger a nuclear war with their haywire high-tech schemes. There is only one way to achieve peace on this planet and avenge the heinous crimes of the barbaric criminals in Washington: proletarian revolution by the oppressed and working masses of *this* country. ■

# Electric Boat...

*(continued from page 3)*

regimentation and "Big Brother"-type surveillance, dangerous working conditions and rotten wages. Now they are supposed to take the givebacks, while the sleazy "defense" contractors line their pockets (and those of Congressmen and Pentagon consultants) with profits. But the union tops derail labor struggle into racist protectionist schemes pitting U.S. workers against their class brothers in Japan and Korea, demanding enforcement of Jones Act provisions against ships built in other countries.

When you hear the union bureaucrats talk about the "partnership" of American labor and capital, hold onto your wallet. This is nothing but surrender to the vicious offensive of the bosses and their government, whether it's Bush or Dukakis in the White House. They're busting unions and terrorizing minorities to keep a lid on social unrest and foot the Pentagon's bills. Democrat Truman seized the steel mills during the Korean War in order to hold down steel workers' wages—all in the name of "national defense." A militant strike at Groton could be the first shot in a long-awaited counteroffensive of workers and minorities—to hell with more givebacks to finance Reagan's and the Democrats' war plans.

Workers at Electric Boat have seen the pathetic "blockades" of the yard by pacifist protesters demanding the yard be converted to "peaceable" uses. We in the Spartacist League know that the capitalist class will never voluntarily disarm. It will take a socialist revolution for the skills of workers such as those at Electric Boat to be put to the use of humanity, rather than building the instruments of nuclear holocaust.

At one protest during the commissioning of the Trident USS *Henry M. Jackson* in 1984, the KKK showed up to terrorize the pacifist protesters. The unions at EB should have met these racist terrorists with a mobilization of labor power to drive them back in their holes. In small Connecticut towns such as Meriden and Vernon, the lynch mob terror of these racist scum has become all too familiar. If allowed to grow, these fascists will be the bourgeoisie's shock troops against the unions—the Klan must be crushed in the egg with labor/black power! The MTC must fight for jobs for the large black and Hispanic minority population of New London, across the river from Groton, with a union-run recruitment and training program.

The "Reagan years" began with Democrats Carter and Mondale, who invoked Taft-Hartley against the miners union and laid out the plans which Reagan used to bust PATCO. The labor fakers who sit atop the unions in this country enforced labor discipline for the bourgeoisie, as union contracts were torn to shreds and givebacks forced on millions of workers. But with the wind out of the sails of the Reaganite offensive, now is the time for hard class struggle. As we said in "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball":

> "Every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the lifeblood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust."■

# Urgent Appeal to Free the Sharpeville Six!

**FLASH—As we go to press, it was announced July 12 that the Sharpeville Six have won another stay of execution. Their lawyer, Prakash Diar, said he was "overjoyed" as almost all legal avenues to save their lives had been exhausted.**

The Sharpeville Six, on death row in South Africa, were facing the hangman's noose July 19. These five black men and one black woman were condemned to death for simply being in the area on 3 September 1984 when an enraged crowd of black rent strikers stoned to death a collaborator of the apartheid regime. As a result of worldwide protest, they won a stay of execution in March, but their lawyers' application for a new trial was rejected in June.

On July 6, attorneys for the Sharpeville Six filed a desperate last appeal to the Pretoria Supreme Court to reopen the case, based on the evidence that the main prosecution witness had lied on the stand. "Torture and police pressure forced me not to tell the court my truth," said the witness in a passionate letter urging "please save the Six," published in the black-edited *City Press* July 1.

An international outcry must immediately be raised to save the Sharpeville Six from the gallows! A protest letter to the South African ambassador in Washington, D.C. sent by the Partisan Defense Committee on June 20 said:

> "The Sharpeville Six have been condemned to die for one reason—they 'shared a common purpose' with the millions of black South Africans, and hundreds of millions around the world, who detest your racist apartheid regime. The Partisan Defense Committee joins with them in demanding the Sharpeville Six be immediately released."

WV Photo

**Spartacist protesters at Soweto Day rally in Cleveland, June 18.**

Only continued vigilance and international protest can win freedom for the Sharpeville Six.

# Guardian Angels...

*(continued from page 4)*

immigrant in Perth Amboy, New Jersey last month, Sliwa's thugs in red berets were invited by the racist police to help patrol the Hispanic and black neighborhoods.

During the last year the Guardian Angels started patrolling in the East Village and Chelsea, both heavily minority, working-class neighborhoods now rapidly being gentrified. Sliwa's arrival in the West 40s coincides with the announcement of a massive redevelopment project in Times Square, the beginning of "the most massive urban renewal plan ever launched in the country" (*New York Times*, 22 June). The president of the 42nd Street Development Project says "the days of blight and crime on 42nd Street are numbered." Sliwa's "war on drugs" coincides exactly with the plans of Koch and Trump. The winners will be the real-estate developers. The losers will be those minorities and poor who can still afford to live in the Clinton district (formerly Hell's Kitchen).

The Guardian Angels vigilantes won't stop crime any more than the drug-dealing, kill-crazy cops do. Their purpose is to whip up a racist backlash that means stepped-up repression against the ghettos and barrios. This is no less true of outfits like Sonny Carson's "Black Men's Movement Against Crack" or the anti-drug vigilante squads set up by Al Sharpton, a black FBI fink posing as a militant. Rampant lumpen crime is the result of enforced poverty and brutal oppression in a decaying, racist society. For the ruling class riding around in their limos with bodyguards licensed to carry, the answer to crime is to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state while keeping the population defenseless. We Marxists hold that people have the right, to armed self-defense against the thugs bred by capitalism's decay—against mobs of hat-swinging killers in Howard Beach or swaggering "crimestoppers" in the subway. And when the working class takes power genuine justice will be meted out to all those responsible for the nightmare of racist "law and order" in this criminal system. ■

# Cárdenas...

*(continued from page 12)*

opportunity to change the relationship of forces," he can only say: "This is a hard thing to argue with, because there is a real basis for this idea." And while remaining "independent" at a purely formal level, in reality the PRT/UP campaign is in a political bloc "against electoral fraud" encompassing both the right and left opposition to the PRI.

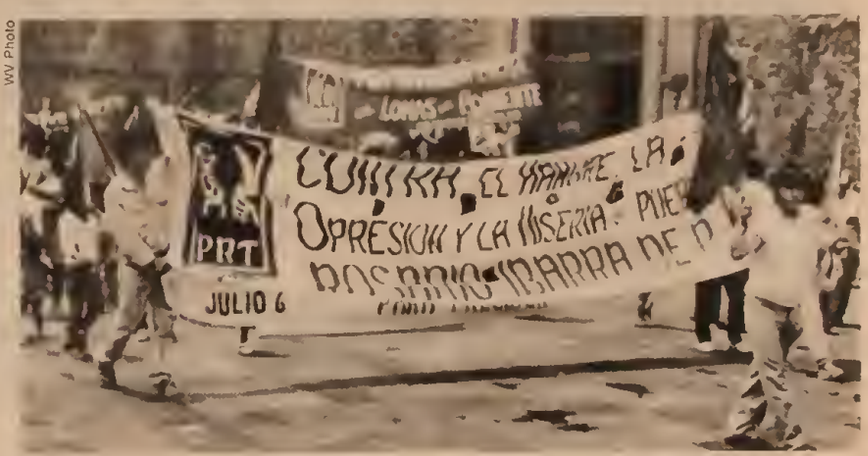
The PRT is part of the Democratic Assembly for Effective Suffrage, which released a joint statement by Cárdenas, Ibarra and Manuel Clouthier, the candidate of the rightist National Action Party (PAN), calling to "back up the people in the legal and active defense of their vote" and declaring, "Together let us win freedom" (*La Jornada*, 1 July). That this is not just a matter of certifying the vote count is now being demonstrated as the opposition takes to the streets. As PRTer Rodríguez explained, "in every rally, in every meeting, we explain the meaning of election fraud, and we are preparing people for the big struggle that will take place in Mexico after July 6." And in that struggle, rather than fighting on a program for *workers democracy* through socialist revolution, the PRT is joining hands with the clerical-reactionary PAN and the bourgeois-nationalist Cárdenas coalition.

### Morenoite Tail of the Popular Front

The "Cárdenas phenomenon" has put the PRT's junior partners in its Unidad Popular lash-up, the Partido de los Trabajadores Zapatistas (PTZ—Zapatista Workers Party), in a bind. This is the Mexican affiliate of the tendency led by the late Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno. The PTZ endorsed the UP's sub-reformist program, but they try to dress it up with more leftist rhetoric (like a campaign sticker saying "Unidad Popular" and "Socialism"). The PTZ's *El Socialista* ran articles on the corporatist history of Cardenism and characterized the Cárdenas alliance as a popular front. But don't expect a proletarian opposition to class collaboration and bourgeois nationalism from the Morenoites, whose deceased Argentine *caudillo* published the newspaper *Palabra Obrera* in the 1950s as an "organ of revolutionary workers Peronism under the discipline of General Peron and the Peronist High Command"!

So when Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas began attracting tens of thousands to his rallies, the pull was too strong for the Morenoites to resist. A PTZ "Open Letter" greeted Cárdenas' May 25 visit to the National University. After a tip of the sombrero to Rosario Ibarra and the UP because it "represents the possibility of establishing a workers, peasants and people's government" (through bourgeois elections, especially this farce?), they get down to brass tacks: Would Cárdenas and his National Democratic Front please "come out for unity in action" to "democratize" the university, to win a "budgetary increase" for education, and join in "defense of the vote"? Not a word about the political independence of the workers movement. The PTZ reprinted this groveling leaflet in the June *El Socialista*—but in accord with the Moreno school of falsification, *they altered the text*, adding a lengthy explanation of why they were addressing Cárdenas and *cutting out the words "unity in action"*!

The Morenoites are no opponents of bourgeois nationalism. In fact, at the time of the 1986 soccer World Cup in Mexico, when mass demonstrations of the poor chanted "We don't want goals, we want beans" (*No queremos goles, queremos frijoles*) the Morenoites headlined, "Yes we want goals!" (*El Socialista*, June 1986). For both the PTZ and PRT, their fig leaf of "independence" is just a cover for impotence. Their problem is that right now nobody wants to buy their services as a left cover for the popular front.




WV Photo

**Election banner says "Against Hunger, Oppression and Poverty," yet PRT platform doesn't go beyond classless "democracy."**

### Forge a Trotskyist Party!

Capitulation to popular-frontism is a hallmark of both Mandelite and Morenoite brands of pseudo-Trotskyism. In Chile the United Secretariat's local guru, Luis Vitale, hailed the election of Allende's Unidad Popular as "the political-electoral triumph of the masses," while the Morenoites denied that the UP was a popular front, instead labeling it a "broad democratic and anti-imperialist movement." In France, the Mandelites called themselves the "fourth component" of Mitterrand's Union of the Left, while Moreno hailed "the great socialist victory of Mitterrand" (*Opción*, May 1981). Today the Morenoites sell their Menshevism with talk of a "democratic revolution" from Argentina to South Korea and the Philippines where new pro-*yanqui* regimes try to dress up IMF austerity with "democracy."

The Mandelites and Morenoites are also united by visceral anti-Sovietism, expressed most graphically in opposing Soviet intervention against CIA-backed Islamic holy warriors in Afghanistan, and in their "solidarity with Solidarność," the Polish company union funded by the White House and Vatican. These impostors would never recognize their politics in Trotsky's Fourth International, which fought tooth and nail against popular-frontism and those who "peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front"; which stood firmly for defense of the Soviet Union against the petty-bourgeois hue and cry over "poor little Finland" on the eve of World War II. Instead of the reformist fool's gold of "democratic revolution," authentic Trotskyists fight for permanent revolution against capitalism; against capitulation to bourgeois nationalism, they champion proletarian internationalism.

For the crisis in Mexico is not just national. To the south, Central America is racked by civil war in El Salvador, contra war in Nicaragua, army terror in Guatemala, death squad terror in Honduras and the rest of Washington's puppet regimes. Instead of fighting for the victory of the workers and peasants, the Mandelite PRT pushes empty "solidarity" campaigns ("a flower for Nicaragua and peace in Central America") and avidly supports efforts by the bourgeois governments of the region, *including and especially the Mexican government*, to use diplomatic means to stop the spread of revolution. Last fall, the PRT sang the praises of the Esquipulas "peace" accord, which "expresses ... the common need (of all classes and tendencies involved) to avoid the catastrophe of a general conflagration" (*Bandera Socialista*, 23 November 1987).

These reformists' calls for a "peaceful solution" in Central America are undisguised political support *to their own ruling class*. The liberal Mexican daily *La Jornada* (4 June) reported that in an election rally in Baja California, PRT leader Edgard Sánchez read a declaration "emphasizing that during the government of Miguel de la Madrid there has been a consistent and growing abandonment of the liberal political principles represented for decades by the foreign policy of our country." In appealing to the traditional pseudo-nationalist foreign policy of the "PRI-government," the PRT emphasizes that it is a party for class collaboration, not class struggle. And the Morenoite PTZ, which claims to oppose the Esquipulas and Sapoá accords as counterrevolutionary, nevertheless forms an election coalition with their most avid proponents in Mexico.

The Mexican crisis also has tremendous impact to the north. "Social stability south of the border" has long been a keystone of the American empire. When the last Mexican Revolution broke out, U.S. imperialism invaded once again, sending General Pershing to chase after Pancho Villa in the north and the Marines to occupy Veracruz. Today as the Latin American debt bomb ticks ever closer to financial and social detonation, as the class war in Central America rages on despite bourgeois "peace" plans brokered by the Democratic Party, as American companies build more and more plants in Mexico while a "human bridge" of Mexican workers goes back and forth across the Rio Grande and through Zapata Canyon, Mexican workers are more than ever linked to their class brothers and sisters in the United States.

For more than half a century, Mexico has been ruled by the timeworn formula of bourgeois-nationalist demagogy plus bonapartist repression. Today the working class is straining against the fetters of capitalist rule—and the popular front seeks to fasten them tight with a "new" version of the PRI. As we wrote in "Mexico Atop the Volcano" (*WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987), the subordination to bourgeois politics of the Mexican "left," with the Stalinists in the lead and the fake-Trotskyists bringing up the rear, has meant that "from 1915 on, the economically powerful Mexican proletariat has been politically impotent, a sleeping giant drugged by nationalism dressed in 'revolutionary' colors." The Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas campaign is an attempt to restore the corporatist control over the masses established by his father. But unlike "Tata" (Papa) Cárdenas, with his nationalizations and land reform, Cárdenas junior has nothing to sell but empty "democratic" rhetoric.

In January 1939, on the eve of another Mexican election, to select the successor to General Lázaro Cárdenas, Leon Trotsky wrote in an editorial explaining why *Clave*, the Spanish-language magazine of the Fourth International, did not support any candidate:

> "Naturally, this is not due to an anarchist prejudice against participation in politics. More than once we have seen where this prejudice leads—in France, in Spain, and in Mexico itself. No. We are for the fullest participation of the workers in politics. But we are for *independent* participation. At the present time in Mexico there is no workers' party, no trade union that is in the process of developing independent class politics and that is able to launch an independent candidate. Under these conditions, our only possible course of action is to limit ourselves to Marxist propaganda and to the preparation of a future independent party of the Mexican proletariat."

The international Spartacist tendency fights to reforge the world party of socialist revolution on the proletarian-revolutionary program of genuine Trotskyism, the program of intransigent, internationalist class struggle. The key to breaking the chains of bourgeois nationalism in Mexico is *forging a genuine Trotskyist party*, section of a reborn Fourth International. ■


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

**Detroit**
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

**Los Angeles**
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

# Mexico Erupts...

*(continued from page 12)*

and party bureaucracy, receiving secret internal government reports on the vote count. Furthermore, Cárdenas has appealed to the top military officials, and Defense Minister General Juan Arévalo Gardoqui announced that the armed forces were "100 percent apolitical" in the contest.

The White House, Wall Street and spokesmen for U.S. imperialism generally have been caught flatfooted by the Mexican elections and are now extremely nervous. The semi-bonapartist regime in Mexico, now in full decay, is the product of the frustration of a peasant revolution which failed because it lacked the proletarian leadership necessary to overthrow capitalist rule. It was finally squelched after seven years through a combination of nationalist-populist demagogy (the Constitution of 1917) and brutal repression (the assassination of Zapata and Villa and thousands of their fighters). Mexico's capitalist rulers have needed a "firm hand" because this heritage is still alive among the Mexican masses. Even more so today, in the midst of economic crisis, to counterpose bourgeois "democracy" to this "strong state" is illusory. The only way democracy will be won for the working masses is through proletarian revolution.

Fernando Lopez Romero

**Mexican army patrols streets during July 6 elections.**

### For Mexican Trotskyism!

A joint declaration by Cárdenas of the FDN and two other presidential candidates, Manuel Clouthier of the PAN and Rosario Ibarra of the pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), warned that in the case of tampering with the election results "we will proceed to defend the rights of the Mexican people with all the arms that the constitution grants us" (*El Sol de México*, 7 July). Around the country, there were meetings of the left and right opposition, including the PRT and the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS), to plan joint actions against the government. Vigilance over vote counting is one thing, but this *political rotten bloc* ties the fake-lefts to arch-defenders of Yankee imperialism such as Clouthier and his rightist mafia. For the Mexican working people, this spells disaster.

During Cárdenas' triumphal march through his native state of Michoacán, where he was the PRI governor in the '70s, tens of thousands came out to greet him, chanting, "*Ya llegó, ya está aquí, él que va a chingar al PRI*" (He's arrived, he's here, the man who's going to fuck the PRI). Yet Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas is not out to screw the PRI, but to refurbish its image and recompose its base. The co-leader of Cárdenas' "Democratic Current," Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, is a former president of the government party, infamous for stealing elections such as in the state of Nayarit in 1975. The Cardenista popular front offers the same old bourgeois-nationalist demagogy with a new set of initials.

The FDN campaign rests on an appeal to the Cárdenas myth. Coming to power at the end of a succession of military *caudillos* (strongmen)—generals Obregón, Calles and their successors—Papa ("Tata") Cárdenas managed to "institutionalize" the Mexican Revolution by skillfully derailing worker and peasant militancy with his land reform, nationalizations and class-collaborationist schemes for "workers administration" of state capitalist industry. The result was the corporatist, gangster-buttressed CTM union bureaucracy which to this day enforces PRI control of the labor and peasant movements. At the same time, Cárdenas enhanced his reputation as a man of courage by being the only bourgeois ruler to offer refuge to the exiled Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky.

Mexican workers are not disinterested in the outcome of the present squabble among their rulers; the solution, however, is not to get sucked into the wake of the Cárdenas popular front but to *mobilize their own class forces*. Today the free-marketeers around Harvard-trained economist Salinas want to undo Mexico's state capitalist economic structure. In April this meant the mass firing of 13,000 Aeroméxico workers. Now miners at the Cananea copper complex find their jobs on the auction block. The answer is not voting for Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, but to *seize the plants* and hold them hostage. When the government claims that state enterprises are not competitive, as at Mexicana airlines, labor struggle must impose *workers control* to *open the books* and put an end to bureaucratic corruption. To defend workers' living standards against inflation, union action is required to impose a massive pay hike and a *sliding scale of wages*.

If Cárdenas was elected president, Marxists defend his democratic right to take office. But we do not join forces with a bourgeois Cardenista political bloc; rather we defend the workers' democratic rights by proletarian means. What's going on right now in Mexico is bargaining over the outcome of the election. The limited mobilizations called by Cárdenas—and eagerly joined by pseudo-leftists like the PRT, which declares, "We must reaffirm in the streets the victory won over the PRI" and "All of us who voted against the PRI are ready to go into action" (*La Jornada*, 10 July)—are pressure tactics to arrange a deal with the Federal Election Commission. But if negotiations break down, opening a period of political chaos, the question will be posed, particularly in the workers' *colonias* and vast plebeian cities surrounding the capital, of forming *workers soviets* and *workers militias*.

The drastic slashing of the masses' living standards by more than half since the beginning of the economic crisis in 1982 will not be restored by Cárdenas' program of a "suspension" of payments on the debt to the New York bankers in order to work out new terms. To *repudiate the imperialist debt* requires a fight for *workers revolution*, extending to the United States as well, for an isolated Mexican workers state would still be subject to imperialist blackmail. And while the reformist parliamentarist left joins the PRI and regional bourgeois regimes in support of the Esquipulas "peace" accords which put the arm on Sandinista Nicaragua and put Salvadoran leftist guerrillas up against the wall, authentic Trotskyists must fight for *workers revolution throughout Central America*.

In the Philippines the mobilization of "people's power" in the streets in tandem with "democratic" movements in the army installed the regime of Cory Aquino. But it has not brought land to the peasants, workers strikes are still violently broken, and death squads are on the rise. In Mexico today, no less than in Spain in the 1930s or Chile in the '70s, popular fronts and bonapartist repression are the last resorts of capitalist rule. The crisis of a half century of corporatist rule under the PRI has created a historic opportunity for Mexican workers to fight for power in their own right. But such a struggle demands that they break with nationalist-populism, now spearheaded by Cárdenas, and forge a party modeled on the Russian Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

# Boston Housing...

*(continued from page 2)*

integration debacle" (*Bay State Banner*, 22 January). F.A.T.E. leaders hope to refile their scheme to carve out a bantustan-like "city" incorporating the present ghetto boundaries of Roxbury, Mattapan and Columbia Point in time for the November elections.

The fight for affordable integrated housing is indeed crucial in this city where the cost of buying a house or renting has gone up 50 percent in the last three years, and an average house now costs $180,000. The 14,000-long waiting list to get into the often decaying projects is itself testimony to the need for massive construction of low-rent housing. Democratic Party presidential nominee Michael Dukakis ballyhoos a "Massachusetts miracle" which has led to a mini-boom for the non-union high-tech defense contractors along the Route 128 and 495 beltways and for commercial and office buildings downtown. The gentrification of "the Hub" proceeds apace as Beacon Hill Brahmins, well-heeled insurance company executives, pinstriped bankers and liberal professionals from the ivy-covered campuses vie for space. Meanwhile, heavy industry has gone into a precipitous decline, the poor are driven to the wall and working people cannot find a decent place to live.

**Mass protest drives racist terrorist KKK off the streets of Boston, October 1982.**

A struggle to integrate every aspect of social life in this city is especially urgent as the school board begins dismantling court-ordered busing, talking again about "neighborhood," i.e., segregated, schools. And the continuing threat of racist violence was dramatically shown in the recent attempted murder by arson of a Laotian family in Lynn.

Boston is not a uniform mass of racist reaction. Thousands of white working people can be mobilized to stop racist mobs. In 1982, hundreds effectively stopped a clot of Ku Klux Klansmen when they tried to assemble a lynch mob at Government Center. In the mid-'70s battle over busing the Spartacist League uniquely called for labor/black mobilization and defense guards to defend the limited busing program and make integration of education real by extending it to the suburbs. We also posed the need for labor/black defense guards to protect black residents of the Columbia Point project bordering South Boston from attacks by marauding racist vigilantes.

"Furthermore," we pointed out at the time, "we call for the construction throughout the city of low-rent, high-quality, racially integrated public housing. Such measures would significantly undercut the racist fears of South Boston whites, who see busing as an 'invasion' of the crime-ridden ghetto, first into 'their' schools and next into 'their' neighborhoods" ("Stop Racist Terror in Boston!" *Young Spartacus* No. 26, November 1974). Once again the need is posed for integrated working-class defense to protect minority families from racist violence. Integrate South Boston, Charlestown and all area housing now! For labor/black defense guards to smash racist terror! For massive area-wide construction of low-rent, high-quality housing for all! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## For Workers Revolution, Not Populist Nationalism!

# Mexico Erupts Over Elections

JULY 12—Bringing to an end more than half a century of one-party rule in Mexico, the July 6 elections have opened up a period of sharp struggles which not only threaten the domination of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) but could shake Mexican capitalism to its roots. The six-year economic crisis has become a regime crisis, and with the PRI machine torn by infighting it could quickly escalate. The unexpectedly large vote for presidential challenger Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his National Democratic Front (FDN) reflects in a distorted fashion the seething anger over IMF-dictated austerity and poverty, and the masses' search for some way—*any way*—to fight back. The Cárdenas popular front seeks to channel the massive discontent into the framework of bourgeois politics. Its aim is to restore credibility for pro-imperialist capitalist rule in Mexico.

Throughout the last period there have been militant workers' struggles: plant occupations by VW strikers, wildcats by garment workers in the *maquiladoras* (free trade zones), tens of thousands taking to the streets of the capital. But these struggles, challenging the straitjacket of PRI bureaucratic control, cannot succeed without posing a *political* mobilization of the proletariat for *power*. The Cárdenas coalition, by tying the workers to a sector of the bosses, is a *roadblock* to class struggle. Like Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile, it has awakened great hopes, but in power it would only dash them, preparing a bloodbath by the forces of reaction. What's desperately needed *now* in Mexico is a break from all variants of bourgeois nationalist-populism. This requires above all a struggle to forge a revolutionary proletarian vanguard, a Trotskyist party, to lead the masses' struggles forward to a workers and peasants government to expropriate the exploiters and break the imperialist chains.

AP

**As Cárdenas claims victory, supporters protest government delay in releasing election results.**

Seven days after the vote, still no results have been released, as the government seems paralyzed. PRI nominee Carlos Salinas de Gortari had promised "transparency" (the Spanish translation of *glasnost*) in the elections. As an expression of "modern politics," high-powered computers were brought in so that unofficial results would be forthcoming the very night of the balloting, instead of the usual week's delay to accommodate vote rigging. But as the returns began coming in showing a heavy vote for Cárdenas, the computers mysteriously broke down. First, Interior Minister Manuel Bartlett brazenly ascribed the breakdown to "atmospheric conditions," and then to a "heart attack" in the phone system! When it became clear that the PRI had lost Mexico City and the surrounding states of Morelos, México and Michoacán, the *government* started yelling fraud and demanding a recount.

Both Salinas and Cárdenas have claimed victory. Cárdenas called for "popular mobilization" to prevent the government from stealing the election. The Interior Ministry and election board offices around the country were besieged by opposition party supporters. In the north, supporters of the rightist National Action Party (PAN) seized international bridges leading from Ciudad Juárez to El Paso until the government recognized their local victories. Already before the July 6 vote, PRI assassins were at work, gunning down two of Cárdenas' top aides, Francisco Xavier Ovando and Román Gil Heraldez. If the impasse continues, the blood could start flowing with the question of who shall be the master of Mexico being fought out in the streets.

The ruling party is reportedly split between old-style political bosses ("dinosaurs") around Bartlett, who want to keep the system of an electoral sweep (known as the *carro completo*, or full carload) through systematic fraud, and technocrats around Salinas who want more plausible results to avoid alienating the middle class. Meanwhile, Cárdenas, a top leader of the PRI until he split last year, has a lot of support in the state

*continued on page 11*

## Starvation Elections in Mexico

# Left Peddles "Unity" with Cárdenas Popular Front

*Part One of this article was published in* WV *No. 456, 1 July.*

*PART TWO*

In the midst of Mexico's worst economic crisis of this century, with the authoritarian regime of the "Institutional Revolutionary" PRI facing the first serious challenge in its history, now more than ever the only way out for the worker and peasant masses is a revolutionary struggle for proletarian power. Yet the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican supporters of Ernest Mandel's misnamed United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), offers an electoral platform under the classless watchword of "democracy," with the proclaimed goal of "constructing a free, independent and democratic country." The PRT standard-bearer Rosario Ibarra is presented as a symbol of the "fight for democracy in Mexico."

Far from representing a "socialist option," the PRT's "Unidad Popular" coalition is intended as a bridge to the popular front around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. In an interview in the USec journal *International Viewpoint* (30 May), PRT spokesman Sergio Rodríguez says of the Cardenista movement that "the dynamic is totally positive." Of the former PRTers who split to form the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) because they see "neo-Cardenism as offering a great

*continued on page 10*

AP

**Fake-Trotskyist PRT's candidate Rosario Ibarra (center) in bloc with bourgeois-nationalist Cárdenas and rightist PAN candidate Clouthier.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 458 (x-523) 29 July 1988


## Jackson Fronts for Dukakis and the Dixiecrats

# Democrats' Racist "Unity"

## Labor, Blacks—Break with Democrats! For a Workers Party!

Every four years, according to the rituals of American capitalist "democracy," millions of voters are trooped to the polls to pull the lever for one or the other of the bosses' parties. Through an elaborate yearlong process of caucuses, primaries and conventions, with endless star-spangled hoopla, they try to sell to the workers, poor people, blacks and other minorities the illusion that they are deciding which of the bourgeois politicians is going to run the country (that is, to rule over us on behalf of the ruling class).

So last week the Democrats named their standard-bearers: Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis for president and Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen for veep. The technocrat and Dixiecrat will now square off against the Republicans—George Bush and X—in what is being touted as the war of the nerds. (Despite all the glitz for TV, half of America switched off the networks during the weeklong yawn in Atlanta.) And from now until November we will be bombarded by the spectacle of the candidates trying to outdo each other in saber rattling and pandering to racism.

Dukakis laid it out in his acceptance speech: "We're going to build the kind of America that Lloyd Bentsen has been fighting for for the past 40 years." Bentsen's America is one where agribusiness barons like his daddy built their fortunes from the sweat of Mexican farmhands. With 50,000 acres of crop land and citrus groves, where unions have been kept out for the past 50 years, "Big Lloyd," the grandee of the Rio Valley, is today estimated to be worth $50 to $100 million. Bentsen Country is where a black man like Loyal Garner, Jr. gets bludgeoned to death in an east Texas jail and the killer cops go free.

The Democrats' "Southern strategy" is an attempt to "out-Reagan" Reagan. When Dukakis' managers picked a running mate to the right of George Bush, and didn't bother to inform runner-up Jesse Jackson, the "perceived insult" to the black Democrat was no accident. It was a message to the several million people who voted for Jackson in the primaries. It was intended to tell them who was running things, that blacks and labor would have to "eat it." Dukakis & Co. are banking on the "lesser evil" shell game of the partner parties of racist American capitalism.

Yet they still have to get them to the polls. So Jesse Jackson "made up" and got his spot on network TV for a "unity" appeal. All his talk about "common ground," about the patches of his grandmother's quilt, his rhyming rhetoric about going from the outhouse to the White House, is just sucker bait to get the oppressed to vote for their oppressors. But Jackson's hype may not be enough to pull out the black vote this time around. When Dixiecrat plutocrat Bentsen was nominated by acclamation there were angry shouts of "no!" around the hall.

P F Bentley AP

**Boston/Austin racist axis—Dukakis and Bentsen (left) and their front man Jesse Jackson.**

After nearly eight years of Reaganism, there's a lot of people in this country who are fed up with the "new greed" and Rambomania. But then after the Vietnam War and Watergate, people had had it with the Nixon Republicans. So in '76 they voted in Democrat Jimmy Carter, and what did they get? Carter went after the miners strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions, presided over the 1979 Greensboro massacre of blacks and leftists, initiated Cold War II against the Soviet Union over Afghanistan and with his "human rights" rhetoric set up the death squad junta in El Salvador.

The Democrats pose as the "people's party" of American capitalism, the phony "friends" of labor and blacks. From the FDR New Deal coalition in the '30s to Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" today, it's the American version of the popular front. By channeling black and working-class anger into capitalist politics and blocking militant mass struggle, the popular front paves the way to bloody defeat. Jesse Jackson may be plenty annoyed at Dukakis' snub. But that's nothing compared to what happened to Salvador Allende, who played out the popular-front scenario to the end in Chile, and was the first victim of the 1973 Pinochet coup.

During the primaries, we wrote:

> "Now there's a lot of energy going into the Jesse Jackson campaign. Young black college students and ghetto youth alike are proud to see a black man for the first time ever as a serious contender for president.... But come this summer and fall, there are going to be a lot of upset people around when they figure out that 'Jackson action' means being herded to the polls as voting cattle for the same old Democratic Party of strikebreaking, racist terror and imperialist war."
>
> —"Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party," *WV* No. 451, 22 April

We told the truth while the reformist left was stumping for Jackson. So now there are a lot of upset people who feel jobbed, and the key task is, as we wrote then, "to break the chains that bind the black masses and workers to their capitalist masters through the Democratic Party."

### "Nuke 'em" Duke and the Dixiecrats

Ronald Reagan, in his weekly radio address, tweaked the Democrats after their convention: "You'll never hear that 'L' word—liberal—from them. They've put on political trench coats and dark glasses and slipped their platform into a plain, brown wrapper." In the last 20 years, the Democrats have lost every presidential election except one, when Jimmy Carter barely beat Gerald Ford (who couldn't chew gum and walk at the same time). So this time they were determined to shake off their image as the party of "special interests" (labor, minorities) and heighten the "comfort level" of the Democratic campaign.

But swilling Bentsen-style "Southern comfort" may not go down well in November. Black people in particular have been the bedrock support of the Democratic Party, and this ticket is pretty hard for blacks to swallow. In 1981, the first year of the Reagan administration, the *Congressional Quarterly* rated Bentsen the Democratic Senator most supportive of the president. This multimillionaire "Texas Tory" has received more funding from the corporate political action committees than any other member of Congress. And for good reason.

Lloyd Willard Bentsen, Jr. has been one of the chief cover-up artists for the Reagan White House. In his book *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987*, Bob Woodward writes that as a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, the wealthy businessman Senator Bentsen covered for CIA chief and Wall Street lawyer-profiteer Bill Casey, squashing an investigation into Casey's illegal stock-trading.

Bentsen is a real Cold Warrior, a die-hard supporter of aid to the contras in Nicaragua and to South African puppet Savimbi in Angola, and of military sales to the bloody Pinochet junta in

*continued on page 4*

**Turmoil at the Top in Gorbachev's Russia**

**Perils of Perestroika**

SEE PAGE SIX

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Lexington Women Win Case Against Hellhole Prison

Underneath the Federal Correctional Institution in Lexington, Kentucky is the female High Security Unit (HSU), a barbaric dungeon designed to quarantine, torment and degrade political prisoners. In a lawsuit brought by inmates Silvia Baraldini, Susan Rosenberg and Sylvia Brown, in Washington, D.C., federal district judge Barrington Parker on July 15 ruled authorities could not use prisoners' political beliefs as the basis for placement in the HSU, and ordered Baraldini and Rosenberg transferred to regular prison cells.

The Lexington HSU, like its counterpart at Marion, Illinois, is a prototype psychological torture chamber, designed for political opponents. The Gestapo would have approved. Video surveillance follows their every step—even to the shower stalls. Every private act is monitored by a guard. Officials restrict prisoners to one 15-minute phone call with their lawyers each week and one family visit per month. Inmates are denied access to the prison library, and reading material is censored by prison officials. To provide a 20th century veneer to this medieval torture chamber, the prisoners are provided a television set.

Lexington's human guinea pigs are subjected to high-tech barbarism using "Clockwork Orange" behavior modification methods, foremost being sensory deprivation. The five women prisoners at Lexington are confined to subterranean white tombs under glaring white fluorescent lights 23 hours a day. Mandatory prison garb is bleached colorless. The prisoners are forbidden to hang pictures to cover the glaring white walls and three of them report seeing black spots on those barren walls.

Susan Rosenberg reported how the HSU was "designed to destroy those who are in it, psychologically and physically.... They are trying to drive us completely out of our minds." Not surprisingly, each of the women has manifested severe medical and psychological problems including marked weight loss, loss of appetite and inability to keep food down, dehydration, heart palpitations, insomnia and obsessive anxiety.

Silvia Baraldini describes herself as an anti-imperialist activist. She was convicted on RICO conspiracy charges arising from the 1981 Brink's armored car robbery in Nyack, New York. Susan Rosenberg, long a target of the FBI and cops, is serving 58 years on charges of possession of arms and explosives. Previously she was indicted on conspiracy charges for alleged participation in the 1979 prison escape of Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), and in the 1981 Brink's robbery. The charges were dismissed for lack of evidence.

Another of those held in the Lexington dungeon is Alejandrina Torres, allegedly a member of the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN, who was convicted in 1985 of seditious conspiracy and possession of weapons and explosives. Torres, who considers herself a prisoner of war, did not join the lawsuit because she refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the American courts over her. She remains in the HSU.

The government has not announced whether it will appeal. Lexington's HSU was already scheduled to close with the opening of a larger version in Marianna, Florida. These barbaric institutions must be shut down and plowed under. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a donation to support the continuing legal fights against these monstrous cages, noting:

> "These hideous products of the government's phony drive against domestic 'terrorism' have only one purpose: to terrorize political opponents of government policies.... Like the resurrection of sedition prosecutions, increasing use and expansion of these prisons is integral to the government's intensified efforts to illegalize left wing political opposition, the domestic component of its anti-Soviet war drive."

* * *

Kentucky miner Paul Smith continues to fight against a company/state conspiracy to lock him up for life. In January miners Darryl Smith, David Thornsbury, Donnie Thornsbury and Arnold Heightland were railroaded on federal charges of interfering with interstate commerce, conspiracy and firearms violations in connection with the 1985 shooting death of a scab coal truck driver near a struck mine owned by Samoyed Energy, and are serving 35 to 40 years in the federal pen. Their cases are on appeal. In a separate trial the jury acquitted Smith of the same charges, but before he could leave the courthouse he was arrested on state murder charges. He now faces a lifetime in jail.

Smith's trial awaits the court's ruling on his motion to dismiss the charges on double jeopardy grounds—the constitutional right not to be twice placed on trial for the same charges. This democratic right is one of many severely eroded by the Burger/Rehnquist Supreme Court. Using conspiracy and RICO laws Reagan and Meese are making multiple prosecutions for the same "crimes" routine.

This practice is integrally tied to the revival of the labor frame-up system. Big Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Haymarket martyrs were victims of company finks, government spies and union-busting laws and courts. From the PATCO leaders dragged to jail in chains to the threatened government takeover of the powerful Teamsters using RICO laws and massive drug testing at the workplace, this labor-hating government, both Democrats and Republicans, is out to smash the unions and intimidate the workforce as part of its drive toward war.

The PDC has again donated to the defense of these five miners and written to the court demanding the dismissal of all charges against Paul Smith, who with his four union brothers is the target of a vicious company/government vendetta: "In slamming the prison doors on these courageous men the government seeks to finish the job left undone by Massey's gun-toting thugs."

These five miners are victims of a government campaign to make labor crawl before givebacks and union-busting. The mighty UMWA must not spend one more day watching idly as the capitalist courts chain and lock up its most militant fighters. Free the five Kentucky miners now! Letters and telegrams demanding that charges against Paul Smith be dismissed can be sent to: Judge Charles E. Lowe, Jr., Pike Circuit Court, Pikeville, KY 41501. Contributions for the miners' defense are urgently needed. Send to: Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519.

* * *

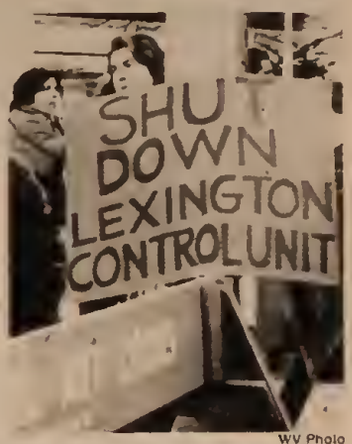
We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the Partisan Defense Committee. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Send for additional newsletters. Be a PDC sustainer! Build the PDC!■

Lexington Campaign Photos

Alejandrina Torres

Susan Rosenberg

Silvia Baraldini




WV Photo

**International Women's Day demonstration in NYC, March 5.**

### Break With the Bosses' Parties!

TROTSKY

LENIN

*In the U.S., where there is no mass labor party, the popular front tying the workers to their class enemy is embodied above all in the support by the left and the labor bureaucracy to the Democrats. From the FDR New Deal coalition of the 1930s to Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" today, the Stalinist Communist Party has spouted "fight the right" rhetoric to support the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil." In a 1954 speech following a liquidationist split from the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, SWP leader James P. Cannon explained that revolutionaries call for a workers party as an expression of the fight for political independence of the working class, key to victory in the struggles of workers and oppressed minorities against the capitalist class.*

Our slogan for a labor party is a propaganda slogan at the present time.... The real principle that we are explaining and fighting for is the principle of the class struggle, the principle of the political independence of the workers as a class.... That used to be taken for granted in the radical movement of this country. The class struggle was what we were raised on in the old days. All revolutionary activity proceeded from that basic premise.

In the socialist and radical movement of the twentieth century, from the first presidential candidacy of Debs in 1900 up until more recent times, all factions in the socialist movement—right, left, and center—all of them were committed to the principle of independent political action. The support of a capitalist political party was anathema. The IWW, which was more radical than the Socialist Party, didn't vote for its candidates only because they had a mistaken idea that elections were a waste of time. But the preamble of the IWW began with these words: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common"; and proceeded to say: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system"....

It comes around to the point that we are the only party, faction, tendency, or group in the whole labor movement that stands on the old-fashioned, simple, fundamental program of the class struggle in politics. And that certainly is a good place to stand.

—James P. Cannon, "Speech at the Sixteenth Convention" of the SWP (November 1954)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co , 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $5 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 458** **29 July 1988**

# Solidarność' Dirty Dollars

It's finally up-front and official—the U.S. government finances counterrevolution in Poland through the so-called "free trade union," Solidarność. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* have known this for years, but it's worth noting when a major bourgeois mouthpiece lays hare the imperialists' dirty work in its own pages. On July 10 the *New York Times* reported, "over the last three years, the United States has provided more than $5 million in cash assistance to Solidarity and other groups opposed to the Warsaw Government." After Congress voted a $1,000,000 appropriation for them in July 1987, Solidarność' leadership claimed that they would use the money for ambulances and health clinics. But according to the *Times*, last year alone the U.S. paid for 10,000 pounds of printing presses, cameras, microfiche and microfiche readers, radios and electronic equipment, and *smoke grenades*. Some health clinic!

Some of Solidarność' dirty dollars are funneled through the National Endowment for Democracy, a CIA front set up by Reagan which the *Nation* (19 March) reports is also funding anti-Communist dissidents in the USSR as well as the English-language edition of the Soviet dissident magazine, *Glasnost*. The NED also bankrolls *La Prensa*, the voice of the internal contras in Nicaragua, fascistic student groups in France and counterrevolutionary causes throughout the world.

While the August 1980 Baltic coast general strike that heralded the birth of Solidarność stemmed from legitimate working-class grievances against 35 years of Stalinist misrule, the workers' struggles were quickly commandeered by the forces of clerical nationalism. Solidarność draped itself in every Cold War code word from "free elections" to "free trade unions." By the time of its first national conference a year later, Solidarność had consolidated around a program of pro-imperialist counterrevolution—for the abolition of central planning and for Western-style "democracy" under the aegis of the Catholic church. They even invited notorious CIA "labor" agent Irving Brown to their confab. When we characterized Solidarność as a "company union for the CIA and Western bankers," it flew in the face of the anti-Soviet consensus in the West extending from Reaganite reactionaries to liberals to pseudo-leftists.

As Solidarność prepared a counterrevolutionary coup, the international Spartacist tendency organized a protest campaign demanding, "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" We told the truth about Solidarność because we base ourselves on the program of Trotskyism, not social-democratic Stalinophobia. The perspective put forward by Trotsky in relation to defense of the Soviet Union in 1940 applies equally to the Polish deformed workers state: "We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution" (*In Defense of Marxism*).

The same fundamental reformism that led "State Department socialists" into the lap of the CIA to fight "totalitarianism" in the '50s and '60s once again led self-styled socialists to embrace Solidarność, an imperialist-financed tool for anti-Communist rollback in Eastern Europe. As Reagan pronounced Solidarność "the beginning of the end" of Communism, fake-Trotskyists in France marched together with fascists against General Jaruzelski's visit in January 1982. In San Francisco, members of the Socialist Workers Party, including Nat Weinstein, marched together with the right-wing Libertarian Party whose signs read "Smash the Communist Tyrants!" Along with Afghanistan, Poland had become a *casus belli* for Western imperialism's Cold War II against the Soviet Union, and the left jumped on the bandwagon.

Today Weinstein is a leader of Socialist Action, a split from the SWP in 1982-83 and one of four American affiliates of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist dis-"United Secretariat," and still an ardent backer of Solidarność. They even adopted the Solidarność logo for the masthead of their newspaper. (Back in the heady days of the "broad-based movement" for "Solidarity with Solidarity," buttons bearing the Solidarność logo were also peddled by the Moonies.) Socialist Action has announced a meeting "celebrating 50 years of the Fourth International" to which it has invited one Zbigniew Kowalewski, a prominent propagandist for this "union" which last year greeted George Bush in Poland with chants of "Long live Bush! Long live Reagan!"

Solidarność made strange bedfellows...and some of them woke up short-sheeted. Look at the saga of the "Workers' Party of the Self-Managed Republic (RPRS—Polish section of the Fourth International)," whose formation was trumpeted in the January 1987 issue of *Socialist Action*. According to *SA*, the RPRS had branches "in many factories and cities across Poland." Not much more was heard about the group until in April 1988 a terse "communiqué" buried way in the back of the USec's *International Viewpoint*, informed readers that the leaders of the RPRS had "largely fabricated the reality of their group" and "requested aid for trade union and political activity that was largely fictional. The group functioned with criteria which had nothing in common with those of a workers' political organization." Licking its wounds, the USec moaned they "were victims of this dupery." Just who and what were Ernest Mandel and the USec running with anyway?

Thus far, mum's the word from Socialist Action on the *Times*' revelations of who pays Solidarność, and calls the tunes. At least the more forthright "third campists" don't plead ignorance—"Should Solidarność take U.S. money?" was the headline over an article in the Revolutionary Socialist League's *Torch* (January 15-February 14). In a guilty stage whisper to Polish friends the RSL says this "was a mistake" but hastens to add, "sometimes insurgent organizations have no choice but to take 'tainted' money from abroad" and points to Reagan's Afghan "freedom fighters" as worthy examples of who should be funded! The aid these spineless "socialists" applaud went toward killing Russian and Afghan soldiers fighting the CIA's reactionary feudal mullahs.

Solidarność has allied itself with imperialism against the Soviet Union, against the struggles of the working class internationally, and against the socialist interests of Polish workers themselves. Socialist Action wants the American franchise for this anti-red front. As Cervantes said in Don Quixote, "Tell me what company you keep, and I'll tell you what you are."■

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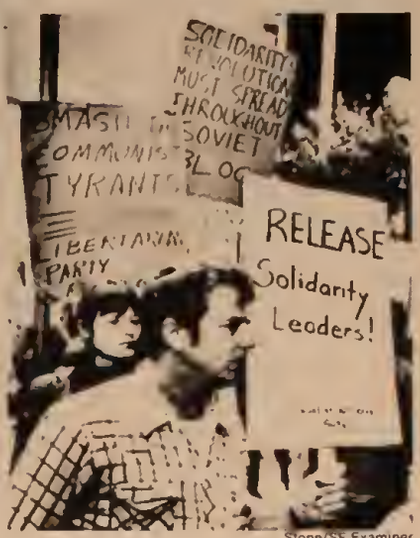


Stone/SF Examiner

**Lech Walesa flaunts money from Western backers (left); Socialist Action leader Nat Weinstein unites with anti-Communists at 1981 rally for counterrevolutionary Solidarność.**

## Groton Shipyard Workers

# Shut It Down—Win the Strike!

GROTON, Connecticut, July 25—Eight hundred shipyard workers and supporters from a dozen area unions rallied at the gates of the Electric Boat shipyard here, as the strike by the Metal Trades Council (MTC) against General Dynamics enters its fourth week. Strikers are prepared to stay out. They are outraged at Electric Boat's "offer" of a wage freeze, paltry lump-sum payments and massive cuts in medical benefits.

The nuclear submarine workers in the ten unions which make up the MTC are among the most highly skilled craftsmen in the U.S., yet the *top* pay for journeymen at "the Boat" is *$12.02 per hour*. One striker told *WV* he was making almost as much working during the strike at Domino's Pizza! Even before the strike, General Dynamics was scouring the country looking for skilled machinists and welders willing to work for these wages. But this arrogant, corrupt Pentagon supplier, which gets away with charging hundreds of dollars for a hammer, is playing hardball against the MTC.

Billed as a "display of solidarity" by the state AFL-CIO, the march and rally drew only token attendance from Connecticut unions. But there were Democratic Party politicians crawling all over it, including the state's top cop, Attorney General Joseph Lieberman. The union tops' phony "friends of labor" came to scavenge for votes, and divert strikers' anger into voting for the Democratic Party of war and racism.

It will take more than the empty "solidarity" speeches heard today to win this strike. Even as the crowd was singing "if the scabs get in the way, we're gonna roll right over them," a block away hundreds of management personnel, draftsmen and scab MTC members were streaming into the yard! A spokesman for the Marine Draftsmen Association, a UAW affiliate whose 1,500 members are crossing the picket lines, had the nerve to brag about their financial support to the strike.

The MTC must enforce the principle that "picket lines mean don't cross!" Mobilize Connecticut labor, including the embattled Colt strikers and the thousands of Pratt & Whitney machinists facing layoffs, to *shut Electric Boat down tight!*

WV Photo

**July 5—Strikers picket Electric Boat shipyard.**

# Democrats...

*(continued from page 1)*

Chile. He's a gung ho militarist, supporting production of the MX missile, Star Wars, the neutron bomb and the B-1 bomber. On "social issues" he's for mandatory prayer in public schools, against federal financing of abortions for poor women, against school busing, for the death penalty and mandatory AIDS testing. In short, he's an all-round reactionary.

In fact, as a Congressman in 1950 Bentsen told Harry Truman to *nuke North Korea*, the line of General MacArthur, the "American Caesar." But that didn't pose any problems for "nuke 'em" Duke. Dukakis was landed on in the primaries for stating openly what has been NATO policy from the start, that he was prepared to launch a *nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union*. In the platform debate at the convention, Dukakis forces defeated the Jackson campaign's call for "no first use" of nuclear weapons by a 2-to-1 vote.

The Democrats are trying to sell Dukakis/Bentsen as a remake of the Kennedy/Johnson ticket in 1960: the Boston/Austin axis. Maybe they plan to repeat the escalating competition between Kennedy and Nixon in the '60 campaign over who could make the more bloodcurdling threats against Fidel Castro. Already Bush has challenged the Democrats to put up or shut up in the "war on drugs" by calling for

New York Times

Vulch/Gamma-Liaison

**Popular front paves road to reaction: Chilean president Salvador Allende (left) moments before his death in 1973 Pinochet coup. Jesse Jackson at labor rally (right): popular front American-style.**

bombing foreign "drug factories." The last time around, this kind of campaign rhetoric led to the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the Cuban missile crisis, the closest the world has come to nuclear Armageddon.

Malcolm X used to say, "If you're voting for the Democrats, you're voting for the Dixiecrats." Southern conservative Bentsen opposes busing for the integration of the schools. Northern liberal Dukakis ran for Massachusetts governor in 1974 in the midst of the Boston busing crisis, calling for "community control" of neighborhood schools. Asked if his plan "was a system to preserve a 'separate but equal' school system in Boston, his answer was 'yes'" (*Boston Globe*, 17 May 1974). And Jackson also opposes school busing. In Norfolk, Virginia when black unionists were marching for busing in 1983, Jackson said he was "not marching for busing. I'm marching for the voter registration boost."

### Jesse Jackson and the Democrats' Plantation Politics

"Hands that once picked cotton now pick the president" has been the slogan of the black Democrats who are making their careers out of selling the black vote to the highest bidder. Stung by the Dukakis-Bentsen slap, Jackson accused Dukakis of "plantation politics" and protested: "I cannot be asked to go out into the fields, pick up voters, bale them up, deliver them up to the big house... and not be part of the equation." So who's playing plantation politics? Baling up the black vote is exactly what Jackson has been doing. As black *Newsday* editor Les Payne wrote (24 July) in a perceptive column:

> "Jackson has never really scared white power brokers. Instead, the civil rights leader has mastered the art of confiscating the weapons from protesting blacks...and finally striking a personal deal often at the expense of those whose cause he coopted."

For his prime time TV slot, Jackson cynically made his entrance with Rosa Parks, whose refusal to sit at the back of the bus sparked the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, the opening shot of the civil rights movement. Jackson began by addressing his delegates, saying "you are seated, but you're really standing on someone's shoulders." In fact, the 3,000-plus black elected officials and 300 black mayors are *standing on the backs* of the 20 million black people in this country, who are still terrorized and forcibly ghettoized at the bottom of American society.

Jackson's "If I can make it, you can make it" rhetoric is a lie. In the first place, he didn't make it. Whether he's brokering black franchises from Coca-Cola or black votes for the Democrats, Jesse Jackson is just a front man for racist capitalism. There was much talk about "how far" blacks had come since the 1964 Democratic convention in Atlantic City. The head of the Mississippi delegation this year was stopped at the door in '64 as part of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation. But the MFDP was an outgrowth of the Kennedy/Lowenstein strategy to channel black anger *away from mass struggle and into the bourgeois two-party trap*.

The most radical period of black history since Reconstruction got under way when black radicals *broke* from the Democrats. SNCC's 1965 Lowndes County, Alabama independent voter registration project was a response to the bitter lessons of the MFDP. Their symbol was the black panther, foreshadowing the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense formed in California a year later. Unfortunately, the "black power" radicals never found the road to workers power, to link the ghetto with the factory. Isolated and powerless, the best were gunned down and jailed, the others hought off as the "black power" movement hardened into the dead end of nationalism.

For almost two decades, there has been a glaring vacuum of leadership for militant black struggle. Today Jesse Jackson is trying to pull out the black vote, with his sermonizing about "a rainbow—the sons and daughters of slavemasters and the sons and daughters of slaves sitting together around a common table." But black people, poor people, working people, have never gotten more than crumbs from the capitalist slavemasters' table. Instead of bogus "empowerment" by voting Democrat, what's needed is a real struggle for working-class power with black workers, the most class- and race-conscious, in the lead.

### Popular Front Chains Blacks, Labor

Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" and the Democrats' "Southern strategy" are part of the same operation. Jackson made this clear from the outset by courting arch-segregationist former Alabama governor George Wallace. Jackson's role was to "broaden the party's base," and here they had some success. There were more black and Hispanic delegates in Atlanta than ever before at a Democratic convention. A thousand delegates, over 20 percent, were union members, and Jackson's name was placed in nomination by Machinists (IAM) president William Winpisinger.

At the convention, the union bureaucrats did everything possible to stay out of sight, so no one could pin the "special interest" label on the Democrats. Dukakis (who said the word "black" once, as part of a statistic) only mentioned labor to exhort it to "work together" with business. All he "promised" to working people was "the kind of America that provides American workers and their families with at least 60 days' notice when a factory or a plant shuts down"! But even that campaign promise didn't do IAM members at Eastern Airlines any good. The day the convention closed, union-buster Frank Lorenzo announced 4,000 layoffs, centering on Miami and Atlanta.

The reformist left which has been beating the drums for Jesse Jackson will now be rounding up votes for Dukakis/

Young Spartacus

**Berkeley, February 1: Spartacus Youth Club demo against fascist führer, Democrat Tom Metzger.**

## Free Union Leader Eliseo Córdoba From the Death Squads!

# El Salvador: 10,000 March Against Anti-Strike Law

Ten thousand Salvadoran workers, students and peasants took to the streets of San Salvador on July 21 to protest the seizure of a union leader and anti-labor emergency legislation. The march, called by the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), aimed to free hospital workers union leader Elisen Córdoba —seized last week by a death squad— from the dungeons of the notoriously brutal Treasury Police. As demonstrators neared the police barracks, cops opened up with automatic rifle fire and tear gas grenades, seriously wounding at least four people. This touched off a running battle through the downtown area in which marchers burned government vehicles as barricades against the police attacks.

The government of U.S. puppet José Napoleón Duarte has proposed an emergency law to militarize public services in response to militant strikes and work stoppages. But with the Christian Democratic government drifting due to Duarte's terminal cancer, an exploding corruption scandal and violent intra-party divisions, restless military officials have vowed to maintain "public order" with or without a state-of-emergency law. The country was thrown into crisis by an electrical workers strike that left 70 percent of the country without electricity for weeks. Two weeks ago air force troops used clubs and tear gas to disperse some 300 workers and peasants who were passing food to strikers in Soyapango.

As the U.S.' bipartisan counterrevolutionary program in El Salvador falters under the blows of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas and the combative working class, the eight-year-old war is entering a decisive period. The electoral victory of the fascistic ARENA party makes a "negotiated settlement" of this civil war ever more clearly a program for an anti-worker bloodbath. And while the Salvadoran workers have repeatedly shown their courage and will to fight in the most dangerous circumstances, they need a proletarian-internationalist leadership, a Trotskyist party fighting for workers revolution throughout the region, from Managua to Mexico.

Class-conscious militants in the U.S. must take the side of our struggling Salvadoran brothers. Free Eliseo Córdoba and all class-war prisoners! Workers take San Salvador!

# KKK Gets Hot Reception in Atlanta

## Racist Lynchers Stopped

Friedman/L.A. Times

WV Photo

**Planned Klan march outside Democratic convention spiked by anti-fascist protesters.**

ATLANTA, July 17—As Dukakis and the Dixiecrats were celebrating the so-called "New South" and preparing their racist "unity" fête inside the Democratic convention here Sunday, the KKK and neo-Nazi skinheads figured they'd march outside flaunting their banners of genocidal violence against blacks, Hispanics and homosexuals. Liberals from Atlanta black mayor Andrew Young to the ACLU had vowed to let the lynchers and Hitler-lovers stalk the streets of this majority black city. But they were thwarted at every turn. The KKK's obscene plan to march down Martin Luther King Drive flying the Confederate flag of racist terror was spiked as some 1,500 demonstrators, many in town to lobby the Democratic Party, blocked their way, then bottled up the Klansmen in an underground parking garage and burned their fascist symbols.

This act, which all working people must applaud, stands in contradiction to supporting the capitalist party whose leaders, including Jesse Jackson, have opposed *any* struggle to stop the racist terrorists. The main concern of the national and local Democratic Party bigwigs was to keep things quiet so they wouldn't have another "Chicago '68" on their hands. With the city in the national spotlight, they were careful throughout the day not to arrest a single person. So faced with a confrontation, the police then canceled the fascists' permit to march. Local director of the American Civil Liberties Union Gene Guerrero grotesquely declared it "shameful" to let leftist protesters "interrupt freedom of speech" of the racist terrorists, and offered to get a court order for the KKK to stage a future provocation. (These liberal civil libertarians are also defending Contragate criminal Oliver North.)

The KKK-linked Forsyth County Defense League and Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement had planned to gather at the Georgia Statehouse and march to the "free speech" pen at the Omni Convention Center. Fascist honcho Richard Barrett denounced "special treatment" of blacks and Hispanics, called to "quarantine queers" and called for purging the Democratic Party of black candidate Jesse Jackson. The Klan presence at the state capitol was also a direct physical threat to the integrated Fannie Lou Hamer Convention being held in a church across the street. But a thousand anti-fascist protesters surrounded the area where the Klan march was supposed to start. The police tried to establish a perimeter and protect the white-supremacists. But when riot cops ordered people to move and pummeled their way through, busting heads in the process, the crowd just sifted around and filled in behind the line of cops.

After blocking the lynchers at the capitol, when reports circulated that the cops were going to bus the fascists to the Omni, many of the anti-Klan protesters headed across town. The All-Peoples Congress (of Sam Marcy's Workers World) contingent gathered in the "protest pen," while the "No Business as Usual" front of Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party plus assorted anarchists and independents refused to enter the "protest ghetto." People milled around in Marietta Street adjacent to the Omni, joined by a number of gay rights activists waiting for a scheduled AIDS demonstration. Stormtrooper Barrett showed up in fatigues, but he was grabbed by the crowd chanting "Klan must go" and the cops had to rescue him.

When two skinheads approached the pen, the anti-fascist protesters hurled rocks and bottles, leaping over retaining walls to get at them and landing some blows before the cops pulled them off. Barrett's pickup truck was discovered, and racist placards and flags were removed and burned in a heap. When a bunch of fascists in paramilitary uniforms started to march up with Confederate flags, protesters drove the scum back into the entrance of a basement car garage protected by rings of cops. With the fascists holed up in their rathole, the crowd rapidly grew, as police lines alternately collapsed and reformed. When the cops pulled up a prison bus to remove the trapped Klansmen, they had to fight their way aboard as protesters closed in and rocked the bus.

The KKK terrorists are a clear and present danger to all minorities and labor and to the democratic rights of all. But the Democratic Party of Dukakis and Bentsen and Jackson, of "Mr. Segregation" George Wallace and fascist Tom Metzger who ran for Democratic nomination for Congress, protect these killers, who are kept in reserve as the last-ditch defense of racist American capitalism. And the Marcyites and other popular-frontists who tail the Democratic Party via the "Rainbow Coalition" do their bit to keep blacks and working people chained to their oppressors. It was under Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter that in 1979 the KKK/Nazi scum assassinated five leftist organizers in Greensboro, ushering in the Reagan years by giving a green light to racist terror. The Klan nightriders and the war on blacks and labor are the domestic side of the bourgeoisie's bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union.

To crush these racist terrorists, what's needed is to mobilize the heavy guns of labor—the only force with the *social power* to sweep away the fascist threat. In Atlanta, the heavily black city and transit workers unions must be prepared to use their muscle to deal a crushing blow against the murderous KKK and neo-Nazi scum. Such labor/black mobilizations are integrally linked to the struggle to politically break the working class from the stranglehold of the partner parties of American capitalism. Labor and blacks: Break with the Democrats—For a workers party! ■

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Bentsen in order to "Beat Bush." In the name of "rejecting the right," the Communist Party is not even running a token presidential campaign this year. The CP's Gus Hall hails the Jackson campaign as "a broad-based, all-people's movement," and offers a four-point agenda for "where we think this movement can go" (*People's Daily World*, 1 July). Hall even talks hypocritically of "political independence." Yet Jackson's campaign is not any kind of social movement, but bourgeois constituency politics; and the fight for working-class political independence means warning against illusions in the popular front.

Another dubious outfit on the fringes of the Jackson campaign is the New Alliance Party, running black psychologist Lenora Fulani for president. With over half a million dollars in federal matching funds already, Fulani describes herself as "the spare tire" to carry the "rainbow agenda" into the November elections. To support Fulani would be an eccentric act, irrelevant to the future of the American proletariat. At a July 19 rally, the NAP offered its platform to anti-labor, pro-Lorenzo forces fighting unionization at Continental Airlines! Even more ominous are NAP ties to sinister black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead and said Hitler was a "great man"!

The coalition politics of the Jackson campaign and its fake-left tails are bourgeois politics. The popular front is the ultimate expression of class collaboration, the polar opposite of class struggle. By tying labor and blacks to their class enemy, it blocks independent struggle against the exploiters, and thus prepares the road to defeat. Jackson herds votes for Dukakis/Bentsen, who promise nothing but union-busting, race-terror and imperialist war. The American version of the popular front may appear pale in comparison to its counterparts elsewhere; but the consequences for the peoples of the world are all the greater.

In the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, the People's Front smashed the Barcelona workers only to be itself defeated by Franco's legions; in France, the parliamentary leader of the Popular Front, Léon Blum, headed off the 1936 general strike and ended up in a Nazi concentration camp. In Chile in the '70s, Allende's Popular Unity wore down the workers' struggles and then fell victim to Pinochet's "constitutional" army. Today in Mexico, a new popular front has formed around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to divert mass unrest over IMF-dictated starvation policies into the parliamentary framework, and already rightist gunmen are at work, shooting down Cárdenas' aides.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in the founding program of the Fourth International, "'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution." Today, the bourgeoisie keeps the popular front in reserve, and also the fascists. Jackson is used to round up labor and black votes, then discarded; the Klan/Nazi bands raise their heads as a warning. But as Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, "Nothing short of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can open a road out." The only road to the emancipation of the working people is socialist revolution, led by a revolutionary workers party at the head of and championing the cause of all the oppressed. ■


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

**Detroit**
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

**Los Angeles**
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

# Turmoil at the Top in Gorbachev's Russia

# Perils of Perestroika

For decades the stage-managed congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were viewed as non-events both in Russia and abroad. But for a few days in late June political people around the world were engrossed by the 19th CPSU conference. It was the first special conference in 47 years. *Moscow News* (17 July) headlined, with more than a little overstatement, "Four Days That Shook the World"—recalling John Reed's book on the Russian Revolution of October 1917. After six decades of heavy-handed suppression, this clash of contending viewpoints in full view of the Soviet population must seem like a revolution. But although "bureaucracy" was endlessly condemned, CP leader Mikhail Gorbachev's program of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) is no answer to the deepening crisis of Soviet society engendered by Stalinist misrule.

A few weeks before the conference, the editor of the official Communist Youth publication *Young Guard*, who had been named a delegate, addressed a meeting of his supposed constituents. But it was not a happy occasion for Anatoly Ivanov, who was raked over the coals mercilessly as an unreconstructed Stalinist and opponent of *perestroika*. At one point the 59-year-old "youth editor" exclaimed, "I am near retirement. Don't worry." When Ivanov finally fled the meeting in his black Volga sedan, an older worker who happened to be there said, "You know, after such a meeting in the Stalin period, half of them would have gone...." And he whistled in the direction of Siberia. This encounter between the hidebound bureaucrat and his *glasnost*-minded "comrades" says a lot about the sharpening tensions in Gorbachev's Russia... and the widespread fear of a return to the dark, not-so-distant past.

When Gorbachev originally called the conference over a year ago, it was expected to be a triumph for "political *perestroika*" with his people replacing the holdovers from the Brezhnev era on the Central Committee. But the conservative *apparatchiks* countermobilized effectively. Many prominent intellectual supporters of *perestroika* were conspicuously *not* selected as delegates. The Gorbachevites were enraged and embittered. Across the USSR, from Leningrad to Magadan, thousands marched in front of Communist Party headquarters crying "we was robbed" in the delegate elections. In Yaroslavl, marchers carried banners declaring, "Comrade regional committee: We're for *perestroika*! How about you?" In Omsk, 7,000 jammed the Dynamo soccer stadium to protest local party leaders imposing their candidates. In Moscow's Pushkin Square, the unofficial clubs Civic Dignity and Commune staged a demonstration carrying red flags with the hammer and sickle and chanting "All Power to the Soviets!"

TASS

**Soviet leader Gorbachev (bottom, right) with perestroika point man Yakovlev and "hardliner" Ligachev (left) at CPSU 19th Party Conference, June 1988.**

These are not the anti-Communist protests of a few hundred pro-Western "dissidents" trumpeted by the imperialist press. Yet neither do they represent a revolutionary opposition to the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. The "soviets" that the Gorbachevites want to "empower" have nothing to do with the revolutionary workers councils of 1917; today these are simply rubber-stamp legislative bodies. As *Business Week* (27 June) put it, "Gorbachev Plots an End Run Around the Party Bureaucrats," by giving greater weight to the government and technocratic bureaucracy. But with thousands protesting in the streets, vociferously debating what were previously closely guarded "affairs of state," this could awaken expectations that the Kremlin rulers cannot fulfill. And if behind the "Leninism" preached by the bureaucracy as the ideological straitjacket of Stalinist rule the Soviet working people rediscover what the living Lenin really fought and stood for, the result will be explosive.

Yet amid all this ferment the decisive social force in the Soviet Union—the working class—has *not yet* entered the political fray. And this is not accidental. *Perestroika* is an *anti*-working-class program, aiming to overcome the "years of stagnation" under Brezhnev through speedup, mass layoffs, inflation and cutbacks in social programs. For the most part the Gorbachevite intelligentsia—Russia's yuppies—deeply resent the working class with its egalitarian values and commitment to economic security. On the other hand, the conservative *apparatchiks* want above all to defend the rigid control of the bureaucratic elite (the *nomenklatura*) over all aspects of social life. The Soviet proletariat is too socially powerful, the issues at stake affect it too directly for the working class to remain passive.

For all the rhetoric about "openness," "soviet power" and "revolutionary change," what all wings of the bureaucracy seem to be squabbling about is who gets more from whom, completely lacking *any* sense of the internationalist foundations of the Soviet state. The technocrats want to screw the workers, the petty profiteers want some easy rubles, the workers and collective farmers rightly want to hold on to the far-from-extravagant living standards they already have. Within the Soviet proletariat there is a deep reservoir of egalitarianism, legacy of the 1917 Revolution. But "socialism in one country"—the program of Stalin and Bukharin (as well as Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev)—is a cruel hoax. The interests of the Soviet masses can only be advanced through a program of world socialist revolution, creating the basis for an *international* planned economy and eliminating the deforming pressure exerted on the Soviet state through imperialist encirclement.

Rather than a return to the soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, Gorbachev's bureaucratic "reform" aims in the opposite direction, toward greater concessions to the imperialists abroad and undermining socialist gains at home. What's needed is a genuine political revolution of the proletariat of all the Soviet peoples to oust the stultifying bureaucratic caste whose continued domination endangers the homeland of October. Above all, that requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party capable of defending and extending the gains of the first workers revolution in history.

### Turmoil at the Top, Fraying at the Fringe

The fissures in the Kremlin oligarchy were displayed quite openly at the conference. Gorbachev lashed out at his conservative opponents for their "undisguised attempts at perverting the essence of the reform." A delegate from the Urals caused an uproar by calling for

New York Times

Podlesnov/Moscow News

**Pro-Gorbachev demonstrators mobilize outside party headquarters in Irkutsk (left) and Moscow City Soviet protesting selection of delegates for party conference and demanding green light for glasnost.**

the resignation of longtime Soviet leader Andrei Gromyko, who as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is the titular head of the USSR. The influential "reform" economist Leonid Abalkin asked rhetorically, "Can we, while retaining the Soviet organization of society and one-party system, insure a democratic organization of social life?" In response, Gorbachev chastised his adviser for lack of faith in the Communist system.

The delegates were also treated to the long-awaited political fistfight between Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Ligachev, darling of the conservative *apparatchiks*. The pugnacious Yeltsin was ousted as Moscow party boss last fall for pushing the reform line too far, too fast. When Reagan visited Moscow this May, Yeltsin called a press conference and told Western reporters that Ligachev, head of the party apparatus, was a closet opponent of *perestroika* and should be dumped. Yeltsin appealed to the conference: "Rehabilitation after 50 years has now become habitual.... I am asking for political rehabilitation while I am alive" (*New York Times*, 2 July). For now, he didn't get it. Ligachev hit back, calling Yeltsin a "destructive force" who considers "the work of the party and the people is in vain."

Overall, Gorbachev performed a careful balancing act, seeking to raise himself in bonapartist fashion above the contending bureaucratic factions. As it turned out, the conference was not a triumph for the conservatives, nor was it a setback for Gorbachev. The main proposals coming out of the conference are for a new "strong" president on the American or French Gaullist model and for a mammoth super-parliament combining the bureaucratic "soviets" with representatives of (presumably pro-Gorbachev) mass organizations. The stated purpose is to provide some mechanism to energize or sidestep the notoriously sluggish party apparatus. While the top levels of the party and state bureaucracies (the *nomenklatura*) closely overlap, lower down many government officials are non-party intellectuals and technocrats who are Gorbachev's people.

No doubt, Gorbachev is also seeking to protect himself from Khrushchev's fate, that is, being ousted by his colleagues in the party leadership. (Ligachev pointedly reminded the conference that Gorbachev was installed with his and Gromyko's support.) But setting up a bonapartist president and a parliament aping the corrupt bourgeois talk-shops of West Europe is hardly a step toward genuine soviet democracy.

The turmoil at the top of the Kremlin hierarchy has spread to the intelligentsia and national republics of the Soviet Union. In the weeks leading up to the conference, the tiny self-styled Democratic Union (some of whose leaders are funded by the notorious CIA conduit, the National Endowment for Democracy) staged demonstrations in central Moscow raising the slogans "Down with tyranny!" "Down with the KGB!" On one occasion another "unofficial" group also turned up, carrying portraits of Marx, Lenin and Gorbachev and a large banner saying "Socialism, Not Stalinism." The police couldn't figure out who they were and so let them alone. Meanwhile, in the Georgian town of Gori—Stalin's birthplace—copies of Anatoli Rybakov's *Children of the Arbat*, a powerful novel about the onset of Stalin's terror, are being burned by youthful Stalin-worshippers.

The most dramatic and explosive political unrest has been in the Caucasus and Baltic regions. In February violent national conflict erupted between Armenians and Azerbaijanis over the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Since then scores of people have been killed in communalist rioting, while Armenia was paralyzed by mass protests and strikes. These protests were suspended for the party conference. But when the conference failed to satisfy the Armenian demands, the protests resumed with even greater fury. One person has been killed and over 30 injured in violent clashes between Soviet army troops and demonstrators trying to shut down the airport of Armenia's capital, Yerevan. In response, an emergency session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was called which on July 18 rejected the Armenian claim for Nagorno-Karabakh.

The decision was announced in a three-hour TV broadcast of the Supreme Soviet debate, with Gorbachev reading the riot act to the Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders for fostering national rancor. In response, more than 200,000 protesters flooded the center of Yerevan, shouting down Armenian CP leader Suren Arutyunyan every time he tried to speak. As we go to press, tens of thousands continue to demonstrate every night. Nagorno-Karabakh, which was paralyzed by a general strike for two months, is under virtual martial law, with Soviet troops searching cars and trucks for weapons. Typesetters for the paper *Sovetsky Karabakh* refused to publish the central government's decision. At the same time, Moscow ordered the deportation of Paruir Airikyan, a prominent Armenian nationalist agitator, who was simultaneously stripped of Soviet citizenship.

Sipa

**Armenians demonstrate in Moscow. Program of perestroika heightens national tensions in USSR.**

Nationalist agitation has also hit the Baltic republics. The CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd has long dreamed of counterrevolutionary dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Last month thousands marched through Riga singing the Latvian national anthem and carrying flags of the bourgeois independent Latvian state of the interwar years. In neighboring Estonia the Gorbachevite intelligentsia has set up a non-party "People's Front," which on June 17 organized a mass rally of 150,000 around the demand for complete economic autonomy. Originally proposed by sociologist Tatyana Zaslavskaya, a leading intellectual light of *perestroika*, such organizations can easily slip out of the control of the Kremlin. In reality, the People's Front is a front for resurgent nationalism. They march behind the flag of the interwar Estonian republic, which outlawed Communists, barred Jews from the universities with the *numerus clausus*, and was a bastion of White Guard reaction.

That resurgent nationalism in the Baltic republics and also Armenia drapes itself in the mantle of *perestroika* is not simply protective coloration. The Baltic region and Armenia are the most economically and culturally advanced regions in the Soviet Union. In the past, centralization from Moscow (despite Great Russian chauvinism) has tended to act as a national equalizer. Now these regions hope to use economic decentralization and market competition as a lever to gain at the expense of more backward areas. When the Armenia crisis erupted, we wrote:

> "Except where it serves as a cover for capitalist counterrevolution, we support the right of national self-determination for the various Soviet peoples—i.e., the right to secede and form a separate state. And we do not regard as sacrosanct the internal national boundaries of the USSR, which the Kremlin bureaucracy has arbitrarily fixed."
>
> —"Behind the Armenia Crisis," *WV* No. 450, 8 April

But by intensifying national divisions and inequalities, Gorbachev's *perestroika* is stoking the fires of nationalist antagonism.

### The Andreyeva Letter

What a year or so ago seemed a shading of opinion within the Soviet leadership has become a hardening rift. The evident differences between Gorbachev and Ligachev are narrow. The No. 2 party leader does not criticize Gorbachev's appeasement of Western imperialism, from disarmament to Afghanistan to Angola. He has repeatedly declared his support for market-oriented economic reforms, though perhaps less sweeping and rapid than Gorbachev would have it. The battle lines have been drawn instead over *glasnost*. It is here that Ligachev has set the terms of engagement. Yegor Ligachev is no old-line Stalinist, nor a stodgy holdover from the Brezhnev era. Like Gorbachev, he was elevated into the Kremlin hierarchy from the provinces in the early '80s by the late Yuri Andropov. Ligachev won favor with the austere Andropov because he was reputedly the only party first secretary in a major city (Tomsk, in Siberia) who did not take bribes.

Ligachev is worried that *glasnost* could go—is going—too far. Beginning early last year he began hammering at historians who were exposing Stalin's monstrous crimes: "We are for an honest and open look back, but we are decisively against the falsification of our glorious past and against the portrayal of our history as a series of continuous mistakes and disappointments." Accentuate the positive, he instructed Soviet historians: "the 70 years since the October Revolution have been above all a period of the triumph of socialist construction" (*New York Times*, 24 March 1987). Last fall he publicly criticized the two most vocal advocates of Gorbachev's line, *Moscow News* and *Ogonyok*.

The boldest move by Ligachev's people to scuttle *glasnost* was the "Andreyeva letter." In mid-March a lengthy tract, ostensibly written by a Leningrad chemistry teacher but reportedly edited by Ligachev, appeared in the official newspaper of the Russian republic, *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. The "Andreyeva letter" was a hysterical diatribe denouncing "Glasnost, openness, the disappearance of zones off limits to criticism," as "'prompted' in one degree or another by Western radio stations or by those of our fellow countrymen who are not steadfast enough in their understanding of the essence of socialism." It defended Stalin as one of the "trailblazers of socialism" worthy of "honor and dignity." Ligachev's supporters in the apparatus made sure the "Andreyeva letter" was reprinted in every regional newspaper in the USSR. (The East German Stalinists also printed it.)

Not coincidentally, both Gorbachev and his chief lieutenant, Aleksandr Yakovlev, were out of the country at the time. For three weeks the Gorbachevite intellectuals were paralyzed by this attack on them, orchestrated from the Kremlin corridors of power. When Gorbachev returned from abroad, he moved quickly and effectively to defend his

*continued on page 8*

Unión Soviética

**Autoworkers meeting in VAZ auto plant in Togliatti. Perestroika means speedup, layoffs for working class.**

# Perils of Perestroika...

*(continued from page 7)*

base. Ligachev was called onto the carpet and stripped of his position as ideological overseer. A reply to the "Andreyeva letter," reportedly written by Yakovlev, was printed in *Pravda* and reproduced with ritual self-criticism in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. Now the Soviet press officially declared: "Democratism is impossible without the freedom of thought and speech, without an open and broad clash of opinions...."

The core of the "Andreyeva letter" is the question of Stalin. And for good reason. Exposing Stalin as a psychopathic mass murderer, an enemy of socialism and the Soviet people, calls into question the legitimacy of his heirs, the present Kremlin bureaucracy. To date, most of the attacks on Stalin come from neo-Bukharinite intellectuals and outright supporters of "Western-style democracy," rather than from partisans of authentic Bolshevism. The Gorbachev regime tries to distinguish the "good" Stalin of the 1920s-early '30s from the "bad" Stalin thereafter. Thus at the recent party conference top Kremlin aide Georgi Arbatov, arguing for a ten-year limit on holding high party office, opined that if only Stalin had retired in 1934—before the Kirov assassination, which triggered the bloody purges of all the Old Bolsheviks, loyal Stalinists included—Russia would have been spared so much suffering!

The Gorbachevite intelligentsia looks back not to the Russia of Lenin and the October Revolution, but to the Russia of Bukharin and Stalin and the New Economic Policy (NEP), when the bureaucratic degeneration had already reversed the revolutionary course of the Soviet state. They identify themselves with the "red professors," *spetsy* (technocrats) and Nepmen (petty entrepreneurs) of the 1920s. They see both Trotsky and Stalin disturbing their peace, comfort and social advantages. Trotsky represented the proletarian internationalist response to the pressures of world imperialism on the weak Soviet state—seeking to optimize what they had through industrialization while promoting workers revolution in the capitalist West. Stalin, under the watchword of "socialism in one country," represented the bureaucratic-nationalist response to the pressures of world capitalism.

The Bukharinite Right tried to ignore and deny those pressures, and so advocated a program that would have led to the destruction of the USSR (though this was not their intent). How could the Soviet Union have defeated Nazi Germany if industrialization had proceeded, in Bukharin's phrase, "at a snail's pace"? Of course, history cannot simply be reversed: today the Soviet Union is a great industrial and military power. What then does a neo-Bukharinite program mean in the late '80s? An attempt to increase the economic and social weight of the intelligentsia at the expense not only of the party *apparatchiks* but also the working class. It means raising the incomes of the educated petty bourgeois, shifting economic power to factory managers and technocrats in the name of market competition, promoting a new class of petty entrepreneurs, and even decollectivizing agriculture.

Taubman/NY Times

**Demonstrators in Tallinn raise flag of interwar bourgeois Estonian republic, viper's nest of anti-Semitism and fascism.**

### Stalinism, Perestroika and the Working Class

Alongside the Ligachev offensive against *glasnost* in the press and intellectual life, there is passive resistance to *perestroika* in the economic sphere. The reforms in the name of enterprise "self-financing" have been undercut and even sabotaged by the bureaucracies of the industrial ministries who use state orders (which have priority) to try to retain their old control over the enterprises. The result of this turf war has been a kind of bureaucratized economic anarchy. At the conference, the director of a machine building factory was heavily applauded when he attacked the endless forms and reports, demagogically thundering: "You've got to kill the people producing them." He also illustrated how *perestroika* threatens central planning and the state monopoly of foreign trade—fundamental conquests of the October Revolution—remarking: "To tell you the truth, we don't need ministries. We earn our own feed. We earn our own hard currency. What can they give us? Nothing."

In terms of their economic impact on the working class, Gorbachev's policies represent not de-Stalinization but in many respects a *re*-Stalinization—widening income differentials between managers/technocrats and workers, between skilled and unskilled labor, reintroducing piece rates. The labor policies of *perestroika* are strikingly reminiscent of Stalin's anti-egalitarian campaigns. The 18th Party Conference in 1941 decreed:

> "We must liquidate completely the rotten practice of egalitarianism in wages and must achieve the objective of making out of the piecework and bonus system the most important factor of the struggle for increased labor productivity...."
>
> —quoted in *Zakonodatelstvo o trude: kommentarii* (Moscow, 1947)

Compare this with the principal architect of *perestroika*, Abel Aganbegyan: "we want to start now to end the general levelling process which developed in the past and to introduce well-founded differentials in wages dependent on results" (*The Economic Challenge of Perestroika* [1988]).

International News

**Leon Trotsky, co-leader of October Revolution and founder of Red Army, waged internationalist fight against Stalin's "socialism in one country."**

When Stalin died in 1953 practically the entire industrial proletariat was on piece rates and almost a third on "progressive" piece rates. This meant that their wages increased and decreased more than their output. The harsh labor discipline and extreme inegalitarianism of the Stalin era fueled potentially explosive working-class discontent. Thus Stalin's heirs moved to rapidly improve the condition of Soviet workers. Investment was shifted from heavy industry to consumer goods. Income differences between production workers and managers/technocrats were narrowed considerably. By the end of the Khrushchev period in the mid-1960s, little more than half of production workers were still on piece rates, while "progressive" piece rates had been eliminated completely.

While the Brezhnev regime cracked down on dissident intellectuals, it continued and deepened the "soft" line toward the workers. In fact, this was probably the major factor accounting for the exceptional internal stability of Brezhnev's 18-year reign. By the late '70s Soviet workers were guaranteed a job and a modest standard of living without having to work very hard for it. Now all this is threatened. A piece in the *New York Times* (10 May) noted how workers see the effect of *perestroika* as attacks on their basic rights to housing, job security and medical care. It described a recent "Soviet-style layoff" at the port of Ilyichevsk on the Black Sea, complaining it could only be carried out "according to the rules of the social contract, keeping the people who needed the jobs, not the people the company needed most." Soviet workers find mass unemployment so inconceivable that many literally do not believe the conditions of homelessness and despair which are rampant in American and other Western cities.

Now, to overcome the economic stagnation, the Kremlin bureaucracy under Gorbachev wants to use the whip of market competition on the workers. To date, Soviet workers appear perplexed and frustrated. *Perestroika*, they are told, will overcome the "years of stagnation," leading to increased productivity and Westernized economic conditions. Yet economic growth is now *slower* and the supply of consumer goods, especially food, is perhaps *worse* than in the last Brezhnev years. (And economic parasitism, from the black market to prostitution, has reached epidemic proportions, reminiscent of the profiteers who flourished in the late NEP period.) As a result of "self-financing," many enterprises are not able to meet their payrolls on time. A working-class delegate at the recent party conference exclaimed:

> "Where is perestroika? The situation with food has not changed, except now there are coupons for sugar. Meat is still unavailable, industrial goods have disappeared in some places. Understand me correctly. I do not say all this to build up tension but to express to the delegates the pain that tortures all the workers."

How much longer will Soviet workers endure that pain without protest?

Not all (only most) Gorbachevite intellectuals are gung ho for "market socialism" and hostile to the interests of the working class. Boris Kagarlitsky, principal organizer of the Federation of Socialist Clubs, has polemicized against the "free market" economists like Nikolai Shmelyev. In an article appearing in the West German *Arbeiterkampf* (2 May) he argues: "Certain situations are such that the methods of the market not only don't solve existing problems but conjure up even catastrophic results." Kagarlitsky's own solution is a confused amalgam of liberal Stalinism and syndicalism:

> "The democratic character of planning can, on the one hand, be attained through a developed system of workers self-management in production—moreover, not only at the factory level but also at the level of factory associations,


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entire 'firms,' and branches of the economy—it can, on the other hand, be secured by a democratic structure of the state itself."

On the one hand, planning is incompatible with self-management, whether of individual enterprises or entire branches of the economy. If enterprises totally control their own inputs and investment funds then they can relate to other enterprises only through the *exchange of their products on the market*. On the other hand, a democratic structure can only be secured through the Soviet working class reasserting its political power through organs of soviet democracy as in October 1917. But in the absence of a revolutionary-internationalist perspective counterposed to *all* variants of Stalinism, strikes and workers protests could be diverted into support for the Gorbachev reformers promising "democratization" or even for old-line Stalinists using populist demagogy. Gorbachev's "self-reform" is an illusion; the bureaucratic apparatus must be shattered, and it is not excluded that in the course of a political revolution sizable sections of the bureaucracy would split and go over to the side of the proletariat.

### Smash Imperialism Through World Revolution!

The current crisis of Stalinist rule in Russia is directly linked to the increasing pressure of U.S. imperialist militarism—Cold War II. The Gorbachev regime has responded to that pressure with a policy of *global appeasement*, demonstrated most strikingly in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This betrayal poses a terrible bloodbath as the CIA's Islamic cutthroats are out to kill every unveiled woman, leftist and modernizing intellectual in that country. There are, however, people in the Soviet Union, especially veterans of the Afghan war, who understand this and do not like Gorbachev's sellout. The *afghantsy* are an increasingly vocal force, demonstrating in the streets and reportedly being taken into the Communist Party in large numbers.

Now, even Brezhnev is being presented as some kind of ultraleft adventurer in international affairs. The Gorbachev regime is echoing the *Reaganite line* that Soviet aggressiveness, not the intransigence of American imperialism, was responsible for Cold War II. This is spelled out in a recent article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* by one Vyacheslav Dashichev, a leading ideologue in Moscow's Institute for Socialist World Economics:

> "We are convinced that the crisis was caused mainly by the miscalculations and incompetent approach of the Brezhnev leadership towards foreign policy.... For the West, the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence reached a critical point when the USSR sent troops into Afghanistan."
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 29 May

The Gorbachevites are denouncing and moving to reverse the few instances when the Brezhnev regime materially supported national liberation and progressive struggles in the so-called Third World. Beginning with the abandonment of Afghanistan, Moscow is now pressuring the left-nationalist government in Angola to agree to the removal of the Cuban troops sent there when the South African army invaded that country in 1975-76. Moscow has also offered to cut off all military aid to Sandinista Nicaragua if Washington stops funding the contras. And to placate Washington and Peking, Gorbachev's Kremlin is pressuring Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, whose people it saved from the unspeakable horror of Pol Pot. To this end Moscow is threatening to cut back its pitifully inadequate aid to the Vietnamese, whose incredible heroism and sacrifice inflicted upon U.S. imperialism the greatest defeat in its history.

Where Gromyko was widely known in Western diplomatic circles as "Mr. Nyet," now they're calling Gorbachev "Mr. Da." But the Kremlin's policy of appeasement has only emboldened Western imperialism to push forward in its ultimate goal of destroying the Soviet Union. Harvard Cold War ideologue Adam Ulam writes triumphantly that the Soviet evacuation of Afghanistan represents "what has been a cardinal goal of American foreign policy at least since 1947—containment and even 'roll-back' of Soviet imperialism" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 May). Believing they have successfully "rolled back" Soviet power in Afghanistan, U.S. rulers will intensify their efforts to roll back Soviet power in East Europe. To this end, as even the *New York Times* (10 July) now admits, Washington funnels millions to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność (see article, page 3).

Nickelsberg/Time

Fagel-Armand/AFP

**Soviet troops pulling out of Afghanistan (above), paving the way for bloodbath by CIA-backed Islamic fanatics. Below: Soviet Afghan war veterans at memorial for comrades who fell doing their internationalist duty.**

For its part, the Kremlin bureaucracy, forged under Stalin, opposes any perspective for proletarian revolution to destroy Western imperialism from within. Indeed, the ideological triumph of Stalin is so complete that the present-day Soviet intelligentsia take "socialism in one country" for granted (except for those who are for the restoration of capitalism). All the attacks on Stalin's crimes now being made in the Soviet press and literary works are focused on the national terrain. There is no interest or concern over Stalin's (and Bukharin's) misleadership which derailed the Chinese Revolution in the mid-1920s; the strangling of the Spanish Revolution in the late 1930s for the sake of friendship with British and French imperialism; the disarming of Communist partisans in France, Italy and Greece as part of the Cold War division of Europe.

The deep faith in socialist internationalism which animated their grandparents is totally missing in today's Soviet intellectuals. This is true even for those who claim to oppose Stalinism in the name of genuine Marxism, from Kagarlitsky to Roy Medvedev. Medvedev has gone from outcast to "Prophet with Honor" (*Newsweek*, 4 July) under Gorbachev. In his book *On Stalin and Stalinism* (1979), Medvedev dismisses Trotskyism as "ultraleftism" and the Fourth International as a quixotic sect. His neo-Bukharinite outlook excludes the possibility of proletarian revolution in any Western country. The October Revolution is for Medvedev a historically and nationally unique event, its main value being to lay the basis for the modernization of Russia. Such a nationalist view can only strengthen the ideological hold of imperialism over its own working classes.

For Lenin as well as Trotsky, the Bolshevik Revolution was the first great victory in the world socialist revolution. Soviet workers resisting the effects of *perestroika*, those who distrust Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism, those who fight against Great Russian chauvinism in the name of proletarian internationalism, will find in Trotskyism their own *class answer* to the corruption, economic stagnation and political cynicism engendered by bureaucratic rule. That answer is proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin oligarchy and restore soviet democracy and socialist economic planning. That answer is the Trotskyist perspective of "permanent revolution," including the extension of the Russian October to the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan.

For a planned economy based on soviet democracy! Soviet history belongs to the Soviet peoples—Open the archives! For unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! Taking up the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition, fighting for a Soviet section of a reforged Fourth International, is the only realistic course which can save the Soviet peoples and all of humanity from a nuclear holocaust launched by the decaying capitalist order. ■


# JUST OUT!
## Spartacist Pamphlet

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**Included in this pamphlet is "The Bukharin Dossier," reviewing the career of the Right Opposition leader Nikolai Bukharin, today frequently presented in the Soviet press as the "godfather of *perestroika*." The article also discusses the "rehabilitation" of "Old Bolsheviks" purged and murdered by Stalin's counterrevolutionary terror.**

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# Racism and Anti-Semitism in Chicago

CHICAGO—The furious power struggle that erupted upon the death of black mayor Harold Washington last December fueled a recent outpouring of anti-Semitism, racism and blatant hypocrisy on the Chicago political scene. Early in May, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League released to the press tapes of "lectures" given at meetings of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam headquarters by black nationalist bigot Steve Cokely, in which he fulminated about a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world and charged that the AIDS epidemic is a result of "Jewish doctors" who "inject the AIDS virus in blacks." Cokely was an aide to black mayor Eugene Sawyer, who was put in office last December by the bloc of racist aldermen representing the white wards on the City Council, joined by a few defectors from Washington's "reform group."

Amidst the uproar ignited by Cokely's anti-Semitic ravings, a group of black aldermen marched a phalanx of cops into a private exhibit at Chicago's Art Institute to arrest (for "inciting to riot") a painting entitled "Mirth and Girth," which depicts Harold Washington in a bra, panties and garter belt. Like any black citizen of Chicago, the painting was abused (slashed) while being taken into custody. In the aftermath of these events there was a grotesque role reversal, with several black aldermen and political heavies simultaneously defending the "rights" of an outright bigot (Cokely) and attacking freedom of expression, while the cultural Babbitts of the white racist aldermanic bloc cynically postured as opponents of racism and champions of the First Amendment.

Before coming under Sawyer's wing Cokely worked the black neighborhoods of the 10th Ward under former Democratic Party county chairman (now a Republican) Edward Vrdolyak, who led the racist City Council opposition to Harold Washington. Cokely is a sinister demagogue who echoes the pogromist "theories" of Lyndon LaRouche. He is a dangerous man—to blacks as well as Jews. He aims to provoke race war, and in this deeply racist country, blacks and all minorities can only lose. Not surprisingly, Cokely's best defender was Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan. After Cokely was fired, Farrakhan quickly offered him a large hall in which to spout his anti-Semitic garbage.

But sinister anti-Semites like Farrakhan weren't the only ones jumping to Cokely's defense. Some black leaders like alderman Bobby Rush and Operation PUSH president Willie Barrow tried to get Cokely off the hook by railing against racist "double standards" by which white politicians regularly commit racist atrocities, like Ed Koch's barrage against Jesse Jackson during the New York State primary. But by saying, "We are tired of apologizing," Barrow is alibiing Cokely's anti-Semitic filth—as well as letting Koch off the hook for his cop terror against blacks and other minorities in NYC. Racist pigs like Koch must be brought down by massive labor/black struggle, not held up as legitimate models for demented "leaders" like Cokely to emulate.

AP

**Chicago cops, black aldermen "arrest" painting of late black mayor Harold Washington at Art Institute.**

In fact, Cokely's anti-Semitic fantasies were picked up by some of those who defended him. Lu Palmer, a well-known Chicago black political activist, defended Cokely down the line on TV, saying, "I think it is certainly possible that Jews, not just Jews but whites, are in a conspiracy to rule the world" and said he wouldn't be surprised at "doctors injecting AIDS in black children" (*Washington Post*, 9 May). When, after much waffling, Mayor Sawyer finally fired Cokely, the black Chicago *Defender* (1 June) saw it as the result of "Jewish pressure," even though some black politicians and plenty of other non-Jews were outraged by Cokely's speeches.

The black misleaders apparently think they can buy a few crumbs off the table of racist American capitalism by scapegoating Jews. They are dead wrong. Cokely labeled Harold Washington a "nigger" for visiting North Side Jewish businesses after they were vandalized by Nazi punks on the anniversary of Hitler's *Kristallnacht* pogrom last November. Yet the nightriders who carried out this attack are the same scum who firebomb black homes on the Southwest Side! The only way to defeat these genocidal fascists is class struggle that unites all their intended victims—blacks, Jews, leftists, gays, etc. behind the power of the integrated unions.

Southwest News-Herald

**Segregation City powder keg. White racist punks threaten anti-Klan marchers at Marquette Park, June 1986.**

Cokely's perspective of anti-Semitism and race war is a trap for black people.

Alderman Alan Streeter, one of Cokely's defenders, was among those who censored the painting of Washington on the grounds that "the law of decency transcends the First Amendment" (*Sun-Times*, 22 May). Streeter also disgustingly (and inaccurately) baited the painter, David Nelson, as a Jew. After a long meeting with the mayor, the Art Institute school apologized in a full-page newspaper ad "for the distress and concern that this painting caused to the community" while disapproving of the "method" used by the City Council to remove the painting. Nelson, a graduating senior at the school, is being represented by the ACLU in a $100,000 civil rights lawsuit against three of the aldermen who removed the painting (Streeter, Rush and Dorothy Tillman) along with unnamed police officers.

By all accounts Nelson does not seem a racist and fancies himself an "iconoclast." We won't pass judgment on the artistic merit of his "Mirth and Girth" painting (evidently a takeoff on the "Girth and Mirth" gay men's clubs). It is certainly insensitive, but art is often at its best when it offends existing social convention and hypocrisy. Still, this painting seems at best obnoxious and at worst bigoted. It's not that black elected officials like Washington don't deserve to be disparaged for acting as overseers on Reagan's plantation. But the Nelson painting seems merely to pile homophobia onto virulent American racism. An iconoclast, dedicated to knocking down society's prejudices, he's not.

Black Democratic politicians like Bobby Rush would have us believe that the police department which carted the painting off to jail can be used to protect blacks from bigotry and racist oppression. No way! Twenty or so years ago Bobby Rush was a Black Panther, and this same Chicago police department, armed fist of the capitalist ruling class, blew away Rush's comrade Fred Hampton in his bed because he was black, militant and some kind of socialist. The right of artistic expression, and the right of free speech in general, are historic achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution over medieval obscurantism, gains which today are under full-scale attack by capitalism in its decline.

But art exists in the real world. It is not surprising that some white aldermen were rumored to have requested copies of the Nelson painting for their offices. We remember as well that during Washington's first election campaign against Bernard Epton in 1983, racist caricatures of Washington hung in every police precinct in town. It is quite conceivable that Nelson's picture could quickly become placards at a Klan rally. In that case, given the appropriate social power (for example, an integrated mass labor mobilization) such "art" would come down and its "connoisseurs" would be dispersed. Racist mobilizations are not a matter of free speech, but a rallying point for deadly violence. Indeed, the "prestigious" School of the Art Institute of Chicago has not been immune to the resurgence of racist bigotry that has hit American campuses in recent years.

In this rigidly segregated city the potential for ferocious racist mobilizations is an ongoing threat to the oppressed black and Hispanic populations. With a mayoral election scheduled for next April, the racist drive to install a white mayor—whatever the cost—will unleash the same rabid bigots who terrorized blacks in the unsuccessful attempt to stop Washington in '83. Recently black families living in white bastions of the Northwest Side have been terrorized by a Klan-style cross-burning, shots fired at their homes and acts of vandalism—their lives are in danger! The black Democratic Party politicos celebrate the newly forged "unity" they achieved in the "struggle" against the Nelson painting, yet they are part of the apparatus enforcing grinding poverty and unemployment, segregation, cop terror and racist attacks on the black masses.

Both Sawyer and alderman Timothy Evans, his main black mayoral competitor, claim the mantle of Washington's "reform movement." Washington's 1983 election fueled the hope of blacks for at least a fair shake. But Harold Washington was a bourgeois politician who loyally administered Chicago on behalf of the capitalists. Despite Washington's popularity in defeating the racist Democratic Machine in 1983, his five-year administration betrayed the aspirations of black Chicago—as we warned from the beginning that it would. Washington's defense of the racist status quo was most clearly expressed on 28 June 1986, when the Ku Klux Klan mobilized up to 3,000 virulent racists in Marquette Park. Even though Washington himself was a prime target of these hooded terrorists, he told black people to stay home and give the Klan the "silent treatment," while his cops attacked and arrested leftists and blacks who attempted to protest the Klan mobilizations.

There is an answer to racist terror—militant labor/black struggle. Six years ago on 27 June 1982, the Nazis threatened to rally against Gay Pride Day. They were stopped. Thousands turned out—blacks from the South Side, Jewish concentration camp survivors from Skokie, leftists, gays, unionists—to a labor-backed mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League and directed at smashing the Nazi threat. Not one of the black elected officials was present that day: the Democratic Party instead sent a large contingent of cops who defended the Nazi scum. Last year when the racist cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay and family, beating them up and then outrageously charging them with the assault, her ATU union brothers and sisters mobilized and stopped the racist cop frame-up.

Today while the Reagan machine is grinding down, racist attacks are rampant. And black politicos like Jesse Jackson spread the word: Don't struggle, vote Democrat. The Democratic Party of war and racism, which still maintains the allegiance of black and working people, is the main roadblock to revolutionary struggle in this country. Urgently needed is a revolutionary workers party to fight all oppression and exploitation and consign the racist American ruling class to the dustbin of history. Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party! ■

# Angola...

*(continued from page 12)*

helicopters and SAM antiaircraft batteries. In a series of battles in the early months of this year they made mincemeat of the apartheid forces. The last South African attack was repulsed on March 23, sending Pretoria's army scurrying out of Angola into Namibia.

In May, reportedly reinforced with another 8,000 troops, the Cubans went after the retreating South African forces, leading to another confrontation in late June at Calueque, only seven miles from the Namibian border. A joint Angolan/Cuban force of 600 infantry, 35 tanks and a dozen MIGs flown by Cubans, augmented by Namibian guerrillas of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation), reportedly bombed the Calueque dam and inflicted what the NATO house organ *Jane's Defence Weekly* (9 July) described as "one of the heaviest losses experienced by the South African Defence Forces...during the 13-year-long war."

When Pretoria reported that 12 white soldiers died, it sent shock waves through South Africa. (As usual they did not mention casualties among the black troops who are the overwhelming majority of South African forces in Angola.) Like Zionist Israel, white-supremacist South Africa is stunned when even a single white soldier is killed in combat by blacks. This battle ranks as an unprecedented military defeat for the apartheid regime. The South African army, strained by continuing black unrest in the townships and a growing draft refusal movement among liberal whites, has been compelled to call up reserves. Now even the conservative Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church is calling for withdrawal from Angola.

Castro claimed that "the history of Africa will have to be written before and after Cuito Cuanavale." Yet *Granma* headlined its report of the impressive Cuban triumphs in Angola: "We Don't Want a Military Victory Over South Africa, We Want a Fair Solution." The Cuban Stalinists are ready to throw away hard-won battlefield gains as a bargaining chip to cut a deal with the Washington/Pretoria axis because, like their Soviet mentors, they are committed to "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist warmongers in the White House. Now the *Los Angeles Times* (14 July) reports that part of the deal includes forming a "new government of national unity" in Luanda including

Lopez/NY Times

WV Photo

**CIA/South Africa flunkey Savimbi meets with Reagan. Spartacist League protests Savimbi appearance at "Freedom House," February 1986.**

"the U.S.-backed rebel forces led by Jonas Savimbi."

The Angola accords are a spin-off of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow. Such deals only encourage the imperialists to more aggression, ultimately threatening the gains of the Bolshevik October Revolution. But it may not be so easy for Moscow to "extinguish" the "regional hot spot" in southern Africa. South Africa—and the U.S.—wants the Cubans to get out immediately so it can have a free hand in the region, while Cuba and Angola have insisted first on guarantees for Angolan security and independence for Namibia, both of which require the withdrawal of South African troops. In recent months UNITA has increasingly moved its support bases to American-backed Zaïre in the north. And Washington now says that since it is not a signatory, it intends to continue arming UNITA.

While the pressure to capitulate is coming from the Kremlin, the Luanda regime has been pleading with Washington for a while. Despite its "socialist" coloration, adopted by virtually every "Third World" nationalist movement, the MPLA (which now calls itself the Party of Labor) has sought all along to build up a bourgeois state. Critically dependent on the Gulf Oil complex for hard currency, the Luanda regime has deployed nearly half the Cuban garrison in the north, many protecting the Cabinda oil fields. From the moment they came to the aid of black Angola in 1975, we have supported the Cuban troops fighting the CIA/South African-backed forces—without giving political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists in Luanda.

AFP

**Cuban and Angolan forces near Cuito Cuanavale, where they smashed South African offensive in March 1988.**

Today, after more than ten years of civil war, Angola is in ruins and the poverty-stricken regime—like all the so-called "front line" black states from Mozambique to Zimbabwe—can see no solution except to bargain away the country to imperialism. Genuine social and national emancipation of the post-colonial states of southern Africa, rent by tribal divisions within borders arbitrarily drawn by their former imperialist masters, is inextricably tied to proletarian revolution by the overwhelmingly black working class of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the region.

Yet it is precisely this perspective which the Moscow and Havana Stalinists oppose. Soviet "experts" have recently advised the African National Congress to clamp down on any talk of "socialism" and even questioned majority rule, proposing instead a "bicameral parliament that would give the white minority an effective veto" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 February)! But just as the 1976 defeat of the South African incursion into Angola helped inspire the Soweto uprising, a genuine communist party in South Africa could use the shock of the recent military defeats to push forward a revolutionary struggle against apartheid by the powerful black proletariat which holds the promise of liberating all of black Africa from the imperialist chains.

No sellout in Angola! For workers revolution in South Africa! ■

# Loyal Garner...

*(continued from page 12)*

their mother, Mrs. Sarah Garner, when Willis was released. After the whitewash verdict in the "civil rights" case, attorneys for cops Thomas Ladner, Bo Hyden and Bill Horton filed a motion to dismiss the murder charges which were eventually filed in Tyler, on the grounds of double jeopardy. The motion was denied and the trial is set to begin on August 8.

It is not surprising that the jury of eleven whites and one black, drawn from the pool of registered voters in a town like Hemphill, Texas, would acquit the racist killers of a black man from "outside." The county seat of Sabine County, a town of 1,500, half black, Hemphill is nestled in the pine forests sloping down to the old Sabine River bottom, now flooded to make a reservoir. It is a poor, hackwoods Southern town, probably little changed from the '20s and '30s. The surrounding countryside is not planted in cotton anymore; the economy, what there is of it, is a mix of livestock raising, dirt farming, leasing mineral rights and a little tourism (selling worms and minnows as bait to anglers who come to fish at Toledo Bend reservoir).

In Hemphill, pickup trucks sport the Confederate flag of slavery on bumper stickers almost like a second license plate. For blacks, there are few jobs in town save as domestic "help" for the better-off whites. The civil rights movement for the most part missed this East Texas backwater. Sabine County schools are integrated, it's about the only place where blacks and whites meet. Black kids get the hell out of town as soon as they can and move to Shreveport, Houston—anywhere is better than this. Some hellholes are so irremediably backward and racist that it will take the equivalent of Sherman's march to the sea to make them fit for habitation. The wanton killing of Loyal Garner—described by a white friend as "one of the finest men I ever met in my life, white or black"—puts Hemphill high up on that list.

But this murder is no fluke. It is simply distilled racist state violence, like some bootleg swamp swill, made in the "piney woods" of East Texas. The county cops who murdered Loyal Garner differ from the big city police only in the technological sophisticatinn and quantity of weapons at their disposal. As we wrote in "Cop Terror Stalks Black America":

> "Black people in America receive mixed signals. There are some areas of formal equality.... Jim Crow is supposed to be dead. And in some circumstances, you're allowed to act like the formal equality is real. Until you find yourself in a situation where the real racist rules apply. Loyal Garner made a horrible mistake. *He thought he had rights*; after being arrested, he thought he could ask to make a phone call. That mistake was fatal."
>
> —*WV* No. 444, 15 January

On the streets of America's cities, North and South, whether isolated backwater or cosmopolitan center, *the cops will blow you away without notice because you are black, or Hispanic, or anyone else who doesn't "look right."*

From the LAPD's racist "drug war" dragnet that is rounding up thousands of black and Hispanic youth, to the NYPD's 50-block chase and execution of Lidia Ferraro, the cops carry out New York police chief Ben Ward's admonition: "Kill 'em all and let God sort 'em out." And after the cops kill, they walk. Just last week, Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau's grand jury cleared Ferraro's killers of any wrongdoing. He used Reagan's Iran Airbus defense: so it was a mistake, tough; we shoot first and ask questions later, and we have the guns. The cops are given the green light by their bosses, from the White House to the governors and mayors—and from Texas to New York City, that means the Democratic Party of racism and war.

Loyal Garner's family will not get "justice at the bar," whether in Hemphill, Texas or Washington, D.C. The murder of Loyal Garner will only be avenged at the hands of the revolutionary working class, black, brown and white, led by an integrated, class-struggle workers party marching to victory. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

AFP

Soldier of Fortune

**Cuban troops and Soviet arms, such as antiaircraft missile battery (left) have been key in stopping South African invasion (right).**

## Bitter Fruit of Gorbachev's "Peaceful Coexistence"

# Angola: Rotten Deal with Apartheid Terror

On July 13 representatives of South Africa, Angola and Cuba announced in New York that they had reached an accord on the "essential principles" of a plan to end the 13-year-old war in Angola. Brokered by Reagan's hatchet man for African affairs, Chester Crocker, during a secret three-day meeting on Governor's Island in New York harbor, the "principles" commit Angola and Cuba to a "staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops" from Angola. In exchange, South Africa agrees to implement a ten-year-old United Nations resolution calling for reducing the number of South African troops in Namibia (Southwest Africa) and UN-sponsored elections there.

But Cuban troops and Soviet arms have been the decisive military factor in thwarting Pretoria's designs of transforming black Angola into a neocolonial vassal state ever since South African troops invaded that newly independent country in 1975. Coming in the wake of the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan, this rotten deal is one more product of Mikhail Gorbachev's conciliation of U.S. imperialism. If implemented, it offers up resource-rich Angola on a silver platter to the apartheid regime. And it's all the more galling because it comes *only weeks after South African troops got their asses whipped by combined Cuban and Angolan forces.*

A year ago South African forces reinvaded Angola in a bid to shore up its puppet Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA mercenaries in their war against the Soviet/Cuban-allied Angolan nationalist regime. Savimbi has also been receiving "covert" aid from the CIA to the tune of at least $15 million a year since 1985. The U.S. aid now includes Stinger antiaircraft missiles which were used to shoot down an Angolan passenger plane, killing over a hundred. Late last year more than 6,000 heavily armed South African troops moved against Cuito Cuanavale, a vital government supply base in southern Angola, and by January they were hurling some 200 artillery shells a day onto the town.

In response, according to the official Cuban newspaper *Granma* (12 June), Cuban president Fidel Castro offered the Luanda regime reinforcements including "the best Cuban MIG-23 pilots until air and antiaircraft superiority over the enemy was achieved." The first contingent of Cuban reinforcements arrived in Cuito on December 5, along with Soviet tanks, MI-24 attack

*continued on page 11*

## Outrageous Whitewash of Texas Killer Cops

# Loyal Garner Was Victim of Racist Murder!

On July 15, the three East Texas cops who six months ago beat the life out of Loyal Garner, Jr. were acquitted by a Hemphill, Texas jury—of violating his civil rights. Garner was the black Louisiana government worker and father of six who last Christmas night drove across the Texas line to retrieve a friend's car. After he was stopped by Hemphill cops and refused a breathalyzer test, the police hauled Garner and his two friends in. When Loyal asked to make a phone call to his wife, the cops worked him over and dumped him back in his cell, his head bloody and battered. He lay there until morning, when he was flown to a hospital in Tyler, Texas, where he died on December 27. "It was," we wrote at the time, "a chemically pure case of the violence against black people which permeates this racist country."

The "trial" of the killers of Loyal Garner proved it again. His younger brother Willis was pulled out of the courtroom and taken to jail "after a local woman complained he was breathing on her neck from the seat behind her" (*New York Times*, 10 July). Even the suggestion of a breach of the South's prime tahoo, physical contact between a black man and a white woman, was enough to set the cops in motion again. "I've lost one son in Sabine County and I'm not going through this again," said

*continued on page 11*

AP

**Loyal Garner, Jr., beaten to death in jail by racist cops.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 459 | 12 August 1988


## Smash Feds' Vendetta Against Teamsters!

# Unchain the Unions!

## Bury Reagan Reaction—Screw the Democrats! Fight for a Workers Party!

AP UPI

**PATCO leaders in chains as Reagan crushes 1981 air controllers strike. Right: Philadelphia Teamsters in support of hard-fought 1983 ATU strike against Greyhound.**

Union leaders in chains like black slaves in the Old South. So opened the 1980s. Reagan's crushing of the PATCO air controllers strike, just a few months after becoming president, set the tone for a decade of union-busting. Greyhound, Hormel, Massey Coal—hard strikes ending in bitter defeat. Pickets run over and killed by scabs. Miners militants sentenced to 45 years in prison. The largest union in the country, the Teamsters, targeted by a government takeover. The giveback contract and "union-free environment" became the hallmarks of the '80s, where the new "growth industry" is in union-busting outfits. Membership in major unions has declined by over a third since the '70s, from 10 million to 6.5 million.

The massive assault on the union movement has gone hand in hand with a racist offensive against black people, rolling back the minimal and token gains of the civil rights movement. Hospitals are closed, public education is a cruel farce—and increasingly segregated. Philadelphia cops and black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, in cahoots with Reagan and Meese, firebombed the MOVE commune. Unemployment among black youth has been over 30 percent for the past 15 years.

The American ruling class and its mouthpieces are proclaiming the death of the labor movement. "U.S. Labor's Lost Clout" headlines a recent piece in the *New York Times*. Writing in *Business Week*, liberal economist Gary Becker tells American workers to scrap their existing unions and replace them with Japanese-style company unions. Collaboration between labor and capital is preached as the only salvation for the American economy with its massive foreign debt and a shrinking industrial plant.

But American working people have not embraced the cult of corporate greed. There is real class hatred for the Wall Street operator flaunting his BMW and his 65 credit cards. This was captured in the popular film *Wall Street*, which pits the sleazeball corporate raider Gekko against the upright leader of a local airline mechanics union. (Typically, though, the honest union man aims only to negotiate a less giveback contract with a less sleazy raider.)

The spectacular discrediting and unraveling of the rabidly right-wing Reagan regime with the Iran/Contra-gate scandal created an opening for workers and the black and Hispanic poor to strike back at the misrulers of this country. And whether the yuppie technocrat Dukakis or Ivy League wimp Bush wins in November, workers won't be facing a "strong" president in the White House. Under these conditions working-class discontent is beginning to make itself felt in the unions. A fighting labor leadership is desperately needed to translate this opening into some real victories.

To paraphrase Mark Twain, reports of the death of the American labor movement are greatly exaggerated. As *Business Week* (18 July) notes:

> "Everyone knows that labor has lost its clout at the bargaining table. Everyone, that is, but rank-and-file union members. In the past few months members of several large unions have angrily rejected contracts negotiated by their officers. The resulting turmoil has threatened to unseat several union leaders and caused confusion for employers."

At General Electric (the company which launched Reagan's political career) local union officials recommended rejecting the new contract. Rubber workers at Goodyear sent their officials back to the bargaining table. Over 60 percent of truck drivers voted down the latest national contract (which didn't prevent the bureaucrats from shoving it down their throats). And workers in the heart of the "military-industrial" complex—at General Dynamics' Electric Boat yard in Groton—defied the Pentagon and have gone out on strike.

But it will take more than an upsurge of union militancy to turn things around in this country. The disastrous decade for labor is not simply a result of presidential union-busting, unrestrained corporate greed and sellout bureaucrats. The capitalists have run this country's economy into the ground. The average age of an American industrial plant is now 17 years (compared to ten years in Japan). Over 13 million workers were thrown into the streets by plant closures, while overall two million industrial jobs have disappeared in the last decade. Basic industries like steel and auto have been gutted, turning much of the Midwest into a rust belt. The U.S. is being turned into a "service economy" with Wall Street yuppies earning $100,000 at one end and black ghetto youth slaving for subminimum wages at the other. Moreover, a recent government survey reports that 45 percent of the working-age population in

*continued on page 10*


Behind the Bombing of Hiroshima

**Racism, Anti-Sovietism and Atomic Holocaust....7**

120,000 Japanese Americans Interned in WW II

**The Infamy of America's Concentration Camps....6**

# Pakistani Women March Against Zia's Islamic Terror

Women's organizations in Pakistan are marching in protest against military dictator Mohammad Zia ul-Haq's recent move to impose full "Islamization." In Karachi and Lahore in late June, police tried to block women's marches with barbed-wire barricades, attacking the protesters with steel-tipped batons, kicking and beating many of the women. But several hundred courageously marched again the next week in Lahore, chanting angry slogans against the "Sharia Ordinance," General Zia's latest effort to put Pakistan under Islamic law.

In West Berlin, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, joined Pakistani demonstrators in a united-front protest on June 30 against Zia's crackdown. The TLD's signs included: "Down with the Veil! Down with Islamic Reaction!" and "For a Socialist Federation of the Indian Subcontinent!" Opposing racist attacks on immigrants in West Germany, the TLD also demanded: "Smash Fascist, Anti-Semitic Terror! For Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations!"

When Zia first seized power in a military coup in 1977, he introduced barbaric laws including such "Islamic punishments" as public whipping, cutting off the hands of convicted thieves and stoning to death women convicted of adultery. He also proclaimed the Hadood Ordinance, which equates adultery and rape, denies women the right to testify in these matters and requires proof of four male witnesses for both. Now, after eight years of serving as a conduit (and taking his own cut) of massive U.S. aid to the reactionary Afghan *mujahedin* fighting the Soviet-backed Kabul regime, Zia is trying to steal the fundamentalists' thunder to prop himself up.

Independent

**Pakistani women march through Lahore protesting Islamic law, which enslaves them to the veil.**

Following his abrupt dismissal of the tame government in late May, the fanatical dictator announced on June 15 that Islamic law ("Sharia") must prevail. Islamic fundamentalists especially want to overturn the 1961 Family Laws Ordinance, which fixes a minimum age of marriage (to abolish the practice of child brides), gives the right of divorce to women, undercuts divorce by repudiation (men could previously divorce their wives simply by saying "I divorce you" three times), as well as providing some rights regarding custody of children and inheritance for women. Already the Islamic religious leaders, the *ulema*, have begun censoring television ads, banning any that show women wearing makeup or even walking (!), while women are to be allowed on stage only if covered in thick chadors (veils).

The women protesters are drawn from largely urban and professional upper-class layers. As in Iran before the fall of the bloody, CIA-backed dictatorship of the Shah, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women in Pakistan have had some freedoms such as being allowed to go to university and enter professions, and the right to vote (when the dictatorship allows elections). But the fragility of such secular, modern practices was demonstrated by the coming to power of Khomeini's religious theocracy in Iran in 1979.

The inability of the weak native bourgeoisies of countries such as Iran or Pakistan to undertake thoroughgoing modernization, to carry out land reform or guarantee simple legal equality for women, proves the burning need for workers revolution to achieve the most basic democratic rights. Pakistan itself was founded as a "Muslim state," artificially carved out in the bloody forced partition of India in 1947, and today is an unstable mosaic of different tribes and peoples, from the Baluchis in the west to the northwestern Pashtoon tribes.

The most popular opposition politician in Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of former prime minister Ali Bhutto (who was arrested and later killed by Zia in 1979), has carefully stayed away from "women's issues," according to Pakistani women's groups. Though she has reportedly criticized the Islamization program, nonetheless her father's Pakistan People's Party based itself on "Islamic socialism," and she too as a bourgeois politician seeks deals with the forces of ultra-reaction in Pakistan.

According to the *New York Times* (14 June), Bhutto "recently concluded an informal understanding with the most powerful of Pakistan's fundamentalist religious parties, the Islamic Party, which used to be more or less allied with General Zia." Bhutto even undertook an arranged marriage to appease the reactionary *ulema*. Ironically, she joked then that the surest way to get Zia to call new elections would be for her to become pregnant, since this would presumably prevent her from campaigning. Zia dissolved the government only four days after her family announced she was pregnant!

Zia, to maintain his power, is quite prepared to condemn the women of Pakistan to the pre-feudal conditions faced by women in Afghanistan prior to the Soviet Army's occupation in 1979. Gorbachev's pullout today is a bitter betrayal of the liberation of those women. As one of our TLD comrades' signs at the June 30 West Berlin demonstration demanded, "Afghanistan: No Withdrawal, Red Army Must Win!" We noted last year:

> "General Zia's Pakistan is highly unstable. Baluchi and Pashtoon peoples separated by an imperialist border from their tribal brothers to the north already are attracted by overtures from Kabul, and there are reportedly thousands of Pakistani oppositionists in exile in the Afghan capital. And smashing the Afghan Islamic fanatics could revive revolutionary agitation among the working class in neighboring Iran, now suffering under the theocratic, clerical-feudalist regime of Khomeini's ayatollahs no less than it did under the hated Shah."
>
> —*WV* No. 420, 23 January 1987

The current unrest and new assaults on women in Pakistan show that the fight for women's liberation is a great motor force for social revolution, which must be led by the proletariat. Pakistani women's fate, and that of the entire working class, is bound up with that of the powerful proletariat of the Indian subcontinent. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For a socialist federation of the Indian subcontinent! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Imperialist War Crime Against Japanese Americans

*The incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps at the outbreak of World War II flowed from the same mixture of racism and capitalist greed as the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of that imperialist war. While the Stalinists supported both these war crimes of U.S. imperialism, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party defended the Japanese Americans and exposed the hypocrisy of America's "war for democracy."*

Soon after the shooting stage of the war with Japan began, these citizens, in flagrant violation of their civil rights, were yanked from their farms and homes and were herded into virtual concentration camps, known officially by the polite name of relocation centers. This illegal repression was carried out by the law-enforcement agencies after a campaign by the capitalist press to whip up racial prejudice under the guise of national patriotism....

The Japanese people are intelligent and alert, and beneath their external racial characteristics they are indistinguishable from any other human, be he white or black. The working class in Japan is economically enslaved and driven to war by Japan's four ruling industrial families, whose lust for profits and power is the same as that of America's sixty and Britain's thirteen richest families.

The Japanese-American workers are not only our comrades in the world class struggle for socialist liberation, but they are also our brothers through oppression in this capitalist "democracy."

Let us not fail to rally to their side and fight back against the attacks of the common enemy!

—"Plight of Japanese-Americans," *Militant* (10 March 1945)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 459** **12 August 1988**

**West Berlin, June 30—German Trotskyists in united-front demonstration against Zia's terror. Signs say: "Afghanistan: No Withdrawal—Red Army Must Win!" and "Down with the Veil! Down with Islamic Reaction!"**

## Over the Berlin Wall

# Escape from the "Free World"

WEST BERLIN—It was a "world turned upside down," according to the Deutsche Presse Agentur, West Germany's principal news agency. In the early morning of July 1 they were presented with the spectacle of around 200 West Berlin youth clambering over the Berlin Wall *into East Berlin* in order to escape a brutal assault by the cops of the "free West." Using police barriers as makeshift ladders to get to the top of the Wall, the youth waved the East German flag in defiance of the cops below. Those arch-villains of Cold War propaganda, the East German border guards, then took the 200 "refugees" off for free coffee, breakfast and cigarettes before escorting them to the exits back to West Berlin.

As one youth said, "If the Amis [Americans] see all this jumping the Wall on television today, then they can just forget the whole crap about the Wall. It throws everything out the window for them." Indeed it was a most entertaining blow to the anti-Soviet propaganda machines of the West Berlin Senate, West German government and Washington.

Reuters

**200 West German youth, escaping brutal cop attack, scale Wall into East Berlin.**

How did all this come about? In May about 40 "Green" activists and anarchist types occupied a small piece of overgrown land on the West side of the Wall, which the West Berlin Senate had bought from East Germany last year in order to build a four-lane highway through the city. When some youths wanted to save the shrubs, they came up against the full power of the capitalist state.

The Ed Meese of West Berlin, right-wing Christian Democrat Interior Senator Kewenig, considering the area a "lawless zone," decided to make it safe for the "free world." Using as a pretext that one of the occupiers was playing around with a toy gun, Kewenig's cops declared the camp dangerously armed and sealed off the whole area with barricades. On June 20, for two and a half hours the cops launched a barrage of tear gas against the camp, only interrupted by the firing of water cannons at the occupiers. Three were seriously injured and had to be hospitalized. Small wonder the protesters climbed over the Wall to East Berlin, fleeing further police assaults.

For more than 25 years the Berlin Wall has been the Western imperialists' favorite Cold War symbol. At this site in 1963 John F. Kennedy declared, "*Ich bin ein Berliner*." And Reagan went to the Wall in 1987 in his first visit to West Germany since saluting the Nazi killer elite at Bitburg two years earlier. To prevent West Berlin youth from protesting the anti-Communist warmonger from Washington, 10,000 police occupied the city as Reagan, surrounded by barbed wire and bullet-proof glass, spoke on the "free world" side of the Brandenburg Gate.

The imperialists hate the Berlin Wall because it was erected as a barrier to the capitalist reunification of Germany. The Wall was a measure, albeit a bureaucratic one, to defend the collectivized economy against imperialist pressure, specifically the massive hemorrhaging of state-trained East German professionals and skilled workers to the West in the early '60s. But today thousands of East German émigrés are returning from the West, disillusioned by the impossibility of finding jobs in the "free world." And now West German youth scale the Wall to find refuge from the club-swinging cops unleashed by their own "free world" bourgeoisie.

## Smash the Racist Witchhunt—Drop the Charges!

# FBI "Terrorist" Scare Targets Arabs

On July 20, the FBI rounded up eight people in the D.C. area, Denver and Ann Arbor, dragged them into court in chains and ordered them held without bail. The gutter rags howled, "Plot to Kill Ollie North Foiled" (*New York Post*, 21 July). An FBI agent testified that Libyan agents were gathering personal information about a highly placed government official in order "to kill this government official." A government spokesman "revealed" a lurid made-in-Libya conspiracy to avenge the 1986 bombing of Tripoli, complete with "hit lists" naming over a thousand U.S. federal employees, including former Lt. Col. Oliver North of Contragate fame.

When North appeared before the Congressional Contragate committee, he played for sympathy by claiming the shadowy "Abu Nidal" was out to ice him for his "anti-terrorist" efforts. Now with North facing indictment, his pals point the finger at a Jordanian-born American, Mousa Hawamda, who runs a Washington travel agency! Even a Justice Department official sneered, "If we have information that shows this guy was plotting to kill North, we should charge him with it. We haven't" (*New York Times*, 23 July). The only charge the government has come up with is that the eight allegedly violated the U.S. trade embargo against Libya by using funds intended for support of Libyans studying here to finance demonstrations, pro-Qaddafi T-shirts and travel by American radicals to Libya. Yet bail for Hawamda was set at an extortionate $250,000! The six Libyans indicted have now been released on bail.

This is an obscene farce straight out of the Reaganauts' looking-glass world. Oliver North *is* a terrorist, whose crimes include masterminding the bombing raid aimed at assassinating Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. And North had more than a couple of grenade-toting commandos at his disposal. He dispatched a squadron of supersonic F-111 bombers from Britain and the Sixth Fleet to blow away a hundred Libyan civilians including Qaddafi's baby daughter. Now they're targeting anybody who solidarized with Reagan/North's victims: within days, the feds had extended their net to include black and American Indian activists who had traveled to Libya or demonstrated opposition to the U.S. terror bombing. Smash this vile racist witchhunt! Drop the charges now!

The arrests capped a yearlong FBI "Operation Friendly Skies," ordered by Reagan's recently departed top cop/crook, Ed Meese (whose crony, Henry Hudson, is the prosecuting attorney). Hawamda himself has been subjected to government persecution for over three years, subpoenaed by an earlier grand jury investigating Libyan "terrorism" from which no charges resulted. According to Hawamda, his only connection to Libya was in the sale of airline tickets to the regime for Libyan-sponsored students studying here. Now the FBI says he cooked the books to funnel the funds into trips by American activists to Tripoli. In the meantime, the government is dredging up claims of unpaid back taxes and student loans (Hawamda came here in 1974 as a student, getting a PhD in nuclear physics from Georgetown University). Some "terrorist conspiracy"!

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) president Abdeen M. Jahara blasted the witchhunters for attempting "to smear the reputation of innocent individuals and the entire Arab population." The ADC reports that it has received "a rash of calls" from people who have been "visited" and intimidated by the FBI. As Jabara's statement noted, Arab people in this country have been the repeated target of racist "anti-terrorist" campaigns by the terrorists in the White House, including the FBI's "Operation Boulder" in the '70s and the "Libyan Hit Squad" scare in the early '80s. In 1984, following the Beirut fiasco, Reagan even blocked the entrance to the White House with sand-filled dump trucks and let it be known that the presidential guard was equipped with Stinger surface-to-air missiles! The government's racist "terrorism"-baiting campaign has led straight to hideous anti-Arab terrorism by sinister ultrarightist forces, including the October 1985 assassination of Alex Odeh, West Coast ADC head.

In March 1987, Dr. M.T. Mehdi, secretary general of the National Council of Islamic Affairs, was stripped of his U.S. passport and had his papers and notes seized by immigration officials after "violating" a ban on travel to Lebanon—where he had gone to negotiate for release of American hostages! Seven Palestinians and a Kenyan—supporters of the Palestinian nationalist PFLP—were arrested and dragged into court in Los Angeles last year, charged under the McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act for "advocating Communism." And now, on August 5 an Appeals Court ruling has upheld Reagan's unconstitutional 1987 closing of a PLO information office in Washington, D.C.

On August 2, 50 people gathered outside the U.S. Court House in Alexandria, Virginia to protest the witchhunting grand jury, which had subpoenaed All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party activist Bob Brown and American Indian Movement leaders Bill Means and Vernon Bellecourt for traveling to Tripoli. For refusing to appear before this star chamber, the three have been threatened with jail on contempt charges to be heard August 17. Brown told the protesters, "We proudly traveled to condemn this government's barbarous act and to confirm our First Amendment right to free association." Bill Means added that they were "representing all Americans who feel they have a right to travel, feel it's illegal and immoral to bomb innocent women and children."

In March 1986, the AAPRP called an emergency united-front protest against the Sixth Fleet attack on Libya in the Gulf of Sidra. This was followed by a second protest at Howard University following the murderous bombing raid on Tripoli, which was one of the *only* campus protests against Reagan's atrocity. The Spartacist League (which, immediately after the U.S. attack, sent a journalistic team to Libya in solidarity) participated in both those protests, as well as agitating within the labor movement for action protesting Reagan's murder missions. That fall several members of the Howard student government traveled to Libya and reported back on their trip to Howard students. Now the government is trying to launch a vendetta against black and other minority activists for daring to oppose U.S. racism abroad and at home.

The lame-duck gang in the White House is pretty zany, but U.S. imperialism's global terrorism is bipartisan policy. This bizarre witchhunt targets all opponents of America's war on the peoples of the world. Hands off pro-Libya activists! Drop all charges now! Smash the witchhunt! ■

# Bitter Legacy of Reutherism

# GM/Toyota, UAW Tops Team Up Against Workers

OAKLAND, California—At GM/Toyota's joint New United Mntors Manufacturing Inc. plant in Fremont, members of United Auto Workers Local 2244 say that "NUMMI" really means "No Union Militant Members Included." This is the "showcase" of the "team concept" of production. It's not done with high-tech robots and Japanese management techniques, but plain old *union-busting and speedup*, where the "production teams" are used to make workers enforce their own exploitation. NUMMI workers got another dose of it when the UAW tops rammed through a rotten contract last month.

The "team concept" at NUMMI is being replicated throughout the GM empire, as local is pitted against local in a desperate scramble for jobs. At GM's Van Nuys plant in Los Angeles, two years ago workers narrowly accepted, under threat of a plant closure, the massive job combination and speedup engineered by this company unionism. Last winter GM, with the aid of the Solidarity House tops, tore up seniority at Van Nuys during a layoff, rather than break up the "teams." In May, both UAW Local 645 shop chairman Pete Beltran and vice president Michael Velasquez were fired in a transparent move by GM and the UAW tops to get rid of critics of their speedup schemes.

The "team concept" is being ballyhooed as some exotic Japanese device which will rescue the decaying U.S. auto industry by eradicating "antagonism" between labor and capital. Bullshit! The only difference between the "team concept" and the company unionism of 60 years ago is that this time it is being sold by the traitors in "Sacrifice House," who are more protectionist than their capitalist bosses, bashing Toyotas in union parking lots and not a peep on the racist murder of Vincent Chin. The fight against the GM/Solidarity House team requires the construction of a militant, internationalist leadership which can *unite workers in class struggle*, from Detroit to Mexico to Japan.

### "If You're Not Going to Use the Union Hall Why Don't You Sell It!"

While the Big Three contracts grant a miserly 3 percent wage increase the first year, and lump-sum bonuses and wage freezes the next two, the NUMMI contract doesn't fork over the 3 percent until the third year, continuing until 1990 the wage freeze at Fremont which started in 1985. The ratification "vote" was held on company property in full view of management observers. No microphones were set up, so there was no discussion. Workers were given a hastily written three-page summary sheet and expected to vote in 30 minutes. Ballots were passed out like leaflets—a hoss' son was seen with five! One worker, irate over the abomination that was being carried out, shouted, "If you're not going to use the union hall why don't you sell it!" The Oakland *Tribune* described this farce as an "informational" meeting. It certainly wasn't a union meeting, and to no one's surprise the contract passed.

Local elections, which preceded the contract expiration, were held on June 1. The Administrative Caucus, the hand-picked traitors who run the local, were challenged by the People's Caucus, the usual collection of outbureaucrats. *Both* caucuses support the "teams," the trashing of seniority rights, and one of the worst contracts in the UAW's history.

At NUMMI the team system has reduced all job categories to essentially one—whatever the hoss tells you to do that day. Relief workers are gone—it's back to pre-union days of workers pissing in their pants on the line. Off-the-line jobs for older workers have disappeared, contracted out for less money to a workforce of predominantly non-English-speaking Hispanic women. The cafeteria workers are organized into a separate UAW local for a lot less money. Gone is the old CIO principle of one union under one roof.

The present union leadership of the "reconstituted" Local 2244 at GM/Toyota was hired *before* the plant opened so they could screen new applicants and weed out former union militants, leftists and workers with medical problems. For production workers it's work like hell, and when the line slows down workers are pulled off to maintain the hellish pace. Skilled classifications have been eliminated, and there is backbreaking overtime. Safety went out the window on day one. Production workers are doing burning and welding jobs after seeing a 30-minute video! Through brutal speedup and job combinations GM has slashed the labor necessary to assemble a car at NUMMI from 22 to 14 hours.

All this has happened because the union has given the company a free hand. "Team leaders" (who are in the union) are groomed for management, and the company simply threw out seniority in the selection procedure so they could hand-pick their favorite stooges. Teams don't make decisions—the team leader is called in, told what to do, and that's it! Area committeemen are rarely seen on the floor, and local union affairs have been moved from the hall across the street to the labor relations office, where Local 2244 officials share desk space with the hated company labor reps! During the recent local union elections it was reported that the incumbents had won only ten grievances in three years. That came as a surprise to many NUMMI workers, who didn't think they had won a single one.

Racism has reared its ugly head again. In the predominately white stamping department (management's showcase), a black inspection worker was harassed by threatening racist notes. The company tried to fire the victim, claiming incredibly that he wrote these notes to himself! With the union off the shopfloor, KKK types have begun to crawl out from under their rocks, prompting some black workers to refer to the stamping department as "Klansville." The stamping department was exempted from rehiring provisions that brought back black production workers from the Oakland area.

Margaret Moulton

**GM/Toyota's Fremont NUMMI plant: "Showcase" for speedup and company unionism.**

### Democrats and Givebacks

How did the union which seized GM's plants and brought the auto giant to its knees in the Flint sitdown of 1937 become such craven enforcers of labor discipline at plants like NUMMI? For years, Walter Reuther's "Treaty of Detroit" gave auto workers their annual 3 percent increase, while the union bureaucracy guaranteed the capitalists free rein on the shopfloor, labor peace and support for U.S. imperialism. The UAW tops stood behind GM boss Charles Wilson's slogan, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country"—as long as they got their "piece of the pie." To maintain class peace in the late 1960s and early 1970s Reuther and his lieutenants crushed a revolt in the auto plants led by radicalized black workers.

In the late 1970s, after raping the industry of its value for decades, the auto companies turned to Reuther's apprentice, Doug Fraser, for the givebacks that would destroy decades of union gains—and the livelihood of hundreds of thousands. The smashing of PATCO and union-busting concessions are now synonymous with the Reagan years. But it was the givebacks extracted by Chrysler and the UAW tops at Chrysler in 1979 which began a wholesale assault on industrial unionism in this country. And like the plans to crush the air controllers union, concessions began under the Democratic Party of Jimmy Carter.

The bosses were in trouble and the workers were going to pay through the nose to restore "profitability." The AFL-CIO, and especially the UAW misleaders, ran point for the capitalist austerity program, whipping up poisonous anti-Japanese protectionism. With saber rattling in the interest of the bourgeoisie's trade wars, they forked over *billions* in givebacks, while arrogant auto bosses like Lee Iacocca raked in millions in bonuses and stock options. The UAW tops, led by Fraser, became outright *cops* for the capitalists, joining the Chrysler board of directors. What auto workers got was a job massacre: UAW membership dropped from 720,000 in 1979 to 527,000 in 1984; black Detroit was decimated.

The latest contracts with the Big Three threw a few bucks into auto workers' paychecks, but most of this was lump-sum "bonus" payments that will cost UAW members millions in overtime premiums and shift differential payments. And the job slashing continues. While UAW chief Owen Bieber's PR reps churn out lying press releases about "job security," the companies are streamlining their operations using the same "job security" provisions to ax jobs. Current contracts say that layoffs can "only" occur if sales sag! That's about as useful as the Democrats' bill for workers to get 60 days notice before being thrown on the street.

The bogus "plant closing morato-

WV Photo

**Pete Beltran, former shop chairman at GM's Van Nuys plant, fired last May for opposing speedup.**

# French Printers Roll Back Union-Buster

## 500 Unionists Occupy Plant

Langerin/Sygma

**CGT printers and union officials occupy Massy plant after driving off boss Didier's goons.**

In one of the first significant labor struggles since Cold War "Socialist" François Mitterrand was elected to a second term last May, French printers rolled back a major union-busting provocation in the Parisian suburb of Massy in late July. Print boss Jean Didier, known as the "Rambo" of the industry, boasted at the height of the struggle that the name "means that I do what nobody dares do: take on the CGT." But the pro-Communist CGT union took Didier on—and won! By occupying the plant, the CGT printers local at Massy forced a notorious anti-union employer to back down, demonstrating again that seven years of popular-front betrayals have not succeeded in sapping the combativity of the organized French proletariat.

The action started on June 13, when Didier fired two workers (with 38 years seniority between them), allegedly for fighting. In response to protests and work stoppages Didier escalated the attack directly against the union, firing 19 elected union officials (whose jobs were supposed to be "protected" by the contract) and three other CGT militants. When the union occupied the factory, he cut off water and electricity and succeeded in locking out the workers.

At the end of July, after six weeks of lockout, Mitterrand's minister of labor called on Didier to reopen the plant "without preconditions"—i.e., without insisting on firing the 24 workers. Didier was recalcitrant, vowing that he would refuse to obey any government orders or court injunctions and would rather close the plant than cave in to the CGT. Having announced that work would begin again on Monday, July 25 (without the fired workers), he barricaded himself inside the plant over the weekend, together with some 60 "security guards" (hired from a Paris agency that specializes in bodyguards) ostensibly to enforce "order" when production began. At this point, the CGT decided to take decisive action.

Early on the morning of July 25, as three busloads of elite CRS riot police stood by, about 500 CGTers, mainly union officials, converged on the plant. Inside were Didier and his mercenaries—armed with air rifles, rubber bullets, buckshot, tear gas grenades, steel bars encased in rubber, numchaku, bulletproof vests and more. The union forces, armed only with iron bars, ax handles and slingshots, gradually drove the "security guards" upward through the plant. In the middle of all this, the minister of the interior announced in a radio interview that the CRS would not intervene in the fighting. Only after Didier and his mini-army had retreated to his rooftop office did the CRS show up to negotiate their release and evacuation from the plant through two rows of CGT militants.

Didier has built his small but growing press empire through modernization and virulent anti-unionism. His confrontationist tactics against the CGT and his declared aspiration to become No. 1 in the industry do not endear him to the giant Hersant empire or the other French press magnates. The CGT controls what amounts to a closed shop—a rarity in France—in the daily papers, but is much weaker in the rest of the printing industry. In fact, Massy is the only one of Didier's plants that is significantly unionized.

In 1984, with the blessing of the Mitterrand government, Didier bailed out the Massy plant's former owners, slashed the workforce almost by half, cut wages by as much as 30 percent and increased each shift from six to eight hours. Now Didier no doubt thought he could take advantage of the Mitterrand government's efforts at an "opening to the right" to strike a decisive blow against the only CGT stronghold in his empire. But he miscalculated.

The industrial power of organized labor expressed in militant tactics was not the only factor in the printers' victory. Despite his appeals to the rightist bourgeois parties, Mitterrand still needs Communist Party (PCF) support. The Socialist Party failed to get a clear parliamentary majority in the June elections following Mitterrand's victory and the PCF got a somewhat higher vote than expected (though still the lowest totals since the 1920s). The PCF announced it would support the government on a case-by-case basis. For the government, it was cheap to stand off to one side and let the CGT win a small victory if it could.

After the CGT had reoccupied the plant, the government appointed Jean Miot, a key figure in Hersant and president of the Employers' Association of the Parisian Press, as mediator. This Hersant representative had no love for the upstart Didier. Miot's "settlement" provided that the Massy plant would go back to work on August 1, with the reinstatement of all but the two workers fired for fighting, and a reference to the "permanence" of the plant (which Didier had threatened to close).

Didier's defeat is a clear victory against outright union-busting. But the CGT tops acted carefully to keep the struggle within well-defined boundaries. Typically CGT leader Roger Lancry denounced Didier's private army not primarily as strikebreaking thugs, but on the grounds that it was composed of foreigners: "It isn't normal that French workers are prevented from working by armed foreign goons." In a country where immigrant workers have become an integral part of the proletariat, while suffering acute social persecution, the PCF and CGT have repeatedly appealed to racist and chauvinist sentiments with the slogan "produce French" and the 1981 bulldozer attack by a PCF mayor on a dormitory housing African workers in Vitry.

As was also shown by the militant month-long rail strike in defense of working conditions which rocked the country at the start of 1987, the French working class remains ready to fight to protect its gains—many of which, such as paid vacations, originated with the June 1936 general strike. In Gardannes, in the south of France, miners have been waging a hard-fought strike over wages since April.

What is needed is a leadership committed to the independent mobilization of the workers in defense of their class interests against the capitalist rulers. The PCF/CGT leaders seek a deal with the popular front in power, toward a new "Union of the Left" including the PCF. With Le Pen's fascists an ever-present danger and the capitalists and their "Socialist" lackeys intent on driving down the living standards of the workers, the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, points the way forward for workers and immigrants—the fight for a revolutionary party. As the LTF's candidate in the recent parliamentary elections, Gilles Cazin, a militant CGT auto worker, said during the campaign:

> "There is a revolutionary alternative, the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the workers, in the factories, in the streets, fighting for their own class power: a workers government. That is what the workers of the Paris Commune did in 1871, for a short instant. That's also what the Russian workers did in 1917, this time victoriously, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky." ■

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rium" contract clauses also have reformists like the Communist Party and the social-democratic *In These Times* singing the UAW bureaucracy's praises. The Big Three allegedly "promise" not to close any plants during the life of the contract except those *previously announced* as slated to close. Ford and Chrysler had already closed 40 plants, so this "gain" is a bit late. But for GM, which is still operating with overcapacity, they are getting around this contract provision with a new twist. GM's Framingham, Massachusetts and Kansas City Leeds Assembly plants are shutting down, but management is calling this a plant "idling" and keeping on a skeleton maintenance crew. Ink on paper won't save a job—only class struggle can!

GM and the UAW International have already imposed the "team concept" at 15 out of the 36 GM assembly plants in the U.S. (*International Labor Reports*, Summer 1988). It is being used to pit plant against plant (whipsawing), as the locals that don't go for the teams are threatened with closure. The Norwood, Ohio local was pushed into a bidding war against their brothers and sisters at the Van Nuys plant, offering to produce the same cars $200 million cheaper. At Van Nuys, GM and the UAW International reps used the Norwood "threat" to tighten the screws and pass the speedup plan in May 1986. GM chained the gates at Norwood last year, throwing 4,300 workers on the street.

General Motors vice president Alfred Warren gloated to *Business Week* (24 August 1987), "if I have to put a new product somewhere, I'm going to put it where the attitude is most cooperative." GM then used the wedge to attack seniority at Van Nuys, rotating layoffs by shift in order to preserve the newly created "teams." The membership voted down this dangerous erosion of seniority. The International reps and their flunkeys then forced a revote, and in February it finally passed. A 29-year veteran at Van Nuys said, "What happens if we don't vote for it this time?... Will we have to go four out of seven like the World Series?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January).

### Auto Workers Need a Class-Struggle Leadership

The auto ranks have been screwed by the "Sacrifice House" gang because there is no opposition within the union capable of leading a class-struggle offensive to smash the unholy alliance of the auto bosses and their company cops within the union. The New Directions Movement, a clot of house dissidents brain-trusted by Victor Reuther, support the same pro-capitalist program as Bieber & Co. Jerry Tucker, an International rep in Region 5 (St. Louis) for 14 years, tried to pull a palace coup, lost, got fired... and ran to the bosses' courts and the Labor Department. So the New Directions Movement is allied with the same union-busters from Meese's sleazy gang at "Justice" who are trying to break the Teamsters.

Along with the New Directions outfit, liberal and social-democratic critics of the UAW International have found a "safe" opposition in a group of local officials and hangers-on at Van Nuys Local 645, led by Pete Beltran and Eric Mann. Mann is currently touring the country promoting his book, *Taking On General Motors* (Center for Labor Research and Education, 1987), in which he recalls how he *opposed* sentiment for a plant occupation as "inappropriate." Instead Mann and Beltran led a campaign to pressure GM to keep Van Nuys open with talk of a consumer boycott (trotting out Cesar Chavez who argues that strikes are outdated) and appeals to Democratic Party politicians.

Mann jumps on the protectionist bandwagon, while trying to dissociate himself from the more virulently racist anti-Japanese poison spread by the UAW bureaucracy. In an interview with *Against the Current* (November/December 1987) Mann points to low-wage Korean workers and lectures that "insurgents" in the UAW will "have to at least come to terms with the pressures of international competition." Mann joins

*continued on page 9*

**NOTICE**

**Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated September 9.**

## 120,000 Japanese Americans Interned in WWII

# The Infamy of America's Concentration Camps

In one of the most wanton acts of U.S. imperialism in World War II, 120,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up in 1942 and imprisoned behind barbed wire for the duration of the war. These American concentration camps were run by the U.S. Army under the orders of the Roosevelt administration. Because this unprecedented act of wartime racism was carried out at the highest levels of government, and by "New Deal" liberal Democrats to boot, it was a taboo subject for decades afterward. Now, some 46 years later, at least part of the U.S. government appears prepared to offer a formal apology to those so savagely wronged.

On August 4 the House of Representatives approved a bill worked out with the Senate to give an apology and $20,000 to each of the over 60,000 surviving internees (and lesser payments to some 450 Aleut Indians who were sent to detention camps by the U.S. Army). The White House demanded "modifications" to limit payments and stretch them out over another decade—so presumably even more survivors will die without any compensation—and Reagan has finally agreed to sign it. However, there is a bitter hook embedded in these reparations: any former internee who accepts the money must give up any other claims against the government. Aiko Yoshinaga, who was married and bore her first daughter inside the barbed wire of the Manzanar prison camp, explained, "I will not be able to accept reparations.... Because no matter how nice money is, it cannot pay you for the loss of your liberty" (*Washington Post*, 4 August). She and others are continuing a class-action suit to force the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse its 1944 decision upholding the legality of the government's wartime prison camps.

The minimal decency of a formal apology comes too late for thousands of men and women who have gone to their graves still feeling the ignominy of being imprisoned and branded untrustworthy. The bill's main advocates in Congress were themselves victims of WWII racist hysteria. "My father was not able to talk about this for 40 years," said California Democratic Representative Robert T. Matsui during last summer's House debate.

Elisolon/Life

Carl Iwasaki

**San Francisco family rounded up under FDR/Earl Warren evacuation order (above); barracks at Manzanar prison camp (left).**

The mass internment of Japanese Americans provided a vent for chauvinist frustration after the stunning attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, and also intersected decades of savage anti-Asian racism on the West Coast. White businessmen bitter at the growing economic success of Japanese American farmers saw an opportunity to crush their competition—banks froze the Japanese Americans' accounts, liquor licenses were revoked under "trading with the enemy" laws, and the licenses of "alien" professionals were rescinded. Homes and farms were "repossessed" and loans were extended to white businessmen to seize what Japanese American farmers had so painfully built up by decades of hard work. The Japanese American prisoners were used by the U.S. government as slave labor to harvest crops in the West, and given token wages they were forbidden to spend in the towns they passed through on the grounds they would "subvert" the countryside!

At the war's end, the Japanese Americans were unceremoniously dumped out of the camps and told to "go home"—though most had nothing left to return to. Further, the desperate mass renunciation of citizenship many internees had been forced into during their last months in the camps became the focus of lengthy battles as families sought to avoid deportation to Japan. The searing tragedy of smashed lives and hopes has dragged on for almost half a century after the "deactivation" of the concentration camps.

Many American blacks realized that the violent racism and police-state repression which sent the Japanese Americans to concentration camps could easily be directed against them. Black writer Chester Himes has the protagonist of his 1945 novel *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, a black shipyard worker, exclaim:

> "... maybe it wasn't until I'd seen them send the Japanese away that I'd noticed it. Little Riki Oyama singing 'God Bless America' and going to Santa Anita [concentration camp] with his parents the next day. It was taking a man up by the roots and locking him up without a chance. Without a trial. Without a charge. It was thinking about if they ever did that to me, Robert Jones, Mrs. Jones's dark son, that started me to getting scared."

This infamy was not "a democracy's mistake," as the media would have it. It was conditioned by decades of U.S. capitalist racism: the war years starkly exposed the truly bloodthirsty and vicious character of American imperialism. The U.S. provoked Japan into World War II by protectionist barriers against their imports and embargoing oil and steel shipments necessary to the Japanese economy. Following Pearl Harbor the U.S. entered the war with this barbaric atrocity against Japanese Americans at home. And it concluded with the criminal atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroying these ancient cities and massacring their civilian populations (including tens of thousands of Korean forced laborers) in a racist slaughter.

Among the very few who stood up for the Japanese Americans at the time were the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, themselves jailed and persecuted for their revolutionary opposition to imperialist war. In stark contrast, the American Communist Party, in the service of Stalinist class collaboration, dropped its Japanese American members and did nothing as they were taken to the camps, while the *Daily Worker* slandered Japanese Americans as "enemy alien Fifth Columnists" (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977). The CP also hailed the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—even though this atrocity was also a threat to the Soviet Union that U.S. imperialism intended to dominate the world!

It did happen here, and it can again—look at the protectionist Japan-hashing and race-hatred being whipped up by U.S. capitalists who've run this nation's industry into the ground, leading to the murder of Vincent Chin in Detroit by an ex-Chrysler foreman and his stepson because Chin "looked Japanese." Today it's cheap for Congress to shed tears of remorse over the "mistake" and make some token compensation, even as decaying American capitalism is beating the drums of war once again. In the tradition of the Trotskyists during World War II, today the Spartacist League fights against the growing anti-Japanese protectionist poison being sold to the U.S. working class. We fight for defense of the Soviet Union, and for workers revolution to put an end to such racist savagery forever. ■

Wayne M. Collins

**Security police raid barracks at Tule Lake concentration camp.**


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

**Detroit**
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

**Ithaca**
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

**Los Angeles**
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

**New York**
Box 444, Canal St. Sta
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

**San Francisco**
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

# Behind the Bombing of Hiroshima

Der Spiegel

U.S. Army

**A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima, 6 August 1945. Three days later Nagasaki was bombed into irradiated rubble (right).**

# Racism, Anti-Sovietism and Atomic Holocaust

"People in the open air were turned into charcoal.... Some of them were hurnt to death as [they] kept standing with good balance because the heat waves caught them instantly like lighting a flashbulb.... I could see a procession of people fleeing from the direction of the hypocenter.... The skin on faces of people, who had heen facing the light, hung from the tip of the jaws like putting a mask off."

—from the testimony of a Japanese *hibakusha*, or nuclear bomb victim, Yasu Tsuchida, who survived the atom bombing of Hiroshima, in a pamphlet distributed at the "disarmament" march June 11 in New York

President Harry Truman was ahoard the cruiser *Augusta* in the Atlantic when he received word that a U.S. Air Force plane had dropped the atomic homb on Hiroshima on the morning of 6 August 1945. "VISIBLE EFFECTS GREATFR THAN IN ANY TEST" the message read in part. Truman exulted, "This is the greatest thing in history!" Three days later the U.S. dropped another A-bomh on Nagasaki. When a reporter questioned the propriety of the celehration surrounding the bombings, Truman snapped back unapologetically. "When you have to deal with a heast you have to treat him as a beast." Thus the atomic mushroom cloud, which has come to symholize one possible late for mankind, was hrought into the world in a fit of racist slaughter by a liberal Democratic White House.

Years later, when the horror of what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki had hecome known around the world, Truman offered a supposedly more "humanitarian" defense of the homhing by claiming that "the dropping of the homhs stopped the war" and thereby "saved millions of lives" by avoiding the alleged necessity of a U.S. invasion of Japan (*Truman Speaks* [1960]). This encapsulated popular opinion in the matter, formed by years of war propaganda, from endless movies of the Japanese "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor to footage of Hitler's vicious bomhing of civilian London, which were supposed to contrast with the Allies' "civilized" restraint. In reality the "democratic" imperialist Allies chalked up quite a record of criminal atrocities, notably the firebombings of Hamburg, Dresden and Tokyo which created devastation comparable to that of a nuclear weapon.

Indeed, the incendiary bombing of Tokyo alone on the single night of 9-10 March 1945 killed some 100,000 civilians—"scorched and boiled and baked to death," in the words of General Curtis Le May, who bragged he would bomh the enemy "back to the stone age." (Twenty years later, running for vice president on a ticket with Alabama's segregationist Democratic governor George Wallace, Le May revived his genocidal threat, vowing to do the same to the Vietnamese.) The subsequent A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945 slaughtered 140,000 and 70,000 respectively. The use of atomic weapons is rightly regarded as a quantum leap in savagery, not only because of their immense destructive power but also due to the deadly radiation, which continues to kill the survivors even today and presents untold dangers to future generations.

And the argument that dropping the bombs "saved millions of lives" was a flat lie. It was recognized *at the time* by top U.S. leaders that the new weapon was not needed to end the war. Even hloodthirsty General Le May felt in April 1945 that the war could be ended by September or October *without* an invasion. U.S. forces already had full control of the air and sea around Japan in midyear. As early as May 1945 William Donovan, director of the Office of Strategic Services (precursor of the CIA), reported to Truman that Japan was sending out peace feelers, and by July the Japanese emperor's personal envoy was talking with the Russians in Moscow. As General Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander, later noted, "Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a mintmum loss of 'face'" (quoted in Gar Alperovitz' landmark 1965 study, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*, updated and expanded in 1985).

The reason the A-bomb was used could not be military, it was *political*. As we wrote eight years ago: "With racist calculation the already defeated Japanese were chosen as the human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the USSR—that the USA will stop at *nothing* to maintain world dominion" ("Hiroshima Day: To Remember Is Not Enough!" *WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980). The letter from *WV* reader Dimir Z. printed on page 8 expands on this point. But there is even more.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson first hriefed Truman at length on 25 April 1945 ahout what he anticipated would be "the most terrible weapon ever known in human history." Considerstion of how to use the homb was left to a so-called Interim Committee, including Truman's personal representative Secretary of State James Byrnes. There was also a Scientific Panel of the committee which included scientists who actually built the bomh. An immense literature has documented the struggle of some of these scientists, Leo Szilard

*continued on page 8*

UPI

**Potsdam conference, July 1945: Truman (center) delayed meeting with Churchill and Stalin so he could use A-bomb as a threat against Russia.**

# Atomic Holocaust...

*(continued from page 7)*

among others, to prevent the use of the A-bomb. But the Interim Committee's main discussion revolved around the selection of targets which would cause "a tremendous shock" to the Japanese, in Stimson's words.

With this in mind, Stimson considered the best target to be a "war plant employing a large number of workers closely surrounded by workers' houses," according to Alperovitz; this guideline was formally proposed to the committee by Byrnes and adopted, with the added proviso that the bomb be used "as soon as possible and without warning." (Another factor in these cold-blooded calculations was finding a target which had not yet been bombed, so as to be able to accurately measure the A-bomb's effects, and Hiroshima fit the bill.) Historian Gabriel Kolko explains the refusal to question the bomb's use as follows:

> "From the moment work began on the construction of the atomic bomb in 1941 until the Americans dropped it on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, none of the American leaders involved ever had any doubt that they were building the bomb to be used. This assumption was axiomatic at the time, and it was only later revulsion that led to the artificial investigation of the relatively unimportant spring 1945 debate on the moral problems of using the bomb."
>
> —*The Politics of War* (1968)

A number of historians, like André Fontaine (*History of the Cold War* [1968]), try to alibi the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the result of bureaucratic inertia—a desire to show off the fruits of a two-billion-dollar investment—involving "no discussion" among top military and political leaders. (Similar explanations of everything from the B-1 bomber to Reagan's "Star Wars" blame everything on the "military-industrial complex," an apt term coined by Eisenhower which has since become the hobbyhorse of Stalinist and liberal peace lobbyists.) This might explain the decision to proceed with the bomb program in the spring of 1945. But it is insufficient to explain the sudden, conscious rush to test the bomb in July and drop it in August. This was a decision from the top, which can only be explained by two other factors: first, an especial racist hatred for the Japanese (don't forget FDR sent Japanese Americans to concentration camps, and not German Americans); and second, the desire to threaten the Soviet Union.

Takeo Ishikawa

**Firebombings of Tokyo in early 1945 killed over 100,000 civilians.**

### Racism and the Bomb

Breaking a longstanding taboo, in his 1986 study *War Without Mercy*, John W. Dower documents the racist mentality which permeated the American war in the Pacific. There was, first of all, the "responsible" bourgeois press: *Time* magazine after Pearl Harbor described the American response as, "Why, the yellow bastards!" The *New York Times* said the Bataan incident revealed the enemy as "a beast which sometimes stands erect." *Life* magazine published a full-page photo of an attractive blonde posing with a "Jap" skull sent to her by her boyfriend. One Hearst paper editorialized that whereas the war in Europe against the Nazis was only "a family fight" between "white nations," the war against Japan was against an enemy of "unexampled ferocity."

And, of course, Hollywood joined in the anti-Japanese propaganda campaign. In *The Purple Heart* (1944), based on the Japanese trial of the Doolittle raiders who bombed Tokyo in 1943, the Japanese emerge as thoroughly evil, sadistic torturers. One of the American aviators on trial sums up the American attitude by telling the court that American bombers will "blacken your skies and burn your cities to the ground.... [The war] won't be finished until your dirty little empire is wiped off the face of the earth!"

**America's Racist War Propaganda**

H. Melzian

**U.S. government poster, 1942.**

Following racist stereotypes, the media often pictured the Japanese as ape-like creatures in cartoons printed in "respectable" papers. Dower traces the "evolution" of this cartoon figure: from silly little monkeys hanging from trees (a 1941 cartoon, before Pearl Harbor) to apes crushing little people in their hands (an illustration in the *New York Times Magazine* in mid-1943). Whether they were pictured as subhuman or superhuman, Dower notes, the main point was "the Japanese were rarely perceived as being human beings." Ernie Pyle, the GI reporter who described the war at the front to Americans at home, reflected the racist attitude when he transferred from Europe to the Pacific in 1945: "In

# Letter on Atom Bombing of Japan

November 11, 1987

The Editor
*Workers Vanguard*

I would like to add a footnote regarding the U.S. atom bombing of Japan mentioned in the two-part series "Japan Inc. vs. Wall Street" (*WV* Nos. 424 and 425, 20 March and 3 April 1987) and in the recent article "The Crash of '87" (*WV* No. 439, 30 October 1987).

We have regularly pointed out that the U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was militarily superfluous, carried out less to bring about Japanese surrender—Japan had been blockaded at this time for over a year, its economy was in a shambles and more far-sighted elements among the ruling class had been putting out peace feelers via the Russians and the Swiss—than as a threat to the victorious Soviet Union not to stand in the way of war aims of U.S. imperialism.

Testimony to the bourgeois defeatism by then widespread in Japanese ruling circles was the February 1945 Konoe Memorial, drafted by leading politicians including Shigeru Yoshida, the future prime minister, who was, with MacArthur's assistance, to crush the Japanese general strike of 1 February 1947. Central to the Memorial was a fear of a revolutionary uprising by the combative but long-suppressed Japanese working class, which these politicians saw as a likely concomitant to an Allied invasion:

> "More than defeat itself, what we must be most concerned about from the standpoint of preserving the *kokutai* [national polity, i.e., the family state with the emperor as its supreme symbol and head] is the communist revolution which may accompany defeat."
>
> —cited in Joe Moore, *Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power, 1945-1947* (Madison, 1983)

For this reason the Memorial urged an early surrender as the best means of keeping the Japanese state (and in particular its repressive apparatus) relatively intact.

Such worries could only have intensified in the course of 1945, as both Japanese and Americans saw the spontaneous creation of factory councils and workers soviets throughout Germany that followed hard on the defeat of the Nazis. These workers councils were then suppressed by *all four* powers, the Soviet Union in particular fearing the challenge such independent proletarian organizations posed to imposition in its zone of bureaucratic rule via their imported "Ulbricht Group."

Thus, as the Pacific War drew toward its inevitable close, the ruling classes of Japan and the USA tended to be drawn together by their fundamental aim of preserving capitalist rule in a defeated Japan. Indeed, there had always been those in top U.S. government circles who, like former ambassador to Japan Joseph Grew, had favored preserving the Japanese imperial state as a future reliable (but properly subordinate) ally, with, as a sop to "public opinion," a purge of the most overt militarists through show trials of a few "war criminals."

So it seems that a subordinate (but equally anti-communist) motive may well have stood behind the U.S atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: the need to deliver a blow that would dictate an immediate surrender by Japan over the objections of its fanatical militarists who, even as the second bomb exploded over Nagasaki, were plotting a military coup to depose the "weak-willed" Emperor and fight on to a Nipponese *Götterdämmerung* (after all, Goebbels had proclaimed the Japanese to be "honorary Aryans")—a struggle that would have torn apart the Japanese state and left the way open for proletarian revolt. (For an account of these last-ditch machinations see the book *Japan's Longest Day*, compiled by The Pacific War Research Society [Tokyo, 1980].)

AP

**General MacArthur with Japanese emperor Hirohito, 1945. American occupation maintained Japanese ruling class against Communist-led workers movement.**

As it was, the Japanese bureaucracy was able, in the interval between the surrender declaration and the American landing, to destroy incriminating records, imprison leftists and transfer government funds to the *zaibatsu* as a base for future economic growth. The Emperor was preserved as the ideological linchpin of class rule, while the U.S. avoided having to create a new bourgeois state *ex nihilo* (as with the West German rump state), with the further advantage of having available all the manifold organs of repression and control staffed by the old Japanese central and prefectural bureaucracy, through which the "Allied" (i.e., U.S.) occupation worked.... And the Russkies would be properly intimidated to boot (or so the U.S. thought). For all this, America's imperialist rulers figured, the immolation of a few hundred thousand innocent civilians was a small price to pay.

Comradely,
Dimir Z.

Europe we felt that our enemies, horrible and deadly as they were, were still people," he wrote. "But out here I soon gathered that the Japanese were looked upon as something subhuman and repulsive: the way some people feel about cockroaches or mice."

The racist attitude permeated not only the media but the scientific-military establishment as well. One of the reasons the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was a "surprise" was that many Western military leaders could not believe the Japanese were capable of designing and manufacturing such a powerful plane as the Mitsubishi Zero, even though the plane was effectively used against the Chinese in 1940. Moreover, American "scientists" believed the Japanese as a race suffered from defects of the tubes of the inner ear and were generally myopic, hence they could not make good pilots! The curator of the Division of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution even claimed in a letter to FDR that the Japanese were "as bad as they were" because their skulls were "some 2,000 years less developed than ours."

This racist claptrap came from the very top of the political establishment, and led to exterminationist attitudes not unlike the Nazis'. Admiral William F. Halsey, commander of the U.S. South Pacific Force, was fond of saying things like, "the only good Jap is a Jap who's been dead six months" (1944 press conference). And Truman noted in his diary that he decided to go ahead with dropping the A-bomb because the Japanese were "savages, ruthless, merciless, and fanatic." Only exceptional individuals would dare stand up against this tide of murderous racism in 1945.

### Russia and the American Bomb

Once it was clear to top U.S. officials in the spring of 1945 that the A-bombing of Japan would go ahead, there was an added imperialist impetus to drop the bomb right away: *stop Russia*. After the Red Army had broken the back of the Nazi war machine—at the cost of some 20 million Soviet dead—the Western capitalist powers lost interest in their reluctant alliance with Moscow, and were mainly interested in containing the spread of Communism and salvaging a capitalist world. (At this point the Soviets occupied much of Eastern Europe and were about to fulfill their promise to declare war against Japan and invade Manchuria.) Thus there was a rush to test and drop the bomb so that Truman would have an extra club behind his back in his diplomatic dealings with Stalin.

**Communist Party supported American government in WWII as a "war for democracy": Daily Worker, August 1945, hailed Truman's A-bombing of Hiroshima.**

Truman deliberately postponed the planned Potsdam meeting with Stalin and Churchill until July, so he could be sure the bomb worked (the Alamogordo test took place on July 16, one day before Potsdam). As Gar Alperovitz notes, "top U.S. officials began to realize [the bomb] could strengthen their hand diplomatically against the Soviet Union—and they developed their strategy on the basis of this calculation, postponing major negotiations, and the Potsdam meeting itself, until the bomb could be tested." Secretary of War Stimson explicitly recorded in his diary the reasons he wanted postponement of a meeting with Stalin on the Far East:

> "Over any such tangled weave of problems, [the atomic-bomb] secret would be dominant, and yet we will not know until after that time probably, until after that meeting, whether this is a weapon in our hands or not. We think it will be shortly afterward, but it seems a terrible thing to gamble with such big stakes in diplomacy without having your master card in your hand."

At another point in his diary Stimson suggested that among the "*quid pro quos* which should be established" with the Russians, in exchange for taking them into a "partnership" in atomic matters, would be "settlement of the Polish, Romanian, Yugoslavian, and Manchurian problems."

Similarly, when A-bomb scientist Leo Szilard had a meeting with Secretary of State Byrnes in May 1945, he recorded that Byrnes "did not argue that it was necessary to use the bomb against the cities of Japan in order to win the war.... Mr. Byrnes' view [was] that our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe." Other key scientists corroborated this point: J. Robert Oppenheimer, the mastermind behind the whole Manhattan Project, noted that "we were under incredible pressure to get it done before the Potsdam meeting"; and Vannevar Bush, Stimson's scientific adviser on the bomb, said right out that the bomb was "delivered on time so that there was no necessity for any concessions to Russia at the end of the war."

Hiroshima was bombed on August 6, two days before Russia declared war on Japan, and Nagasaki came the day after the Soviet entry into the war in the Pacific. The mushroom clouds were an American "message" to the Soviet Union, and a sample of how far imperialism would go to hold on to its empire. As soon as Truman had confirmed that the A-bomb test worked in July 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff began drawing up the first of endless plans to "nuke" Russia. Repeatedly in the postwar years the U.S. used atomic threats against the Soviet Union and others, and was most arrogant when it knew its opponents had no nuclear capability. In March 1946, for instance, Truman demanded that the Soviets pull their troops out of Iran within 48 hours or else "we're going to drop it on you," Truman reportedly told Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. In the period 1946 to 1980, the U.S. made at least *twenty-five* such atomic threats (see Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod, *To Win a Nuclear War—The Pentagon's Secret War Plans* [1987]).

Only proletarian revolution could have prevented the horrible slaughter of World War II which culminated in the first atomic holocaust and the subsequent nuclear saber rattling by the U.S. imperialists. But during the war the struggle for revolution was thwarted with the help of the Communist Party, which called on American workers to support the capitalist government in the name of the so-called "Grand Anti-Fascist Alliance." By the end of the war the CP's flag-waving betrayal was so grotesquely complete that they applauded the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In contrast, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, while militarily defending the Soviet Union, stood in revolutionary opposition to both capitalist sides in the imperialist war. For courageously exposing the lie that this was a "war for democracy," 18 SWP and militant union leaders were jailed by FDR.

In a statement published just days after the atomic bombing of Japan, the American Trotskyists wrote:

> "Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!"
>
> —*Militant*, 18 August 1945

The title of the SWP's manifesto summed up what was then and remains today the only road to preventing another Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "THERE IS NO PEACE! Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War. Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!" ■

# GM/Toyota...

*(continued from page 5)*

the protectionist chorus of reformists against the "export of American capital," like the Communist Party, which says, "The real problem is that Chrysler is taking our jobs to Mexico" (*People's Daily World*, 14 January). Often directed against the growth of "maquiladora" plants in northern Mexico, this racist crap feeds the UAW tops' "America first" poison and campaign to sell NUMMI-style speedup in the name of competitiveness.

In *Taking On General Motors* Mann barely mentions that while Van Nuys is open, its "whipsaw" competitor at Norwood is closed. With his "reasonable" defense of GM's profits Mann has become the darling of that voice of the out (and not so out) bureaucrats, *Labor Notes*. Mann's book is fulsome in its praise of Walter Reuther, whose UAW contracts Mann calls the "envy of unions throughout the Western capitalist world." Parroting Reuther's class collaboration, Mann tells auto workers:

> "As Walter Reuther used to say, our fight has been over the size of the slice of the pie. Now it's necessary for GM workers to understand that the pie is really shrinking and GM may be the primary casualty."
>
> —*Against the Current*, November/December 1987

The classic AFL business unionist Samuel Gompers at least demanded "More!" The latter-day Reutherite says "Less!"

Mann seals his endorsement of Reuther's class collaboration by uncritically quoting Victor Reuther's defense of the Reuther machine "as a legitimate weapon in our battle with the communists" (*Taking On General Motors*). Victor Reuther was International Affairs Director of the UAW during the Cold War, and used CIA money to split Communist Party unions in postwar Europe.

In the class battles which forged the UAW and the mass CIO unions, the Auto Workers pioneered the sit-down strikes which broke the back of company unionism and the open shop. But this class-struggle militancy was throttled through the consolidation of a pro-capitalist bureaucracy, the Reuther machine, which chained the union to the Democratic Party. As we wrote in our article "How the Reuthers Tamed the UAW" (*WV* No. 128, 8 October 1976):

> "Reuther's key role was as consolidator of a bureaucracy sufficiently homogeneous to become an effective guarantor of labor discipline for the capitalists. '...decisive was Reuther's avid lining up with the American bourgeoisie in support of Cold War policies and the witchhunting of reds in the labor movement.... The elimination of the one-year contract, replacement of shopfloor methods of resolving grievances by arbitration and the virtually unchallenged control by management of crucial shopfloor conditions like line speed eventually followed suit."

What ties all the sellout artists together, from "Sacrifice House" incumbent Bieber to "house" dissidents Victor Reuther and Jerry Tucker and the popular-front Jesse Jackson supporters like Eric Mann, is their implacable hatred of class struggle and their allegiance to the American ruling class and the profit system. Victor Reuther paved the way for the "giveback" war on labor when he enlisted in the Cold War to "roll back" Communism.

The militant unions of the CIO were built with the weapons of hard class struggle—sitdowns, hot cargoing, flying picket squads. And it will take a class-struggle, internationalist leadership to unite the workers of America, Mexico and Japan in common battle against their exploiters, and their "team" partners in the labor bureaucracy. Above all this requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for a workers government. ■


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## CORRECTIONS

In *WV* No. 456 (1 July), in the article "Mexico: Starvation Elections," we erroneously stated that the election platform of the Unidad Popular electoral coalition led by the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) did not call for a sliding scale of wages. The UP platform does call "for wage increases in the same proportion as prices increase."

In the same issue, the article "Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution," contains a translation error. We quoted the 14 June *Izvestia* report on the rehabilitation of Zinoviev and Kamenev as saying, "Everyone knows today that Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin was another Lenin...." The phrase actually said that "Bukharin was a friend of Lenin."

# Unchain the Unions...

*(continued from page 1)*

New York City, and even more in other cities such as Detroit, have completely dropped out of the labor market in despair of finding a job.

The nation's productive wealth has been diverted into the massive military buildup. Two-thirds of all research and development is funded by the Pentagon. The best scientists and engineers are engaged in "Star Wars" and other weapons systems to destroy the Soviet Union in the name of "free world" capitalism. And this is not just "Reaganomics." The anti-Soviet war drive is *bipartisan policy*. Dukakis has publicly supported a nuclear first-strike option against Russia and is campaigning to beef up conventional U.S. armed forces and for an array of new nuclear weapons from the Stealth bomber to the D-5 submarine-launched missile.

While the Democrats blame Reaganomics for "the decline of our industrial, natural resource and mining base," their only "solution" is flag-waving protectionism and Japan-bashing. Dukakis' running mate, Lloyd Bentsen, is not only a Dixiecrat racist but a leading trade-war hawk in Congress. And Jesse Jackson, the Democrats' "left face," peddles a soft-core version, railing at the export of jobs to "slave labor" markets abroad. Far from saving jobs, protectionism will fuel inflation, provoke retaliation against American exports and accelerate the industrial rot.

What's desperately needed is a workers government which will rip the productive wealth out of the hands of corporate moguls and Wall Street raiders and rebuild this country on a socialist basis. Workers need to break with the two parties of capitalism and build their own party, a workers party based on the trade unions. And they need to oust from the leadership of those unions the sellout bureaucrats who in recent years have abandoned any pretense of defending workers' rights and have given back what it took decades of hard class struggle to achieve.

UPI

**Bobby Kennedy's vicious attacks on Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa set up 1959 anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act.**

### Feds: Hands Off the Teamsters!

Forty years ago, C.E. Wilson, the head of General Electric and a member of the Truman administration, said, "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, Labor at home" (quoted in Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, *Labor's Untold Story* [1955]). Like the war drive against the Soviet Union, union-busting on the home front is the policy of both partner parties of capitalism. One of the most sustained assaults on an American union, the 30-year vendetta against the Teamsters union, was initiated by Democrats—the Kennedy brothers. Fearful of the truckers union's ability to paralyze the country in a national strike, McCarthyite witchhunter Robert Kennedy jailed union president Jimmy Hoffa, forced the Teamsters' expulsion from the AFL-CIO and rammed through the anti-labor law (Landrum-Griffin) which "outlaws" real labor solidarity ("hot-cargoing").

James Hamilton

**Former Teamster president and FBI informer Jackie Presser being carried into IBT convention in Las Vegas, 1986.**

Reagan, to finish the job begun by Kennedy, is trying to place the Teamsters union under the direct control of the capitalist state. On June 28 the Justice Department filed a civil suit against the 18-member exec board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). The 113-page suit, using the sinister RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) Act, claims IBT officials have entered a "devil's pact" with organized crime. What the sleazy gang in the Reagan administration—the big-time organized criminals—are up to is to break the country's most powerful union. Chuck Mack, president of Teamsters Joint Council 7 (Bay Area), noted, "Attacking the Teamsters has been an American tradition," and pointed to Minneapolis (where Trotskyists led the strikes and organizing drives that laid the foundation of the Teamsters' power, and were later jailed by FDR for their revolutionary opposition to imperialism in World War II):

> "Minneapolis Teamster leaders were later prosecuted by the Roosevelt administration for alleged subversive activities. From these Smith Act prosecutions to the civil RICO action filed this June, we have enjoyed a special status with the Department of Justice."
> —Oakland *Tribune*, 3 August

Under the RICO law, the union can be put in "trusteeship" and the entire leadership replaced if the feds can show a "pattern of racketeering activity" by proving any *two* charges (some of which are *30 years old*), including mail fraud and moving untaxed cigarettes! One of the feds gloated to the *Washington Post* (4 July), "This is your classic RICO case. This is what RICO was designed to do." RICO charges have already been used to take over Jersey City Teamsters Local 560, and cases have been filed against seven other unions. Anti-labor columnist Don Feder revealed the feds' real appetite, which has nothing to do with corruption: "With or without the squashed-nose set, unions are violence-prone.... The problem isn't simply the Teamsters' criminal associations, but the coercive nature of unions themselves" (*Boston Herald*, 11 July). Hands off the Teamsters! Labor must clean its own house!

If someone were looking for worthy targets for criminal prosecution, consider the Reagan administration's supply-side thugs who have "privatized" everything from arms for the Ayatollah to the Pentagon budget. And under former Teamster president Jackie Presser, who died last month, it was hard to tell the feds from the mob without a scorecard. Presser (FBI alias "All Pro") was a government informer since 1974, regularly "clearing" his union appointments with Washington.

The suit comes with the union in turmoil. The concessions-laden Master Freight Agreement negotiated in April was overwhelmingly rejected by the Teamster ranks. But the IBT tops imposed it anyway, under an anti-democratic, anti-militancy rule requiring a two-thirds vote to reject a contract. The IBT tops then split over the election of a successor to Presser. New England Joint Council head William McCarthy (who opposed Presser's contract) narrowly defeated Weldon Mathias, and has moved to demote his opponents within the union. The union is threatened with a return to the regional fiefdoms that characterized the IBT before Hoffa won the first master contract.

Before the long-awaited RICO indictment was announced, the IBT tops hoped that anti-Communist appeals comparing the Teamsters to Reagan's favorite "union" Solidarność would convince the bourgeoisie to hack off. And with an eye to election year contributions from the union, a majority of Congressmen came out against the Justice Department suit. But support for Reagan didn't save PATCO, and reliance on capitalist politicians won't save the Teamsters.

The feds have inside help in their campaign to take over the Teamsters union—help from the union's own fake-radical "opposition." Under the cover of "democracy," the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) has run point for the government's union-busting. The "TDU Membership Newsletter" (Summer 1988) lauds the feds: "So by calling for a limited trusteeship and elections in its RICO suit, the Justice Department has begun to move toward the TDU stand." Critical of a government trusteeship because it won't remove enough (!) of the union leadership, the TDU sent the Justice Department attorneys a plan in April 1987 which calls for the capitalist government to run Teamster elections for the next *nine years*! Even the TDU's call for the "one-man, one-vote" referendum election of national officers is a hoax. This pseudo-democratic "reform" would let incumbent bureaucrats (and the capitalist press) manipulate union elections. Instead there should be elected, delegated conventions, where a union's leadership and program can be debated.

The reformists and bureaucrats in the TDU have made a career out of dragging the Teamsters into the bosses' courts, supposedly to "clean up the union." They try to justify crossing the class line by pointing to the feds' intervention in the United Mine Workers. According to TDU national organizer Ken Paff (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 27 July) the UMWA ranks, saddled with the corrupt and murderous regime of Tony Boyle:

> "... organized Miners for Democracy, demanded an election supervised by the Department of Labor and finally got it. Boyle was swept out of power in a one-member, one-vote election. ... The members went on to rewrite their constitution to ensure a future of democratic unionism."

Veteran miners will get a bitter laugh from the happy ending to this fairy tale. What the UMWA ranks actually got from Nixon's Labor Department-run election was Arnold Miller as union president. When Miller took office in 1972 virtually the entire reformist left claimed it was a victory for labor. It was left to the Spartacist League to tell the simple truth: "Labor Department Wins


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Mine Workers' Election" (*WV* No. 17, March 1973). Miller rammed a sellout contract down the members' throats in 1974 and broke three major wildcat strikes before betraying the 110-day national walkout of 1977-78, the most important American labor struggle in 30 years. Miller became so hated in the course of that strike that he went into hiding to escape the miners' wrath.

Today the UMWA is "led" by attorney Richard Trumka who, early this year, signed a contract worse than anything even Miller ever came up with. In 1984, Trumka rejected the union's tradition of an industrywide walkout, in favor of "selective strikes." Militants from Kentucky who fought for their union in these strikes were railroaded on federal "terrorism" and "conspiracy" charges and were sentenced to terms of *35 to 45 years*. Trumka & Co. have left them twisting in the wind. Broken strikes and broken lives: *these* are the fruits of government interference in the labor movement.

AP

**Miners burn Arnold Miller's rotten contract during 1977-78 coal strike.**

### Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

The misleaders who sit at the top of the unions in this country have been loyal "labor statesmen" so long they don't remember how to win a strike. To them, picket lines belong to another century. The union tops crawl before the Taft-Hartley injunctions and court orders limiting picketing. Instead of working-class struggle, there's a whole new language of defeat: consumer boycott, Corporate Campaign, "Inside Game" (that's where you stay at work without a contract). They have "selective strikes," where union locals get cut down one at a time. And after the scabs have taken your job, you can apply for one of Lane Kirkland's new "Associate Memberships" for unionists who don't have a union (but still pay dues).

The bourgeoisie is playing hardball. The militant picket lines of Morenci, Arizona copper strikers and Hormel meatpackers were broken by the National Guard. Scabs are taking the jobs of Colt Firearms workers in Hartford, paper workers in Jay, Maine and tugboat crews in New York harbor. Gun-toting mercenaries were unleashed on coal miners who struck A.T. Massey, while judges owned by the coal barons handed down injunctions to stop picketing. Every hard fight by labor to defend itself has confronted the cops and courts of the capitalist state. But at every point the labor misleaders counsel workers to rely on *their* "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party, and to place trust in the bosses' courts.

Labor's gotta play hardball to win. And that requires a class-struggle leadership that fights to break the chains that tie the labor movement to the bosses' parties and their state. James P. Cannon drew the lessons of the victorious Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of 1934, which were led by Trotskyists:

> "All modern strikes require political direction.... The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn.... The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal 'friend of labor' president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour."
>
> —*The History of American Trotskyism*, 1944

Pizac/AP

**It's not South Africa, it's the LAPD.**

There will be a lot of "Unite Against Reagan" (vote Democrat) snake oil sold by the union tops and their flunkeys on the reformist left (most notably the Communist Party) at Labor Day marches around the country this year. But it has been the "liberal" Democrats who have been most effective in imposing capitalist austerity (and war) on labor and minorities. It was Carter/Mondale who invoked the Taft-Hartley slave labor law against the coal miners in 1978, and later prepared the plan which Reagan used to smash PATCO. It is the black Democratic Party mayors on Reagan's plantation who preside over America's cities, with their ghetto misery and racist cop terror. And Jesse Jackson is campaigning to keep black people chained to the Dixiecrat Democrats.

In the *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," which we have distributed on picket lines across the country for the last four years, we pointed to the burning need to join labor and blacks in struggle:

> "In white racist America the fate of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. The bureaucracy's accommodation to the racist status quo set the stage for the union-busting offensive of the Reagan years. And there will be no effective defense against this union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights."

Above all, this requires a revolutionary workers party that will lead the fight to oust capitalism's labor lieutenants in order to unchain the power of labor and blacks. Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

# Contra Terrorists...

*(continued from page 12)*

claiming that the sole responsibility lies with the Sandinistas and their "new acts of oppression."

The Sandinistas' "new acts of oppression" amounted to stopping U.S. ambassador Richard Melton from blatantly organizing the internal contras in Managua. Melton, who previously worked directly under U.S. contra kingpin Elliott Abrams, was made ambassador in March immediately after the Sapoá cease-fire accord engineered by Wright. While snubbing representatives of the Nicaraguan government, Melton attended a June meeting of opposition businessmen at which a plan for a "government of national salvation" was drawn up. On July 9 the contras abruptly walked out of negotiations with the Sandinistas, and a day later Melton was found running around with a mob of 2,000 anti-government rioters in Nandaime. The Sandinista regime responded by temporarily closing the reopened CIA-financed newspaper *La Prensa* and the reactionary Catholic radio station. Melton and seven other U.S. diplomats were expelled from Nicaragua for "state terrorism."

Reagan "retaliated" by expelling eight Nicaraguan diplomats, and the Democrats saluted by overwhelmingly supporting Congressional resolutions denouncing Nicaragua. The *Washington Post* (15 July) editorialized that the Managua regime was "now acting very much the Communist police state" and urged the Democratic Party to be "vigorous and unequivocal," code words for military action. Meanwhile the CIA has been busily rearranging its contra command: "electing" Enrique Bermúdez to the contras' political directorate, in effect as the main contra leader. Bermúdez, a colonel in Somoza's bloodthirsty National Guard, dispenses with the "democratic" rhetoric of his predecessors and openly boasts the contras' policy is terrorism.

In fact the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas have bent over backwards, short of committing suicide, to acquiesce to American dictates. The Nicaraguan government's legal representative in the U.S., Paul S. Reichler, underscored that point in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (4 August): "The Sandinistas have already accepted all of the points of the Central American peace plan, and the Reagan Administration simply refuses to take their yes for an answer." Reichler noted the Sandinistas say they would help prevent Cuba and the Soviet Union from establishing a "base" in Nicaragua and would "refrain from supporting guerrilla movements in other countries."

Even after the Democrats began putting together their new aid package, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto continued to express the regime's hopes to cut a deal with the Democrats: "Dukakis is very important to us.... A signal is being sent out that the United States is thinking of returning to the company of law-abiding nations" (London *Independent*, 25 July). This is an illusion, and a deadly dangerous one for the future of the Nicaraguan Revolution. It is one which most of the American left pushes as well, clinging to the coattails of Jesse Jackson while he fronts for the Democratic Party of war and racism.

The last time there was a "Boston-Austin axis" in the White House, JFK implemented Eisenhower/Nixon's Bay of Pigs invasion while LBJ carried out Barry Goldwater's war program in Vietnam. As we warned several months ago:

> "Indeed, the Democratic Party has always been the primary party of imperialist war, succeeding with its 'friends of labor' rhetoric in mobilizing the population for war where the Republicans cannot. The Democrats are no less committed to the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union than the Reaganites: today the Democrats try to bleed the Nicaraguan masses dry through negotiations and economic sabotage; on the morrow, it may be a Democratic administration that orders U.S. troops into Nicaragua."
>
> —*WV* No. 446, 12 February

There will be no peace in Central America until imperialism is defeated by workers revolution throughout the isthmus, spreading to the powerful and combative Mexican proletariat and to the U.S. colossus itself. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! ■

# Iranian Airbus Massacre...

*(continued from page 12)*

unsuccessful attempts" to blast the plane earlier, but "human error delayed the firing of the supersonic missiles" (*Washington Post*, 4 August)! The bottom line is, as one colonel told the *New York Times* (6 August), "It's a lot easier to shoot first and then look."

When the Soviet Union shot down KAL 007, the U.S. used it to turn the heat up on its anti-Soviet war drive to boiling point. But Soviet jets had tried unsuccessfully for an hour and a half to warn off the Korean plane, which had flown deep into Soviet airspace and refused to acknowledge any communication. The *Vincennes* shot down Iran Air 655, *over Iranian airspace, just minutes after it took off*.

These cowardly bullies with their high-tech behemoths want to prove they can barge in and smash anything in their way anywhere in the world. Vice President George Bush still viciously insists, despite all evidence to the contrary, that it's the civilians' own fault for getting in the way of a U.S. "combat zone." Dukakis, too, has defended the massacre. Now both Republicans and Democrats in Congress are balking even at Reagan's proposal to give some compensation to the families of the victims of this U.S. war crime. The racist arrogance of the American rulers is breathtaking. *Time* magazine (18 July), perhaps moved by its historically pro-Arab sympathies, was rare among bourgeois commentators in taking exception to the administration's refusal to even issue an apology, criticizing the government's "dry, formulaic expressions of official regret, the diplomatic equivalence of preprinted condolence cards."

The Spartacist League protested this inhuman war crime in New York City on July 7, demanding: "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!" and putting the blame where it lies: "Reagan, Democrats: Blood Is on Your Hands!" From their air-conditioned bunkers in Vietnam where they destroyed whole villages in order to "save" them, to the rape of Grenada to perpetrating this latest massacre, the arrogant, racist policy of this imperialist state is a danger to the entire globe. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

# Democrats Push Aid for Contra Terrorists

The last hurrahs in Atlanta had scarcely died down when Senate Democrats started pushing a new aid package for the CIA's dirty contra war against Nicaragua. Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis has been going out of his way to demonstrate that he's just as much a certifiable warmonger as Reagan, even stating openly that he's prepared to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Sometimes, playing to widespread opposition among the American people to deeper U.S. military involvement in Central America, Dukakis has mumbled that aid to the contras is "illegal and immoral." But he gave the green light for the Democratic contra aid push by picking as his running mate Texas Tory Lloyd Bentsen, one of the staunchest advocates of contra aid on Capitol Hill.

Reuters

Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

**Civilian victim of contra terror in northeastern Nicaragua (left). Staunch supporter of contra aid Lloyd Bentsen chosen as running mate by Dukakis.**

The Democratic proposal would give the contra cutthroats $27 million in so-called "humanitarian" aid and allow for the "filibuster-proof" release of another $16 million in previously approved military funding later, if the administration were to decide that the Sandinistas had created an "emergency situation." White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater hailed it as a "very encouraging sign" and Reagan said he looked forward to a "strong, meaningful bipartisan package." Meanwhile, Republican Senator Robert Dole, hoping to fill the vice presidential slot on George Bush's ticket, continued to keep the squeeze on the Democrats with an alternative proposal specifically earmarking $20 million for military supplies.

A few Republican election campaign taunts about the Democrats being "soft" on Communism, and the Democrats were in some cringing disarray. House speaker Jim Wright and Capitol Hill "liberals" like Ted Kennedy continue to say they oppose outright military aid to the loser contras—still hoping to win at the bargaining table what their mercenaries couldn't win on the battlefield. Dukakis has demurely sidestepped the issue; Bentsen can do the talking. They are all united to keep these killers armed and ready if the U.S. decides to invade. Democratic Senator James Sasser explained that the package "is intended to keep the Contras alive until the next administration has come in and decided how it wants to deal with the issue."

*continued on page 11*

# Iranian Airbus Massacre Made in Washington

Conrad/NY Times

The U.S. blew 290 men, women and children out of the sky last month, and then tried to blame the defenseless victims who happened to end up in their gunsights. Now, after a "special investigation," Defense Department spokesmen say the shooting down of Iran Air Flight 655 by the USS *Vincennes* on July 3 was the result of "mistakes" made under "stress of combat" by inexperienced crewmen. But it wasn't "human error" that killed those people over the Persian Gulf—it was conscious policy made in the White House and Pentagon. The new report contradicts every single statement put out by Pentagon chief of staff Admiral Crowe on July 3, statements that were revealed daily to be lies, as we pointed out in our front-page story, "Massacre in the Persian Gulf" (*WV* No. 457, 15 July). And the story still stinks!

According to preliminary accounts, the Pentagon now claims its high-tech Aegis tracking system worked just fine: Aegis locked on to the civilian airliner almost at takeoff, tracked it on its course, targeted the plane with its Standard surface-to-air missiles, and blasted it out of the sky. The new line is it was some sort of "mass hallucination"—every crewman aboard "saw" an attacking F-14 fighter where the computer said there was none. The "stress" which supposedly caused this involved the sinking by this floating fortress of a couple of 30-foot Iranian boats. The "inexperienced crewmen," with 18 months training on the Aegis system, had even undergone a simulation drill in which an innocent aircraft was mistaken for a hostile plane. But the powers that be have apparently decided to protect their multibillion-dollar investment in Aegis by throwing some low-level radar operators to the wolves.

The press continues to ooze sympathy for the *Vincennes* captain, just like they weep over the "agony" of cops who shoot down black youth in the ghettos and then get expensive psychiatric treatment for "stress." The captain, they claim, tried to warn the aircraft and waited until the last minute to shoot. But he never tried to contact the Bandar Abbas control tower nor did he contact the pilot on the commercial air channel, which U.S. military ships have done routinely in sheer harassment. Further, the investigation revealed that the *Vincennes* had made "several

*continued on page 11*

AP

**George Bush attacked victims of U.S. war crime for being in the way of USS Vincennes.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 460 | 9 September 1988


## Partner Parties of Racist American Capitalism

# Bush–Dukakis:

Heikes U.S. News & World Report

Harrity U.S. News & World Report

# The Bad News Bores

"Dukakis leading Bush by a 55-38 percent margin."
—*Newsweek*, 1 August

"Bush...leading Dukakis...by 51-42 percent."
—*Newsweek*, 29 August

"Two candidates tied with 42 percent."
—*New York Times*, 3 September

"All I know is just what I read in the papers."
—Will Rogers

* * * * * * *

No poll in this paper!!

* * * * * * *

If the wishes of the American electorate seem to blow with the electronic wind on TV—the polls virtually flip-flopped from the Democratic convention to the Republican convention—it's because Americans rightly see nothing to vote for.

The bourgeois Democratic/Republican shell game used to be: make promises galore, tell people what they want to hear, and then break 'em once you're elected. Now, in the twilight of American capitalism, when the dollar buys only a ride on the deteriorating New York subway, the "Republicrats" make no promises at all. The campaign is all media hype pivoting on the quirks, blunders and idiocies of the candidates of this dying ruling class.

Even the *New York Times*, central organ of the bourgeoisie, felt compelled to call time-out in an editorial (31 August) lecturing the two teams: "The best way for either candidate to lend off negative jabs is to stand for something." And the *Boston Herald*'s editorial page editor Rachelle Cohen suggested (21 August) that the contest has "all the emotional impact of a coin toss."

Earlier this summer Reagan jumped into the fray to rescue his foundering vice president Bush by taunting Dukakis as the candidate of the "L-word"—things have moved so far to the right that redbaiting has been largely supplanted by liberal-baiting. Not one to be caught espousing anything, Dukakis—who during the Vietnam War devoted his energies to pushing a bill in the Massachusetts legislature for no-fault insurance—denied he had an ideology and insisted the issue was "competence," leaving everyone to wonder, *at what?*

Meanwhile Dukakis' staff jumped on Bush's running mate, Indiana Senator Dan Quayle, a pro-war fanatic who got out of the Vietnam War draft with a "call home" to his rich Birchite daddy, who got the editor of his Indianapolis paper to pull strings to get his son into a safe post in the National Guard. It's

*continued on page 11*

# South Korea's Police-State Olympics

## Labor, Students Defy U.S. Puppet Regime

On September 1, South Korean soldiers armed with semi-automatic rifles escorted the Olympic torch into the city of Kwangju on its way to the site of the upcoming games in the capital of Seoul. Student protesters were all the more outraged because Kwangju was the site of the 1979 massacre in which hundreds were mowed down by South Korean units which had been withdrawn from the border with North Korea and replaced by the U.S. Army.

In recent months the U.S.-backed police state has been shaken by massive workers' strikes and student protests. To secure social peace the generals are preparing for the Olympics as for war. A force of 120,000 police and soldiers has been mobilized under the pretext of "anti-terrorism" to "protect" the games. A special commando unit has been formed consisting of sharpshooters also trained in the more deadly martial arts. The right-wing *U.S. News & World Report* quipped: "With Korean security on a hair trigger, fans might want to think twice before leaping up to cheer the

*continued on page 12*

Cole Picture Group

**Guardians of "free world" military dictatorship in South Korea.**

**English-Language Edition Now Available**

# 1921 Leninist Resolution on Organization

The Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, is pleased to announce the publication of "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." This 94-page bulletin contains a complete and accurate translation of the final German text of the Organizational Resolution of the 1921 Third Congress of the Communist International (CI), with accompanying introductory and documentary material. It is the first in the *Prometheus Research Series*, which seeks to make available important materials from the history of the international communist movement.

When the Third Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow in the summer of 1921, the revolutionary wave which had swept Europe following the October Revolution had for the most part receded. As against those ultraleftists who argued that the International must continue the "offensive" against the capitalist world order, Lenin and Trotsky insisted that the young International take stock of the lull in the class struggle. In the main Congress resolutions, which included not only the Organizational Resolution but also the "Theses on Tactics," the Bolshevik leadership attempted to codify the 20 years of experience in struggle against the tsarist empire—the unique Russian experience which produced the party capable of leading the world's first successful proletarian revolution—so that the new Communist parties in the rest of the world could study its lessons. "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work" is an important component of the great revolutionary material of the first four congresses of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky's time.

Historians of the CI of this period (e.g., the eminent E.H. Carr) have persistently diminished Lenin's role in drawing up the Resolution, especially misinterpreting his remarks endorsing it at the CI's Fourth Congress, his last intervention into the political life of the International. The Introduction to *Prometheus Research Series* No. 1 documents the important role Lenin played in the drafting of the Organizational Resolution. The Resolution embodies Lenin's developed understanding of the party and his struggle to shape an authentic revolutionary vanguard out of the partially sorted-out components of former social-democratic parties which formed the bulk of the would-be Communist parties in Europe in 1921. Lenin was particularly concerned that the German party forge itself into a Bolshevik vanguard and the Resolution was drafted in German. With Germany very unstable and the German party one of the biggest in the Comintern, the perspective of world revolution reduced itself in the first instance to the perspective of a German revolution. (Events in Germany tragically confirmed the correctness of Lenin's urgent emphasis on the need for a Bolshevik party in Germany.)

The Organizational Resolution continued the sorting-out process begun in July 1920 at the CI's Second Congress with the famous "Twenty-One Conditions" for admission to the Comintern. The detailing of the organizational norms of discipline and democratic centralism was meant in part to weed out those centrist leaders who had followed their membership into the Communist International reluctantly. The Resolution explains the need for fractions, cells and working groups to forge the ties to the masses necessary to win leadership of the majority of the proletariat away from the misleaders organized in the International Federation of Trade Unions ("Amsterdam International") and in the reformist Second and centrist "Two and a Half" Internationals.

Members of organizations on the left which base themselves on the "cell structure" used by the Comintern as it degenerated after 1924 will be particularly interested in "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of the Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." In contrast to the practice of the Stalinized Comintern, which in order to straitjacket internal discussion abolished party units based on territorial organization (e.g., a neighborhood branch or citywide local) in favor of small "cells" ostensibly based on the factories, the 1921 Organizational Resolution advocates that cells and fractions operate *in conjunction* with territorial units.

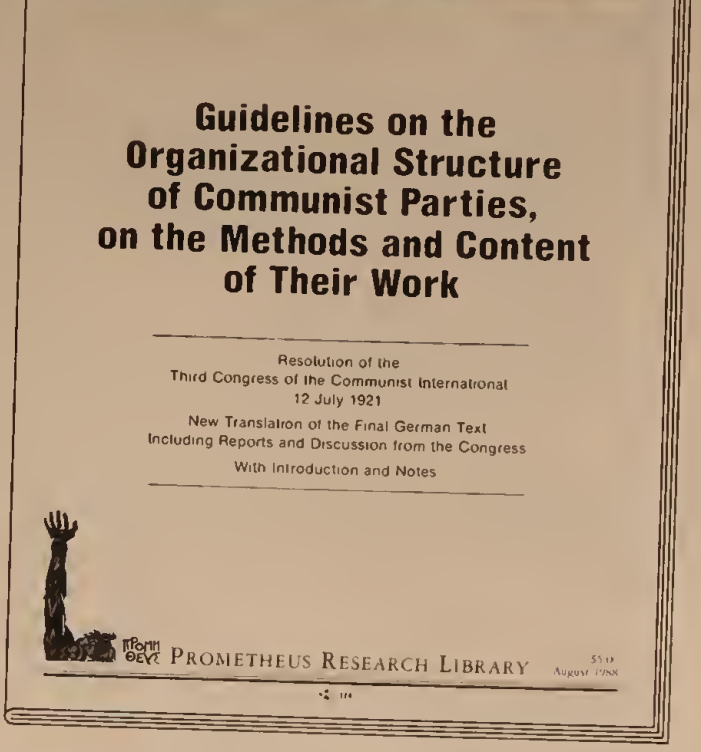
The Spartacist League began to study the 1921 Organizational Resolution in the early 1970s under the impact of building the party's first industrial fractions. An educational session of the SL/U.S. 1975 summer camp was then devoted to presentations on the Resolution. What was striking, but not accidental, was the extent to which the SL's organizational practice embodied, on the appropriate scale, the principles laid down by the CI in 1921. The Resolution's applicability to the SL reflects our roots in earlier communist organizations in this country, from whom we have sought to choose the best practice. In stark contrast, the Trotskyist organizations of Europe and the ex-colonial world had their fragile human threads of continuity with the early Communist movement snapped by war and fascism and Stalinist terror.

Study of the Resolution has been hampered by the lack of an adequate English-language translation (the translations produced by the Comintern in the 1920s are flawed and also fail to include the amendments adopted by the Congress in its final session). The translation published in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 1 appears to be the first accurate one ever based on the final German-language text. The bulletin includes a survey of the various language versions of the Resolution including the Russian in "A Note on Translation." Also included are the reports on and discussion of the Organizational Resolution at the 22nd and 24th sessions of the Congress. This material appears here for the first time in English.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance of "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," in private meetings with various delegations, and in his only speech to the Congress. His remarks remain the best testimony to the 1921 Resolution's significance for the international communist movement:

> "That resolution must be carried out. It cannot be carried out overnight; that is absolutely impossible. The resolution is too Russian, it reflects the Russian experience. That is why it is quite unintelligible to foreigners, and they cannot be content with hanging it in a corner like an icon and praying to it. They must study in a special sense, in order that they may really understand the organization, structure, method and content of revolutionary work. If they do that, I am sure that the prospects of the world revolution will be not only good, but excellent."

To receive a copy of *Prometheus Research Series* No. 1 send $6.00 (includes postage) to Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. ■



TROTSKY

LENIN

### For Working-Class Political Action

*In 1948 elements in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wanted to support the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, a pseudo-radical bourgeois third party heavily backed by the Stalinists. SWP leader James P. Cannon stood for working-class opposition to all bourgeois political formations, and also argued against giving a reformist content to the demand for a labor party based on the trade unions.*

In the terrible crisis that is impending in America there are possibilities for all kinds of political manifestations, from the most revolutionary to the most reactionary. We must not get mixed up in bourgeois politics of any kind. We must not let our party become involved in any kind of substitute for genuine working class action. All of the activities of our party must be compressed within the framework of the class line. We must have in view the perspective of the terrific social crisis that is impending, when things will move at such terrific speed that some of the comrades who are impatient today may be left behind. We must foresee the possibilities of a rapid radicalization of the American working class, which will almost overnight confront us with a genuine class movement on the political field, ten or one hundred times more powerful in its sweep and scope than this movement of Wallace and the Stalinists....

We have to make it clear to our members that our labor party slogan is by no means a substitute or acceptance of less than we have demanded in our full program, but a weapon of revolutionary agitation. And we have to put the full content of our program into this election campaign. We have to explain over and over again that the whole aim of the labor party slogan is to develop a class line of politics.

—James P. Cannon, "Summary Speech on Election Policy" (February 1948)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co, 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial); 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to: Workers Vanguard, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 460** **9 September 1988**

# Imperialism's Gutless Wonders

2 September 1988

Dear Comrades,

I've been doing a bit of thinking about the bourgeois press going after Quayle for pulling strings to get into the National Guard during the Vietnam War. American presidents have often ridden their military careers into office. There's been George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant, Teddy Roosevelt and even John Kennedy's PT-109. Countless Senators, Congressmen and state office holders have parlayed their war records into votes. But in 1988 the up-and-coming representatives of the bourgeoisie are of the Vietnam War generation and their war record is blowing up in their faces. While Quayle is catching the heat for "dodging" the draft, he's hardly alone. Bush and Bentsen both have sons Quayle's age and they too went into the National Guard. The officer corps tends to be rich kids looking for an alternative to the draft while the enlisted men are either college dropouts or veterans looking for some extra cash.

Everybody knows that the "weekend warrior" Guard is the country club for the rich during shooting wars. Republican war-horse and unsuccessful V.P. nominee Robert Dole bitterly remarked about his experiences in WWII: "We knew who was in uniform and who was not!" The National Guard is not "in uniform." When they have donned their khaki greens it has been to quell ghetto upheavals, break strikes or shoot student demonstrators. The rich hullies who murdered unarmed students at Kent State and Jackson State wouldn't have lasted an hour against North Vietnamese regulars.

The "American century," lasting all of 25 years, was buried in the rice paddies of Vietnam. On January 30, 1968 the Viet Cong staged an impressive rising throughout South Vietnam. This ended any semblance of front lines, and now the "stay in-the rear and drink beer" troops had to arm themselves. U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat was made official when North Vietnamese tanks smashed through the U.S. Embassy gate in 1975, but the Tet Offensive was the beginning of the end.

After "Tet" the Quayles, Bentsens and Bushes began placing their children in the National Guard. The children of the bourgeoisie get student deferments and upon graduation get their commissions. It has always been working-class and black kids that do the fighting and dying while the officer corps remains safe in their dugouts. But Vietnam was different: at a tremendous cost the Vietnamese had begun to win the war. Army and Marine officers began taking heavy casualties, some of them "fragged." Pilots began doing time in North Vietnamese prisons. Jewelry was being made from downed U.S. jets. Vietnam was no longer a safe place for rich kids looking for a career in politics. What can the bourgeoisie say about their children avoiding combat? U.S. imperialism lost this bloody war and all the heroes were on the other side!

"You Will Go!" was the position of the Spartacist League during the Vietnam War as we fought against the class bias of the draft. Then as now we stand opposed to the imperialist draft, but we also oppose cop-outs like student deferments that exempted the children of the Kennedys while rounding up working-class and black cannon fodder. As communists our political task is to win over disaffected GIs to a class opposition to imperialist war. A number of SL comrades fulfilled this duty during the Vietnam War.

Nihon Oenpa News Ltd

**Heroic 1968 Vietnamese Tet Offensive spelled defeat for U.S. imperialist army. Vietnam was a victory!**

AP

**Dan Quayle guarding Indiana during Vietnam War.**

The issue of Quayle ducking combat further underlines the class bias of the draft. But we can take pleasure in the knowledge that while cowards like Quayle—who today are the biggest warmongers—were hiding out in the National Guard, the heroic Vietnamese drove U.S. imperialism out of the country hanging from helicopter struts. That this defeat was inflicted against our "own" bourgeoisie made this victory even sweeter. On the night Saigon fell, we celebrated with great quantities of champagne.

*Vietnam was a victory!*

Sam H
USAF, 1966-1970
(Honorable Discharge)

# Spartacist Events

## "We Stopped the Klan!"

*Video Showing and Discussion*

**OBERLIN**
**Friday, Sept. 9, 7:00 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 881-3700

*SYC Open House and Video Showing*

**BOSTON**
**Sun., Sept. 11, 5:30-7:30 p.m.**
Freshman Union, private dining room
Harvard University
For more information (617) 492-3928

**Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!**

## Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

**BERKELEY**
**Friday, Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m.**
126 Barrows
UC Berkeley
For more information (415) 839-0851

**SAN FRANCISCO**
**Wed., Sept. 21, 4:00 p.m.**
Student Union
San Francisco State University
For more information (415) 863-6963

Speaker: Len Meyers, Spartacist League, recently returned from the Soviet Union

**NEW YORK**
**Thursday, Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m.**
Room to be announced
Columbia University
For more information (212) 267-1025

**Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?**

## Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

*Eyewitness Report and Slide Show*

Speaker: Nick Traven, SL/SYC member recently returned from the Soviet Union

**CLEVELAND**
**Saturday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.**
Room UC 109
2121 Euclid Ave
Cleveland State University
For more information (216) 881-3700

**OBERLIN**
**Sunday, Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m.**
Mudd 456
Oberlin College
For more information (216) 881-3700

**MADISON**
**Wed., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m.**
See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
For more information (608) 251-6431

**CHICAGO**
**Wed., Sept. 28, 12 noon**
Room to be announced
UICC
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**Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today**

*Spartacus Youth Club Open House*

**NEW YORK**
**Friday, Sept. 9, 7:00 p.m.**
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## Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**
**Friday, Sept. 9, 7:30 p.m.**
Douglass Hall, Room B21
Howard University

Speaker
Brian Manning
Spartacist League

For more information (202) 636-3537

# Stalinists vs. Fulani at the End of the Rainbow

The Democratic Party is going out of its way to abuse and insult black people, who are treated as voting cattle to be herded to the polls. When Dukakis picked racist Dixiecrat Lloyd Bentsen—a George Bush clone—for his running mate, he was signaling to the white racist vote that he wasn't going to let black people tell him what to do. At first the Jackson camp responded with a show of wounded pride. The leading black Democrat complained he was being used to "pick up voters, bale them up, deliver them up to the big house" without a word of thanks.

But as the Democratic convention opened in Atlanta, Jackson, after meeting with Dukakis for three hours, reaffirmed his loyalty to the Democratic leadership. In his prime-time address he proclaimed: "We sit here together, a rainbow—the sons and daughters of slavemasters and the sons and daughters of slaves sitting together around a common table...." In his own way Jackson captured well the nature of this racist capitalist "people's" party—the unity of slavemasters with their slaves. The convention ended with Jackson delegates chanting "Duke, Duke, Duke!"

So now, figuring they have the black vote in the bag, the Dukakis campaign has redlined the country, telling Jackson to stay out of the Deep South, New York and other key states! They're even trying to clamp down on his voter registration campaign which had signed up millions of (black) Democrats. So intent are the Dukakis managers on winning conservative white "Reagan Democrats" that they're willing to risk black voters staying home next November 8. As a result of this spectacle, a lot of black people are burned up by the Democrats' racist "unity" show.

### Hard Times at the End of the Rainbow

Meanwhile, the supporters of Jackson's defunct "Rainbow Coalition" are at each other's throats. On the one hand, the small-time hustlers of the New Alliance Party (NAP), in league with sinister nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, hope to exploit blacks' lack of enthusiasm, to say the least, for the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket. Advertising itself as a "black-led, multiracial, independent political party," the NAP is running Lenora Fulani, a black psychologist, for president. On the ballot in 26 states, Fulani presents herself as the true voice of the "real Rainbow." "Two Roads Are Better Than One," declare these Jackson Democrats of the second mobilization.

On the other hand, the Communist Party is attacking the New Alliance outfit *from the right*. Far trying to divert votes from the Democrats. The unappetizing task of selling technocrat Cold Warrior Dukakis and Dixiecrat racist Bentsen is not the only problem confronting the CPUSA these days. The rift in the Kremlin between Gorbachev and more conservative bureaucrats around Yegor Ligachev has spilled over into the American CP leadership. In the June issue of *Political Affairs*, party chairman Gus Hall denounces leading Gorbachevites for repudiating class struggle, while editor Mike Zagarell proclaims the unity of humanity in preventing nuclear war. It's not easy being a Moscow-line Stalinist when Moscow has two lines.

But all wings of the CP agree on tailing the Democratic donkey, so the NAP's "two roads" stance drives them into a tizzy: "By ignoring the danger of the extreme Right-wing and pitting gains in one area against those in another the NAP would split the people's movement, causing losses on all fronts," says Zagarell. He lambastes Fulani & Co. for "militant rhetoric which, in reality destroys the unity of labor and the Afro-American people, and sabotages the influence of the working class in the broad democratic movement." By "broad democratic movement" Zagarell means of course the Democratic Party.

Klein-National Alliance

**New Alliance presidential candidate Lenora Fulani works hand in hand with FBI fink Al Sharpton.**

To be sure, once in a rare while the CP finds it opportune not to support the Democratic presidential ticket. On these occasions the Stalinists discover the need for a "Third Party" to run against the "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" Democrats and Republicans. But far from advocating a *workers party*, that being a "Trotskyite" heresy, they support or set up a small bourgeois "people's party" rather similar to the New Alliance operation. The classic case was the 1948 Progressive Party of Henry Wallace. And the CP's ire against the New Alliance Party is partly because the NAP is playing the Stalinists' own tune, though a little off-key. The Communist Party is plainly worried about its turf. In 1986 the NAP even outpolled the CP when Fulani won 25,000 votes for governor of New York State.

In going after the New Alliance Party, CP spokesmen make much of its ties to Al Sharpton, a black demagogue who was exposed earlier this year as an informer for the FBI (see article, page 14). Zagarell writes:

> "Aligned with publicly identified FBI agents such as Al Sharpton, and having grown out of such FBI-controlled organizations as the U.S. Labor (sic) Party [of Lyndon LaRouche], it is not hard to see how NAP can so easily settle into its current divisive line."

Of course, the deeply reformist CP's standard response to *anyone* who "disrupts" the "progressive movement" (i.e., the Democratic Party), whether from the right or the left, is cop-baiting. But sinister agents and hustlers like Sharpton are just the small fry. FBI finks and CIA assets are legion in the Democratic Party. For that matter would the CP support the Republicans if only George Bush had not been head of the CIA?

Certainly, the New Alliance Party is plenty unsavory. The organization is the brain child of one Dr. Fred Newman, who runs a chain of psychobabble therapy clinics. In the early '70s Newman linked up with LaRouche, a kindred radical guru then in transit from crackpot social democracy to crazed ultra-rightism. In 1973 Newman & Co. were holding joint forums with LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees just when the NCLC launched "Operation Mop-Up," a frenzied if ineffectual campaign of physical attacks on the Communist Party. Newman's crew joined the Labor Committees, then split shortly after, but without renouncing "Mop-Up."

On the surface the New Alliance Party looks like just another rad-lib outfit which in recent years has followed the Rainbow. However, it still operates as a front for Newman's "therapy" cult. The NAP's presidential candidate in 1984, Dennis Serrette, who later dropped his sponsors in disgust, reports: "Every member is required to attend at least one social therapy session weekly, led by Newman's hand-picked, hand-trained therapists" (*Delaware County Daily Times*, 19 July). And the NAP is always on the lookout for a hustle: Fulani brags, "I am the first Black woman ever to receive federal primary matching funds."

A December 1987 pamphlet, "Clouds Blur the Rainbow, The Other Side of the New Alliance Party," by Chip Berlet, who tracks rightist groups, charts Newman's course over the years. At the height of the poverty programs, he and his supporters dabbled in various unemployed and welfare rights schemes. Before forming the NAP Newman tried to take over the People's Party (which ran renowned pediatrician Benjamin Spock for president). And more recently they have been involved in a squabble with the California Peace and Freedom Party, trying to get the P&FP endorsement for Fulani.

For several years now, Newman, Fulani & Co. have latched onto the virulent anti-Semite and purveyor of "black capitalism," Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan used to be a prominent and vocal supporter of the Rainbow Coalition. In '84, Farrakhan's inflammatory statements, like "Hitler was a great man," proved no small embarrassment for Jackson and his liberal and left camp followers. As Jackson moved toward the Democratic Party establishment he distanced himself from the racist demagogue Black Muslim. For his part, Far-

Marzani & Munsell Photos

**1948 Progressive Party convention nominates former Democratic vice president Henry Wallace (above left). Stalinist CP pushed this phony, bourgeois "people's party."**

rakhan has taken to calling Jackson a "house negro" on Dukakis' plantation. Meanwhile, the NAP has picked up some recruits from the New Jewish Agenda. This alliance of liberal Zionists with the Hitler-lover Farrakhan is not fated to last long.

### '48 Wallace Campaign: Stalinists as Just Plain Folk

The New Alliance Party is a political aberration, without working-class principle and without prospects. If such an attempt to launch a radical/liberal petty-bourgeois party *were* viable, it would be *against* the working people and counterposed to the struggle for a *class party* of labor. The NAP today looks like a shabby version of the 1948 Progressive Party with some psychohabble thrown in to appeal to the "me generation." Without Jackson, the NAP lacks a big-name bourgeois politician like Henry Wallace, FDR's former Democratic vice president, and the significant organizational resources then commanded by the Communist Party. Hence the increased weight of shady, dubious, lowlife (and mutually incompatible) elements.

With that qualification, it's worth taking a look at the '48 Wallace campaign, which was the classic case of bourgeois "Third Partyism" in the U.S. The stage was set during the second imperialist world war, when in the name of "anti-fascist unity" the Stalinists were more fervent than even many liberals in supporting the reactionary policies of the U.S. government. The CP applauded government strikebreaking, opposed combatting racist segregation in the armed forces, endorsed putting Japanese Americans in concentration camps and hailed the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They followed the logic of the popular front to the point of dissolving the party in 1944, forming the Communist Political Association.

But when Germany was defeated, U.S. imperialism turned sharply against the Soviet Union, threatening to A-bomb its former ally. Stalin responded to the outbreak of the Cold War by ordering Communist parties in the West to execute something of a left turn. Earl Browder, then head of the CPUSA, resisted such a turn and it cost him his political life. The famous 1945 "Duclos letter"—probably written in Moscow—which led to Browder's downfall, criticized the CPUSA for being too soft toward American imperialism. (For an account of the Browder affair, see "The Myth of 'Browderite Revisionism'," *WV* No. 129, 15 October 1976.)

But the new Moscow line was *not* one of working-class struggle against American capitalism. Far from it. Rather the Kremlin called on American Communists to unite with those few bourgeois politicians who were a little slow enlisting in the new Cold War. These were glorified as opponents of monopoly capitalism. The "Duclos letter" singled out Henry Wallace as their leader:

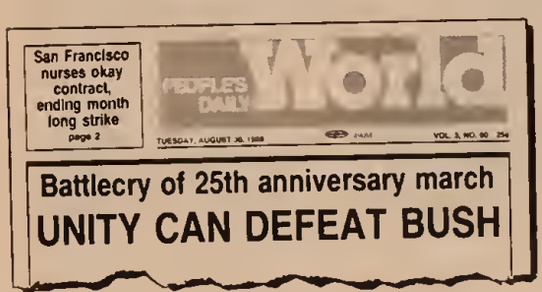
> "In the United States, the omnipotent trusts have been the object of violent criticism. It is known, for instance, that the former Vice President of the United States, Henry Wallace, has denounced their evil doings and their anti-national policy."
>
> —*Political Affairs*, July 1945

The scion of a wealthy and influential Iowa family, Wallace liked to pose as just plain folk. He acted the type portrayed at the time by Jimmy Stewart in movies like *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*.

This Mr. Smith, however, was a loyal servant of American imperialism. As a permanent member of the Roosevelt cabinet, Wallace worked hand in hand with the Dixiecrat racists who ruled the Jim Crow South. During his eight-year stint as secretary of agriculture, millions of black Southern sharecroppers remained cruelly exploited by landowners and bankers, terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan and forcibly prevented from even voting. As vice president and then secretary of commerce during World War II, Wallace shared direct responsibility for strikebreaking at home and war crimes abroad like the A-bombing of Japan.

At the onset of the Cold War Wallace advocated a policy later called "détente." Speaking in New York's Madison Square Garden in 1946, he proclaimed, "we should close our ears to those among us who would have us believe that Russian Communism and our free enterprise system cannot live one with another, in a profitable and productive peace" (quoted in Curtis D. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army* [1965]). To the beleaguered American Stalinists these words were like manna from heaven. (Wallace himself was a bible-thumper who likened the Progressive Party to the Old Testament Gideon's army.)

Wallace had often stated that the strength of the Democratic Party rested in the support of "ordinary folks." The Stalinists now pretended to be those ordinary folks. The irrepressible folksiness of the Wallace campaign was enhanced when Glen Taylor, the singing senator from Montana, joined him as running mate. But the Progressive Party "army" turned out to consist of a handful of bourgeois liberal politicians, the CP, its fellow travelers and a few Stalinist-led unions. The mass of the union bureaucracy and black establishment rallied behind the Cold War and actively campaigned for the Democrat Harry Truman.




**CP Stalinists rally behind Democrats' racist "unity."**

**"Anti-monopoly coalition": the Stalinists didn't invent it (cartoon from the 1880s).**

### James P. Cannon Against Bourgeois "Progressivism"

A significant and vocal minority of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) argued for supporting the Progressive Party and seeking its transformation into a labor party. A document by Chicago SWP leaders, including Arne Swabeck and Mike Bartell, maintained it was not really a bourgeois party—its vaunted leader's program of "progressive capitalism" notwithstanding—because "it is dominated and directed in a large measure by the Stalinists and their fellow travellers." The Chicago document concluded: "The leftward moving workers, unable to find expression on the direct road of a labor party, will unquestionably move to this hypath [the Progressive Party]" ("The Wallace Third Party Movement," [SWP] *Internal Bulletin*, April 1948).

James P. Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, effectively fought those tendencies in the SWP who wanted to capitulate to bourgeois liberalism and Stalinist popular-frontism. Far from being a path to a workers party, a pseudo-radical bourgeois third party like the Progressive Party was a *diversion* from it. For such a party fostered illusions that, in Henry Wallace's words, there can be a "peaceful" and "progressive" American capitalism. Cannon summed up:

> "Wallace is the, as yet, unacknowledged, candidate for the role of

*continued on page 14*

# NAP Gave Platform to Anti-Union Lorenzo Stooges

In their scurrilous attack on the Spartacist League and Communist Party (*National Alliance*, 18 August), the New Alliance Party raises only one pretense at a factual argument, they holler that *Workers Vanguard* made a "vague and turbid" charge that in Atlanta the NAP gave a platform to "anti-labor, pro-Lorenzo forces fighting unionization at Continental Airlines" (*WV* No. 458, 29 July). The NAP is doubly sensitive because they pretend to back labor's battle against union-buster Frank Lorenzo. The following week they ran an article on "Independent Politics and the Eight at Eastern Airlines." But while implying they are the innocent victims of slander, the NAP is careful *not* to deny what *WV* said was true. Let's see why.

On July 19, the NAP had booked the "free speech" holding pen set up by the cops adjacent to Atlanta's Omni convention center. With their huge banner "We Need a People's Party, Not a Businessmen's Convention" unfurled below her, a New Alliance spokesman took the stage to assure those waiting that NAP presidential candidate Lenora Fulani would arrive momentarily. Three people wearing "I Love (heart shape) Continental" T-shirts mounted the stage and thanked the NAP by name for giving them the platform. One of them, a Continental pilot, closed his remarks with an anti-union diatribe:

> "If we don't have a free say in this, then what's the good of being represented?... What we're up against is repression. We want to represent ourselves, organized or unorganized, but we should have the choice."

So at the end of the New Alliance "Rainbow" we find a group of pro-company finks and cheerleaders for Lorenzo, the "Darth Vader" of the airline industry, who slashed wages in half, broke a pilots strike and smashed the unions at Continental in 1983 and is now trying to do the same at Eastern.

Frank Lorenzo regularly hauls out this "Continental by Choice" outfit to oppose union organizing efforts. According to the 28 May *AFL-CIO News*, they were flown in on four chartered planes to demonstrate for Lorenzo outside a National Mediation Board hearing in Washington, where the Eastern unions were petitioning to have Lorenzo's Texas Air empire declared a single company for bargaining purposes. Again on June 9, at the Texas Air stockholders' meeting in New York, "Continental by Choice" pilots and flight attendants were paraded around in uniform to defend scabherder Lorenzo, even as he called on a security guard to expel a Machinists union official from the meeting!

The *National Alliance* (25 August) article on the battle at Eastern complains about "the failure of the rest of the labor movement, in particular the other air transport unions... to rally to their side." This is no accident. Machinists union leader "Wimpy" Winpisinger betrayed the air controllers at the beginning of the Reagan years, ordering his members to work while PATCO was destroyed. At Atlanta, Winpisinger made the nominating speech for black Democrat Jesse Jackson inside the convention hall, while on the outside Jackson supporters Fulani and the NAP were hosting Lorenzo's "scabs by choice." They are all "united" under the banner of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. We say, enough—It's time for a workers party!

## Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!

# Moral Majority Bigots Target Atlanta

ATLANTA, September 2—Led by a used car salesman from Binghamton, NY, for over a month an army of white Christian fundamentalists has been attempting to shut down abortion clinics in Atlanta. They surround the clinics, linking arms to prevent women from entering, and scream at staff members and patients entering the buildings, calling them "murderers" and "baby killers," taking their pictures. They've flooded the jails, giving their names as "John Doe" or "Jane Doe" in "solidarity" with aborted fetuses.

One clinic, the Atlanta SurgiCenter, was stormed and occupied. All the clinics so targeted have received bomb threats, sometimes several a day. Ominously, 100 pounds of dynamite were stolen; one of the suspects was the vice president of an out-of-state Right to Life chapter. A black doctor and clinic owner was prevented from entering his clinic by bigots barring the entrance. "I need to get in and take care of my patients," he pleaded. "We have orders not to let you in," they said. When asked who gave these orders, they replied, "God" (*Atlanta Journal & Constitution*, 26 August).

Determined that no woman is going to be denied an abortion by these scum, the clinics have organized into a coalition so that if their services are disrupted by the deadly right-to-lifers, the women's appointments will automatically be accepted at another clinic somewhere else in Atlanta. The staff of these clinics are courageous and defiant, despite the strain of constant harassment, daily bomb threats, and having to check under the hoods of their cars every night before they go home to make sure their cars don't explode when they turn the key in the ignition. They're hanging tough, proclaiming a devotion to duty. "This isn't just a job," said Marcia Berry of the Atlanta Women's Medical Center. "It's a political statement."

There has been one *pro*-abortion demonstration that took place outside of the Atlanta Care Center, one of those disgusting places that advertises free pregnancy tests, then shows the anti-abortion movie "Silent Scream" to the women waiting for their test results. The Atlanta "Scare" Center should certainly be protested and shut down. But the demonstration's organizers chose the site because they didn't want to "protest in front of any abortion clinics where Operation Rescue [the anti-abortionists] was demonstrating to avoid confrontations" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 21 August). The "Operation Rescue" crowd needs more than just a little confrontation—they need to get a lesson that would have them crawling back into their rat's nests never to emerge again! Last spring, when clinics in New York and Chicago were under siege, the Spartacist League demonstrated, proclaiming:

> "What's needed to keep the clinics open is a massive mobilization of labor, together with women and minorities, to run these bible-thumping bigots out of town."
>
> —"NYC Abortion Clinics Under Siege—Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!" *WV* No. 452, 6 May

Sikes/Sygma

**Racist bigots terrorize women and staff at Atlanta abortion clinics. Below: Charred remains of Pensacola, Florida clinic bombed in 1984 by deadly right-to-lifers.**

McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

What has been happening in Atlanta is an extraparliamentary mobilization by the religious right wing of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. The opening shot was aimed at the Democratic Party convention itself (and against black mayor Andrew Young)—a counter-convention organized by Falwell and Phyllis Schlafly, urging their fundamentalist followers to continue their "moral revolution" and bombarding Democratic delegates with their "Family Manifesto" demanding forced prayer in the schools and the banning of abortion.

These reactionaries are drawn mainly from the Baton Rouge area of Louisiana—Jimmy Swaggart country—and from the lily-white suburbs and counties surrounding Atlanta. They've targeted Atlanta, obscenely calling the city the "Selma of the anti-abortion movement." There's no question but that these all-white fundamentalist reactionaries have a larger agenda than just shutting down abortion clinics. Majority-black Atlanta is a city run by a black Democratic Party administration which includes many veterans of the civil rights movement. In league with the Klan's attempted demonstration during the Democratic convention, this is an orchestrated attempt at rolling back democratic rights across the board.

Atlanta clinics that offer abortion services have long been targets of the fundamentalist right. It's a familiar sight to see women seeking abortions pushing their way through hostile pickets. In 1984 the Atlanta Northside Family Planning Services clinic was firebombed, and in June 1987 Dr. James Gay, owner and operator of the Northside Women's Clinic, was arrested after repeatedly turning his sprinkler system on anti-abortion picketers in a commendable act of social hygiene.

All over the country abortion clinics have been under siege. In North Carolina recently they had a "funeral" for 67 fetuses some reactionary sicko fished out of hospital garbage bins. In Pensacola, Florida anti-abortionists erected a "Tomb of the Unknown Fetus" in honor of one of their partners in crime, Joan Andrews, currently serving a prison sentence for a clinic bombing. The leader of the Pensacola right-to-lifers, John Burt, is an ex-Klansman who brags about his violent activities in St. Augustine against the civil rights movement.

These reactionary anti-abortion terrorists act in concert with the attacks by the bourgeois state on abortion, most recently the removal of Title X funds designated for facilities that offer family planning services to lower-income women, cutting off funds not only from abortion clinics, but also from family planning counseling services that offer *information* about abortions. Likewise the Agency for International Development has been withdrawing funds from international family planning programs that offer abortion services or abortion counseling.

And in state after state, legislation has been passed requiring young women to get parental assent before seeking an abortion. These "squeal laws" would deny most teenagers access to abortion, since "notifying" a parent of an unwanted pregnancy could be an invitation to physical abuse, or worse. While many of these bills have been thrown out in federal courts, the Minnesota law, one of the most stringent, was recently upheld by the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals. These conflicting decisions are sure to provoke a ruling by the Rehnquist Supreme Court.

In the recent past the state of Georgia in particular has been on the front line of Reagan's war on the working class and blacks. In June 1986 the Supreme Court upheld Georgia's now infamous sodomy law, a viciously anti-homosexual decision applicable to anyone who doesn't conform to the *professed* positions of the right-wing fundamentalists. Then came the Supreme Court's endorsement of Georgia's racist and barbaric death penalty, deeming it "irrelevant" that blacks are far more frequently sentenced to die than whites convicted of the same crimes.

*continued on page 13*

WV Photo

**Spartacist contingent marches in NYC protest against attacks on abortion clinics, April 29.**

Young Spartacus

# The Bolshevik Revolution

Women workers sparked the 1917 February Revolution that overthrew tsarist autocracy.

Viktor Bulla

# How the Working Class Took Power

As James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, stated:

> "The Russian question is no literary exercise to be taken up or cast aside according to the mood of the moment. The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood and reality."
>
> —"We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" (October 1939)

We print below a presentation on the Russian Revolution (condensed for publication) by comrade T. Marlow to the New York Spartacist League

## Part One of Two

branch. Part I covers the prelude to power and the fights which shaped the Bolshevik Party from February 1917 through the July Days. Part II will cover the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution. (We recommend the readings for this class to all: John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*, and Leon Trotsky's "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution," *From October to Brest-Litovsk*, and *The Lessons of October*.)

* * *

This class is on the Russian Revolution, the world-historic event of our century. It's the story of how the relatively small Russian proletariat came to lead not only the overthrow of tsarist absolutism, but to conquer state power only eight months later in an empire covering one-sixth of the planet. At the turn of the century Russia had a population of roughly 150 million people, the vast majority of whom were peasants still laboring under almost feudal conditions on the land. Due to the stifling weight of the tsarist bureaucracy and autocratic rule, you didn't get the development of an indigenous bourgeoisie as had occurred in Europe much earlier. So the middle classes in Russia were very, very small. Industrial development was highly concentrated in a few major cities and it was largely foreign-owned. The Russian capitalist class came to look at the tsarist state not as something to overthrow, but as a necessary club to keep the workers in line.

Because industry in Russia was new, it was present at the highest technological levels—very large, concentrated plants. The relative social weight of the proletariat was therefore much higher than in the other advanced capitalist countries. You had a very young, very raw, very militant proletariat, which was open to the most advanced ideas of the time. While the working class represented a minority, it was not insignificant. Trotsky points out that even as early as 1905, if you took the city and village workers plus their families, this amounted to some 25 million people, which was the entire population of France at the time of the Great French Revolution. This class basis formed the outline for the divisions among the Russian Marxists, which are given so concisely in Trotsky's pamphlet, "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution." In brief the three concepts were:

One, the Mensheviks—they looked at the situation and said: The tasks of the revolution are bourgeois. We have to overthrow the monarchy and carry out abolition of feudal relations on the land, and if it's a bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie has to do it. This was stated quite openly by Axelrod, a leading Menshevik, who said in 1906 that "we must not even so much as mention the direct fight of the proletariat against other classes for political power. Objective historical conditions doom our proletariat to an inevitable collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the struggle against our common enemy."

Second was Lenin's position which immediately discounted the revolutionary capacities of the rather miserable Russian middle classes. His focus was primarily on the agrarian question, that the seizure of the large landed estates by the peasantry would be the motor force of revolution. He looked at the union of revolutionary forces being that of the peasants and the workers. And the formulation he came up with was the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," the chief task of which was to clear Russia of medieval rubbish. The weakness of the formulation was the implicit secondary role that the proletariat would have to play. And this was in fact acknowledged by Lenin, who referred to the dictatorship as "bourgeois," not socialist.

But Lenin did not intend to doom the proletariat, as did Axelrod, because his conception of the revolution was above all *international*. He saw the Russian Revolution as a great impetus to the socialist revolution in the West, and that when state power had been taken in the West, the proletariat in Russia would go through a fairly short period of capitalist development, whereupon they too would overthrow their bourgeoisie. Faced with the revolution in life, Lenin was later to change his formulation, as we shall see.

The third conception is Trotsky's, that of *permanent revolution*. Like Lenin, Trotsky dismissed the revolutionary capacities of the Russian middle-class bourgeois liberals. But unlike Lenin, Trotsky forswore in advance the idea that the peasants could play a leading role in the revolution. As early as 1906, in *Results and Prospects*, he noted that in the previous whole entire historical development of capitalism, it was always in the towns that the first revolutionary classes arose which would later overthrow feudalism. And he stated that only the proletariat in 20th century conditions in Russia could play that role, that it would appear in power to the peasants as their class liberator. Trotsky stated, "Coming into the

*continued on page 8*

# Bolshevik Revolution...

*(continued from page 7)*

government not as a helpless hostage, but as the leading force, the representatives of the proletariat will by virtue of that alone smash the demarcation between the minimal and maximal program, i.e., place collectivization on the order of the day." And that's exactly what happened.

The 1905 Revolution in tsarist Russia did not succeed, but it did throw up one thing which was to be of vital significance later: the workers councils, the *soviets*. Faced with the hot breath of the proletariat behind them and remembering the experiences of the Paris Commune, the 1905 Revolution drove the Russian bourgeois liberals further away from revolutionary pretensions. After 1905 there was a period of dark reaction, but by about 1912 class struggle began to pick up. In the first half of 1914, there were as many people on strike as there were at the height of the 1905 Revolution. Trotsky speculated that in the natural course of things, the proletariat might have assumed power and led the peasants behind them. But events were cut short by the cataclysm of the First World War.

In the initial burst of patriotism following the declaration of war, the class struggle in Russia basically came to a halt. The Bolsheviks, who had been a leading force within the Russian proletariat, were hounded, their leaders forced into exile, their rank-and-file workers beaten for their opposition to the war. However, this patriotism and chauvinism didn't last too long, because the costs of the war were tremendous for Russia. Trotsky estimates the number of dead, wounded and captured at about five and a half million men. Along with the suffering at the front there was economic chaos. And while the war profiteers were raking in the gold, the bulk of the population was suffering greatly. This laid the basis for the explosion in February 1917.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

**Imperialist slaughter of World War I built mass support for the Bolsheviks, who demanded peace without annexations.**

### The Paradox of the February Revolution

The explosion came from below, triggered by the strike of mostly women textile workers on 23 February 1917 (International Women's Day on the old Russian calendar). The strike wave spread and within days almost the entire working class of Petrograd was out. To give you a feel for how this event caught even the most advanced political party—the Bolsheviks—off balance, it wasn't until two days later that the Bolshevik Central Committee authorized issuing a call for a general strike. There were numerous street clashes and quite a number of casualties, but when push came to shove, the tsar could find no loyal troops. Later on, even his own palace guard deserted him.

Despite the fact that the autocracy had been overthrown largely through the efforts of the workers, the government that resulted from the February Revolution did not really have any representation from the working class. As Trotsky points out in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, the February Revolution really represented the awakening of the mass, multimillion, peasant-based army. And the traditional party of the peasantry was the Social Revolutionaries (SRs). In the army you also had numerous middle-class intellectuals—doctors and engineers—who were chosen as delegates because they knew how to read. Their party was the Mensheviks.

*These guys did not want political power!* They felt swept up to heights that they weren't used to. They went to the bourgeois leaders like Miliukov and the Kadets (the bourgeois party) and said, "Here, take it, we don't want it." Within the soviets, the resulting coalition and the Executive Committee that was elected also reflected the predominance of the SRs and the Mensheviks, and, as Trotsky noted, the Mensheviks were really the political force. This explains the main paradox of the February Revolution—the workers carried it out but the government that came out of it was a bourgeois government. The paradox is that the masses were deeply hostile to the bourgeoisie, and looked only to the soviets, which were the *de facto* power. But the petty-bourgeois leadership in the soviets, fearing anarchy from the masses and feeling insecure, sought to give the power to the bourgeoisie and did.

What was the attitude of the Bolshevik Party during all this? With the first Provisional Government side by side with the soviets, one enters the period of *dual power*. On the one hand you have a bourgeois government nominally in charge of the army, but with zero social base. On the other side you have the soviets—which also at times claimed some command over the troops—supported by the vast majority of the workers, but whose leaders had voluntarily given up the power. The fundamental class contradiction is that the state power cannot be wielded simultaneously by an amalgam of irreconcilable class forces. Either one or the other had to go. Lenin's attitude was that the Provisional Government was bourgeois. It was committed to the imperialist war aims and the Bolsheviks could in no way support it. And he made this clear literally as soon as he got off the train when he returned to Russia in early April.

### Lenin's April Theses

Before Lenin's return, the Bolsheviks in Russia had taken an extremely conciliatory attitude as exemplified in *Pravda* (Stalin was on the editorial board). *Pravda* came out and practically said, we must remain at our posts, none of this "down with the war." It was a hairsbreadth from the Menshevik position. Stalin at least was consistent—as early as 1907 he crowed that the bourgeois revolution in Russia would culminate in a democratic republic. So evidently he looked around, saw what looked to be a democratic republic and thought that was all right. *Pravda* also went on to hail a manifesto that was issued by the soviets on the war which amounted to an on-your-knees appeal to the Allied governments. In a letter dated March 12, Lenin referred to this manifesto, saying, "To urge that government to conclude a democratic peace is like preaching virtue to brothel keepers."

Lenin's hostility to the Provisional Government came as a shock to a lot of the Bolshevik leadership. He declared right then and there that support to the Provisional Government was a *split* issue. He was going to fight any manifestations of defensism in the party, which he called a "betrayal of socialism." The culmination of this is Lenin's famous "April Theses," in which the bottom line is that the government issuing from the February Revolution is not our government and the war it is fighting is not our war. The task of the Bolsheviks is to overthrow the imperialist government. However, since the government at present rests on the support of the SRs and the Mensheviks, who are in turn supported by the masses, the task is to patiently explain; to win the masses over and to teach them not to trust the compromisers.

When *Pravda* published the April Theses, not a single other member of the Central Committee would sign it! On April 8 a *Pravda* editorial attacked the April Theses. So this fight went pretty deep. Lenin had explicitly repudiated the old Bolshevik formulation of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." He said, it's antiquated, any attempt to revive it is impossible, and added that anybody who continued to support it had in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie.

Trotsky sums up in *The Lessons of October* the decisive question posed by this fight: Is the party heading for the conquest of power or not? Do you seek to overthrow the Provisional Government and seize power through the soviets, or do you consign yourself to being a pressure group on the government, i.e., an opposition in some kind of a bourgeois parliament? Lenin had threatened to split, but the Bolsheviks' April conference accepted his position and in effect the party was put back on the rails.

In April, the first Provisional Government fell. This was prompted by a letter Miliukov had written, stating that Russia would pursue its war aims, becoming public. And Petrograd exploded. There were armed demonstrations in the streets. This provoked a cabinet reshuffle, and a coalition was formed with the SRs and the Mensheviks formally accepting ministerial portfolios. Also during the April Days the Kadets scheduled a patriotic demonstration, and General Kornilov (who we'll hear from later) attempted to move troops and artillery in to support the Kadets.

Fearing what was up, the leaders of the soviets issued a proclamation to the Petrograd garrison saying essentially that "without our authority you don't move." This is an illustration of *dual power*: the soviets asserting rights that would traditionally be sacrosanct privileges of the state. In June the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets was called. Since the elections had taken place a while back, the Congress reflected the consciousness of February. The delegates again were predominantly SRs and Mensheviks, but with a small, solid Bolshevik minority.

### The July Days

After the April Days it was clear there was a lot of sentiment against the bourgeois government, so the Bolsheviks decided to test this. They called an armed demonstration for the 10th of June. This was primarily to pressure the

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**Above: Alexander Kerensky (in tie), leader of bourgeois Provisional Government. Right: 18 June 1917, thousands marched in Petrograd with Bolshevik slogan, "Down with the capitalist ministers!"**

soviet leadership to break the coalition with the bourgeoisie and essentially to assume power. The Executive Committee was scared and said "no." They even went to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and got the demonstration banned. The Bolsheviks didn't wish to openly oppose a Congress of Soviets at this point, so they stood down. But they had their revenge. On June 18 the compromiser leadership of the soviets called their own demonstration which they thought would be a peaceful affair, and 400,000 people showed up carrying Bolshevik slogans like "Down with the ten capitalist ministers!" "Down with the offensive!" "All power to the soviets!"

The Provisional Government was discredited, and not just with the Petrograd masses. Most important to it was the feeling of the Allied imperialists, who were upset that Russia really wasn't doing anything to continue the glorious war. So the Provisional Government launched a new military offensive. In his history of the First World War, A.J.P. Taylor says, "The Russian soldiers at last lost heart and interest. They began to go home without waiting for the end of the war. Kerensky had hoped to restore Russia's fighting spirit, instead he destroyed the Russian army."

By the beginning of July, the impatience of the masses with the Provisional Government had reached the boiling point. The Bolsheviks tried very hard to hold back what they were afraid would be a premature bid for power. But when the workers and the Kronstadt sailors went out into the streets, rather than leave them without any kind of a leadership the Bolsheviks assumed responsibility for the demonstration. They tried to keep it a demonstration, despite the later cries of the reactionaries that this was actually an insurrection. They surrounded the Tauride Palace where the compromiser leadership of the soviets was meeting—and they must have been sweating, with a hundred thousand guys outside with guns demanding an end to their coalition with the bourgeoisie. And they didn't

P.I. Volkov

**Lenin presenting his "April Theses," arguing that the Provisional Government was a bourgeois government and the Bolsheviks must lead fight for all power to the soviets.**

have any troops left in the garrison that they could rely on. But so-called reliable troops were secured from the front and "discipline" was restored in Petrograd.

The ruling class was in a frenzy. They were driven by fear and hatred of revolution which had stared them in the face for two days. The general staff also needed a scapegoat, because their military offensive had predictably gotten bogged down. So as a result there was wholesale repression against the Bolsheviks. Their newspapers were shut down, many people were arrested, there were murders. Lenin went underground on July 6th. Trotsky publicly associated himself with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and was arrested on the 23rd of July and sent to Kresty Prison.

There was some consternation about the fact that Lenin had gone underground. But he knew that if he was captured by the authorities they would have done him in, and he felt that he had to keep himself around for the success of the revolution. As Trotsky points out, it's sufficient to recall the fate of the German revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Lenin was also worried about the further course of the revolution, because at this point the Bolshevik Party was being repressed, not only by open counterrevolutionary elements, bourgeois forces, but by the SRs and the Mensheviks, who were leading the charge with all their slanders.

### The Bolsheviks Defeat Kornilov

If the Petrograd masses were sick of the Provisional Government, the bourgeoisie was also. Fresh from the suppression of the July Days, and with their own class interests in mind, they knew that dual power was a situation which couldn't last, and they wanted to resolve it in their favor. This meant a military solution—and if a Russian general couldn't pull it off, the "patriotic" bourgeoisie was perfectly capable of looking for salvation from the German Kaiser. It echoes the "patriotism" of the French bourgeoisie in 1871 who begged Bismarck to come in and crush the Paris Commune. By late July, however, the obvious favorite was General Lavr Kornilov, the new commander in chief of the Russian army. In a conversation with his chief of staff, Kornilov vowed to "hang the German agents and spies, Lenin first of all, and disperse the soviets."

The soviet leadership bumbled away as the counterrevolution approached. Fortunately the working class did not. The lower soviet bodies got in motion and essentially bypassed the entire upper leadership. Trotsky said, "the Revolution had everywhere its eye, its ear and its hand." As Kornilov set in motion he found that the rudimentary things you need for a military campaign like communications, transport, supplies, troops—they were all for the soviet and not for him. It never actually came to any fighting. The Bolshevik agitators were successful in winning over those few regiments that hadn't basically told Kornilov to get lost in the first place.

After the failed Kornilov uprising, Trotsky, who was in prison at the time, expected things to move quite quickly toward a revolution. It didn't quite work out that way—there was still a little bit of time left. But the overthrow of the government was clearly on the order of the day.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

# Real Communists Don't Crawl for the Democrats

## Report from CP Youth Convention

The Young Communist League (YCL) logo says it all: red, white and blue with a star-spangled map of the USA. Despite the name, these Communist Party (CP) youth freely admit they don't want to play up the C-word too much. The message delivered to youth attending the Third National YCL Convention held at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst June 17-19 was: don't fight, vote Democrat! At times the audience of 250 people looked on the verge of lapsing into mass coma at every moan from the podium to "Beat Bush." With the regimented atmosphere of a Catholic summer camp, the whole area was declared "an alcohol and drug-free zone" and smokers had to slink around the corridors like escaped cons.

The convention drew a number of youth who are new to politics and looking for revolutionary solutions to fight racism, poverty, union-busting and imperialism's global war preparations. Those looking for a class-struggle perspective couldn't find it inside the convention, however. They had to slip the watchful eye of CP chaperons and talk to Spartacist comrades who were undemocratically excluded by the Stalinists from the heralded "open" convention. YCLers caught talking to us were told it was a convention rule to *always* be in a workshop. Fearing open political debate, especially debate with the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union, the CP resorted to lies and whispers from the ridiculous charge that we say the USSR is "state capitalist" (which any glance at *Workers Vanguard* quickly dispelled) to the outrageous cop-baiting slanders the CP dishes out against all challengers on their left.

In contrast, the CP left itself disarmed before a right-wing provocation by the campus contras grouped around the *Minuteman*, who last semester tried to attack CP leader Gus Hall when he spoke at Amherst (see *WV* No. 443, 1 January). The YCL, afraid of appearing too militant, downplayed the threat and tried to cool out its members who wanted to make short work of these proto-fascist punks sporting "Kill a Commie for Mommy" T-shirts and carrying full-size American flags on staffs. Rebuffing our offers of a united defense squad, one YCL leader frantically searched for a campus cop, but the forces of capitalist "law and order" took a powder during this rabid disruption, and the entire YCL security team was out playing basketball!

Throughout the conference the YCL attempted to style themselves champions of anti-racist struggle. But they oppose *independent* labor and black struggle, instead peddling reliance on the biggest racists around, calling on the capitalist state to "outlaw racism" and "ban" fascists. Racist violence is not some aberrant idea that can be legislated off the planet—it's endemic to the capitalist system which keeps black people segregated at the bottom of the economy. What's needed is militant action by the integrated labor movement against marauding racists and in defense of the rights of all the oppressed. In 1982 the Spartacist League organized 5,000 people, labor and the black community, to stop the KKK from marching in the nation's capital. And where was Gus? The CP wrote impotent appeals that the police who protect fascist scum should protect black people.

**CP reformists tell black people they should rely on the racist capitalist government.**

The YCL tells youth to "just say no" to Reaganism by voting for the Democrats, the party of the slavemasters in the Civil War, the party that threw Japanese Americans into concentration camps (a *racist crime* the CP actually *endorsed* at the time!), the party that bombed and napalmed Vietnam and sent tanks rolling into black Detroit to put down the ghetto rebellion in 1967. Unity with the mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie is so paramount for the CP that they're not even running their own candidates this year, instead pushing the lie that anti-busing technocrat Dukakis and his Texan rancher sidekick offer a way out for working people and minorities.

Pandering to the Democrats and bourgeois "respectability" also leads the CP to flinch on defense of the Soviet workers state at key junctures, on KAL 007 ("Soviets Deny Downing Plane") and over stopping Solidarnosc' counterrevolutionary bid for power ("Poland Needs Unity Call—Nation Goes Back to Work"). Despite the "detente" pipe dreams of Kremlin bureaucrats and their CP underlings, the imperialist A-bombers of Hiroshima and carpet-bombers of Vietnam will not change their policies by appeals to their nonexistent morality. The only road to peace is to disarm the bloody capitalist class through world socialist revolution!

Youth who want to get rid of this racist capitalist system should join the Spartacus Youth Clubs. We have a world to win ■

Young Spartacus

## Honor Picket Lines—Shut Down Classes!

# Victory to NYU Clerical Workers!

Banging pots and pans and chanting "Five percent won't pay the rent!" striking clerical and technical workers at New York University (NYU) put up picket lines at all the main campus buildings on August 29. The strikers, represented by American Federation of Teachers Local 3882, are demanding a union shop and desperately needed improvements in pay, benefits and working conditions.

An article on the skyrocketing rents in New York City in the 12 July *New York Times* exposed the case of a *homeless* NYU clerical worker who can't possibly find food, clothing and shelter for herself and three children on the meager NYU paycheck of only $17,500 a year. Meanwhile, NYU president John Brademas lounges in a rent-free luxury penthouse in the heart of Greenwich Village and plays slumlord to the Lower East Side, where cops recently staged a bloody riot against residents and youth protesting "gentrification."

With registration under way and classes starting September 8, students face the question: which side are you on? *Shutting down the university* is key to winning this strike—that's why we say: *picket lines mean don't cross!* Phone workers and delivery men are honoring the lines—students, faculty and the other campus unions must do likewise. Spartacus Youth Club members have been on the picket lines every day. Shut down classes! No business as usual!

The clerical and technical staff at NYU is 70 percent female and 50 percent minority. Emphasizing the issue of "pay equity," the union points out that they receive about $2,000 less than the predominantly male operators and porters. A key way to boost pay for the lowest-paid as well as the entire workforce is by fighting for *one campus-wide union* of all university employees. This is the way to break the university's pattern of pitting one sector of the workforce against another with separate contracts and pay scales.

Young Spartacus

**On the picket line, August 30. Spartacus Youth Club members join strikers to help shut down NYU.**

At the first meeting of a student strike support committee on September 1, Spartacus Youth Club members argued for a boycott of classes. This position won significant support, but the majority of those present voted instead for a token one-day boycott and a proposal to move classes off campus—a proposal which, one militant pointed out, simply saves NYU electricity and assuages the guilt of liberals who want to evade picket lines rather than build them. As an SYC member said, "A picket line is a picket line and a scab is a scab. The real question is not the 'sacrifice' of having to make up lost credits, but what's life going to be like for you when you're done with school and have to go out and find a job, if corporations like NYU continue to get away with busting unions?"

For once, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) is also calling for a boycott of classes. In 1985 the ISO *boasted* about scabbing on the British miners strike, and last October they voted against a motion put forward by the Cornell Spartacus Youth Club for students to boycott classes and honor picket lines during a campus workers strike. These anti-Soviet "state department socialists" can't see the class line even when they're tripping right over it: their leaflet likens the struggle of NYU clericals to Polish Solidarity. Solidarnosc is not a union, it's the only "union" Reagan loves—a clerical-reactionary outfit openly on the take from the CIA.

As the largest section of the campus population, college students can play a significant role in the fate of a campus workers strike. The success of any strike is measured by its ability to shut down operations and keep out the scabs. Genuine solidarity is not five minutes of picket duty before and after *scabbing* by going to classes. A united show of strength by all sectors of the campus now could make the difference between a swift *victory* for the union or the prospect of a long drawn-out defeat. All out for Local 3882! Shut down NYU! Victory to the workers! ■

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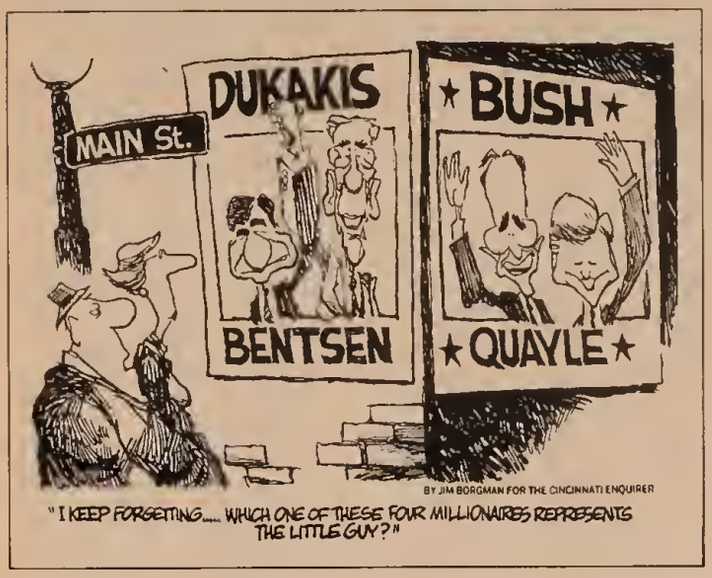
# Bush-Dukakis...

*(continued from page 1)*

striking how all these "standing tall" people take to the hills when the war they want breaks out—remember Congressman Pete McCloskey's revelation about how Pat Robertson pulled strings to get out of combat during the Korean War"

Not that these guys are backward when it comes to killing people—the CIA that Bush ran kills and maims millions all over the globe. Bush's childhood nickname (at the Greenwich Country Day School) of "Poppy" is wildly appropriate for this ex-kingpin of the drug-running CIA.

And Teddy Kennedy taunted Bush over Reagan's Iran/contra scandal with the repeated query, "Where was George?" One might just as well ask, where were Teddy and the Senate Democrats supposedly overseeing CIA operations? They deliberately looked the other way when it was obvious that the White House was defying Congressional bans on contra aid, not to mention putting off inquiries into the CIA/contra drugs-for-guns operations (on assurances given to them by one Lt. Col. Oliver North).




"I KEEP FORGETTING.... WHICH ONE OF THESE FOUR MILLIONAIRES REPRESENTS THE LITTLE GUY?"

But the media's frenzy over Quayle's hypocrisy backfired as the polls swung back to Bush, who escalated his flag-waving counterattack by taunting Dukakis for his 1977 legal stand against a bill forcing teachers to lead their classes in the Pledge of Allegiance. Columnist Russell Baker joked that "Bush planned to knock Dukakis out of the race in the first debate by inviting Dukakis to join him in singing the second verse of 'The Star Spangled Banner'."

The reason there's no serious debate is that the two parties have reached a *consensus* on an anti-working-class program at home and an anti-Soviet war program abroad, but of course they can't *say* that explicitly to the electorate. Essential points of agreement include:

*Military buildup and confrontation.* Reagan pushed through a trillion-dollar military buildup, including the "Star Wars" first-strike Strategic Defense Initiative, all in the name of fighting the "evil empire." With this came repeated military adventures ultimately aimed at provoking the Soviet Union, from the bombing of Libya and the invasion of Grenada to the naval incursions in the Black Sea and the KAL 007 spy plane disaster.

Bush promises more of the same. As if to emphasize continuity in this policy, Dukakis chose as his running mate Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who has backed Reagan down the line over military policy, especially on contra aid. The Democrats' main tactical difference is that Dukakis wants a "Conventional Defense Initiative," a buildup of high-tech "smart" weapons to be *used* against the Soviets in Europe (*Navy Times*, 22 August).

Among Dukakis' key military advisers is Robert J. Murray, who was dean of the Naval War College in the Reagan years of 1981-83, while Bush has brought on board Zbigniew Brzezinski, who served President Carter. Even the *Nation* crowd of liberals, desperately trying to find a reason to vote for Dukakis, glumly notes, "It's clear now that under Dukakis *or* Bush the cold war is likely to be carried on—by other means, if not the old means" (Andrew Kopkind and Alexander Cockburn, "Mike Dukakis's Political Economy," *Nation*, 16 July).

*Racism and the growth of fascist terror.* The Reagan/Bush administration has fostered the growth of Klan/Nazi terror as the Meese "Justice" Department spent eight years tearing down the limited legal gains of the '50s and '60s civil rights movement. Governor Dukakis was already on the racist bandwagon in the mid-'70s when he came out for "separate but equal" schooling during the Boston busing crisis. Bush's attempt to court Hispanic Americans, now a significant section of the electorate, backfired when he introduced to Reagan the children of his Mexican daughter-in-law as "the little brown ones."

Meanwhile Dukakis has been trying to make Jesse Jackson take a back seat on the Democratic bus in order to cater to the racist vote. Jackson was told by Dukakis aides "not to campaign in Mr. Dukakis's behalf in several states where their polling indicated he would alienate more voters than he would attract," especially Alabama, Mississippi, New York and Michigan "except for Ann Arbor" (*New York Times*, 1 September). And when Dukakis campaigned in Philadelphia, Mississippi in mid-August, he deliberately avoided mentioning the 1964 Klan murder of three civil rights workers there. The partner parties of racist American capitalism are both enemies of oppressed minorities.

Sipa/Newsday

**Zionist pig Ed Koch and Jesse Jackson "bury the hatchet" in display of Democratic Party's racist "unity."**

*Austerity, protectionism and union-busting.* The breaking of the PATCO air traffic controllers union back in 1981 was Reagan's signal that it was open season on the labor movement. Subsequent hard-fought strikes by copper miners in Morenci, Arizona and by meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota were defeated with the aid of the National Guard called out by liberal Democratic governors. While over a fifth of all the delegates at Atlanta were union members, Dukakis is going out of his way to avoid identification with labor or blacks ("special interests" in Reaganspeak).

Attacking the Reagan/Bush economic record, Dukakis pushed a "new economic patriotism" when he spoke to the AFL-CIO, complaining that the U.S. trade deficit with Japan had tripled under Reagan. This Japan-hashing is preparation for a racist trade war with Tokyo (which ultimately leads to a shooting war). Dukakis also put in a good word for "our courageous and determined Polish brothers" in Solidarność. This was applauded by the anti-Communist fat-cat bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, who funneled millions of CIA dollars to the only "union" Reagan loves.

Domestically Dukakis can be accused of plagiarizing "free enterprise" Reaganomics, at most preferring more traditionally conservative "balanced budget" panaceas. One of his top economic advisers, Lawrence Summers, was a member of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers. Dukakis forces crushed Jackson's proposals to (slightly) tax the rich to pay for social welfare programs. There will be no FDR-type New Deal under Dukakis, the so-called Massachusetts Miracle of growth relied heavily on the Reagan military buildup to fuel the high-tech war industries on Route 128.

When all is said and done, it may be that Dukakis & Co. are following the advice of Wisconsin Senator Proxmire, who intimated, "You will not get one in 100 to admit it, but the best thing that could happen to the Democrats might be to lose the next presidential election." Proxmire was predicting a new depression. Already Paul Erdman and a host of bourgeois economists and soothsayers are predicting a "crash of '89." And the Democrats certainly don't have a program to prevent it or fight it any more than the Republicans do.

For the working class and minorities, the '88 election serves to emphasize the dead end of bourgeois politics, padlocked by the two capitalist parties. For American workers, who have seen their wages steadily slashed over the last 15 years; for black and Hispanic minorities trapped in the impoverished ghettos and barrios, targeted by racists in white sheets and blue uniforms; for all the victims of decaying American capitalism, the way out is through forging a class-struggle workers party to lead the struggle for proletarian revolution, championing the liberation of all the oppressed. ■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# Police-State Olympics...

*(continued from page 1)*

home team—or suddenly reaching for a stick of gum."

The entire 600,000-man South Korean army as well as the 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there will be placed on full alert during the games. A squadron of U.S. fighter planes has been moved from Japan to Korea, a U.S. Navy carrier task force will patrol offshore and AWACS aircraft will be flying overhead. The North Korean regime (which has refused to participate in the Seoul Olympics) rightly called the games "undisguised war maneuvers."

To hold the Olympics in Seoul is itself a Cold War provocation. For it was on the Korean peninsula in 1950 that the Cold War turned into a hot war. It was here that U.S. imperialism moved to "roll back Communism," beginning with North Korea, only to be stopped by the Chinese army backed by the Soviet Union. The American Caesar, Douglas MacArthur, suffered the most humiliating defeat of his career when the Chinese Red Army crossed the Yalu and smashed the U.S. Eighth Army. In response MacArthur wanted to bomb China. U.S. president Harry Truman vetoed this move, fearing it would trigger World War III by provoking Russia. Ever since the 1953 truce, the totally militarized Korean peninsula—divided between the "free world" military dictatorship in the South and the grotesquely deformed workers state in the North—has been a trip wire for World War III.

For decades anyone in South Korea who even spoke of reunification risked imprisonment, torture and assassination. But today popular sympathy for reunification, spearheaded by the militant student protests, is so intense that even the U.S. puppet regime of Roh Tae Woo is paying lip service to it. In July Roh announced an opening to the North, permitting trade, family visits and student exchanges. In late August South Korean politicians and North Korean bureaucrats met at the Korean War truce village of Panmunjom, but their talks went nowhere.

The notion that reunification can be achieved peacefully under the banner of "democracy" is a liberal nationalist pipe dream. The national and social liberation of the Korean people requires revolutionary reunification—proletarian socialist revolution against the Cold War neocolony in the South, proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist regime in the North.

Combative South Korean proletariat has the power to overthrow Cold War police state. George Mitchell

### South Korean Working Class Shows Its Power

For decades South Korea has been ruled by a succession of generals trained and selected by the Pentagon. Following last year's months-long labor and student revolt, the military regime in Seoul has taken on a parliamentary façade. A majority in the impotent National Assembly is now held by liberal opposition parties led by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam. While the feuding Kims don't like one another, both are currently on amicable terms with President Roh, who was trained for the job at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and later with the U.S. forces ravaging Vietnam. The so-called "democratization" of South Korea is pure hype. With its weak native bourgeoisie, its huge and combative proletariat and radical student movement, this Cold War front line state can exist only as a military dictatorship (open or disguised) or it won't exist at all.

In addition to heralding its phony "democratization," propagandists for U.S. imperialism point to South Korea as a great success story of "free enterprise" capitalism. But the South Korean "economic miracle" is based on subjecting workers to *the highest rate of exploitation* in the industrial world. An American liberal who visited a Seoul factory last year wrote to the *New York Times* (5 January):

> "Conditions were reminiscent of the 19th-century Lawrence, Mass., textile mills. Teen-age women, recent arrivals from the countryside, work 13-hour days, 6-day weeks, for 65 cents an hour. They live in hostels above the factories, 10 to a room, returning half their wages to the American-owned company for 'room' and meals."

*Business Week* points out that South Koreans work over the course of a year 40 percent more hours than Americans and 25 percent more hours than Japanese. At the same time, South Korea's industrial plant, heavily financed by American and Japanese capital, is among the world's most advanced. The result is bloated profits for the *chaebols*—the huge state-sponsored monopolies like Hyundai, Daewoo and Samsung—and their Wall Street and Tokyo backers.

Until last year independent trade unions in South Korea were effectively suppressed. The only legal unions were company unions under the umbrella of the state-sponsored Federation of Korean Trade Unions, which enforced labor discipline hand in glove with company goons, the KCIA spy agency and riot police. This corporatist straitjacket was ripped apart by a massive strike wave centering on the notoriously reactionary Hyundai empire (see "South Korea: Strikes Shake Dictatorship," *WV* No. 435, 4 September 1987).

Again this spring a strike wave involving over a thousand separate industrial actions shook the *chaebols*. The core of the South Korean industrial proletariat went out—auto workers at Hyundai and Daewoo, shipbuilders at Samsung. At Hyundai Precision and Industry Co. strikers held eleven executives, including the founder's son, hostage in the company compound for seven days. Throughout South Korea workers took on the *kudasan*, the bosses' paid goons and strikebreakers.

The strikes ended with wage increases averaging 20 percent. Even the *Wall Street Journal* conceded that the *chaebols* could easily absorb the additional labor costs. Profits are expected to increase by 30 percent this year, while South Korean companies routinely achieve double-digit gains in labor productivity. Nevertheless, the Korean bourgeoisie and their imperialist overlords have to be nervous about the emergence of a combative and independently organized proletariat. They are sitting atop a volcano.

Imperialist agencies are working overtime to co-opt and control the new South Korean unions. Thus last winter the AFL-CIO sponsored "training sessions" for union leaders at various South Korean universities. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy is notorious as an instrument for CIA-backed intervention to smash labor militancy throughout the American empire—while pushing racist, anti-Asian protectionist chauvinism at home.

South Korea's new unions are admirably combative but at present remain narrowly economist in their demands. Yet just to exist requires a direct struggle with the state. Any serious struggle to put an end to the series of brutal dictatorships which have ravaged the country since the postwar American occupation must point to a workers revolution and, in turn, to a struggle to smash the Cold War partition of Korea along the 38th parallel while defending North Korea against imperialism.

Special commando unit trains for Seoul Olympics. Spectators had better not make any sudden moves. Oer Spiegel

### For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

The question of reunification has been placed on the center stage of South Korean political life with the militant student protests beginning last June. University students planned to march to the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ, actually one of the most militarized zones on the face of the planet). At Panmunjom they were to meet with a delegation from the North's Kim Il Sung University to demand co-sponsorship of the Olympics, the ouster of U.S. troops, and reunification of the country.

As the students prepared to march from Seoul's Yonsei University and ten other campuses, they were surrounded by 60,000 riot police equipped with armor-plated vans shooting rapid-fire tear gas grenades. Courageously, the students fought to break out of the police cordon, hurling rocks, bricks and firebombs while chanting "Down with the military dictatorship!" and "Drive out the Yankees who enforce the partition of our land!" The march to Panmunjom, however, was stopped by the massive use of police-state repression. And when onlookers protested the brutal treatment of the students, police tossed tear gas grenades into the crowds.

A few days later as a sop the Roh regime permitted a thousand students to stage a ceremony near the North Korean border, where they prayed for the reunification of their country. But neither the riot police nor tame pray-ins have dampened the student movement for reunification. In August South Korea's campuses were again battlegrounds between Roh's police and student protesters trying to march to the border.

The Western press and the Seoul regime describe the student protesters as radical extremists and leftists. However, the protesters appear to express liberal illusions in pure, classless "democracy" as well as resurgent Korean nationalism, directed centrally against the United States. The *New York Times* (10 June) quoted one student leader:

> "Our ultimate goal is not just blind unification, but achieving sovereignty under an independent regime. We have realized we can't have true democracy with a regime represented by military force and manipulated by a foreign invasive force—the United States."

Along the same line, the *San Francisco Examiner* (15 June) quoted Kim Jeung-gi, who originally proposed the march to Panmunjom:

> "The division of our land by superpowers, spearheaded by the United States,

has brought immeasurable trials and tribulation to our people. We have now reached a point in our history when we ourselves must get rid of the barbed wire fence that divides our land."

That the students are marching against American imperialism is a good thing, and it is true that the U.S. is a barrier to reunification. However, the Cold War division of Korea is rooted in the class war of world capitalism against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. A nationalist program can neither understand the division of Korea nor mobilize the forces necessary to overcome it. The students' courageous attempt to march to Panmunjom defied the anti-Communist hysteria of Seoul's rulers and the U.S. masters. But the students surely wouldn't like North Korea if they ever got there.

The other side of the students' just hatred for U.S. imperialism and its local puppets has been a tendency to prettify conditions across the 38th parallel. "Campus bulletin boards are filled with photographs of life in North Korea, including some of women working in key positions, and messages condemning America," reported the *San Francisco Examiner*. The relative social equality forged in the North on the foundation of a collectivized economy contrasts starkly with the filthy rich bosses side by side with extreme poverty in the capitalist South. And the advancement of women is a critical question in Korea, so recently a peasant feudal society in which women were routinely bought and sold as wives, and where today women workers get paid half their male counterparts' wages.

Nonetheless, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a far cry from a workers paradise or an egalitarian society. On the contrary, Kim Il Sung & Son run the most grotesque Stalinist regime in the world. Officially proclaimed Great Leader and Sun of Mankind, Kim has created a personality cult which makes Stalin look like a modest soul. The comparison which comes to mind is the deification of the old Roman emperors. The Great Leader has set out to create a dynasty by naming his son, Kim Il Jung—officially known as "the dear leader"—heir apparent. Government workers devote a month a year to studying the writings of Kim & Son, whose contributions are elevated far above those of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Little is known about the North Korean economy since the regime publishes no usable economic data. We do know, however, that much of the scarce foreign exchange is spent on full-page ads in the Western press glorifying the Great Leader.

If South Korea's student nationalists prettify North Korean Stalinism, they view the Soviet Union as the other "superpower" responsible, along with the U.S., for the division of their country. But such an equation is radically and dangerously false. The Soviet Union is the military/industrial bulwark of all those countries where capitalism has been overthrown. Only fear of war with Russia prevented U.S. imperialism from A-bombing China in the Korean War, and reunifying Korea as an American neocolony. Opposition to U.S. imperialism means defense of the Soviet Union as well as North Korea and all the other deformed workers states.

Korea must be reunified through proletarian socialist revolution in the South—the only way to smash the generals and *chaebols* and break the hold of U.S. imperialism—and proletarian political revolution in the North based on workers democracy and internationalism. A unified Korean workers state would have an enormous impact on the Chinese deformed workers state and on imperialist Japan, which ruled Korea as its colonial master for the first half of the 20th century, and could thus ignite the working classes throughout East Asia. ■

## Picket Lines Honored

# S.F. Hospital Workers Back Bosses Down

SAN FRANCISCO—In a powerful act of labor solidarity, 1,700 SF hospital service workers refused to return to work after ending their three-week strike against Affiliated Hospitals, pledging to stay out until the hospital bosses settled with striking nurses. The service workers, members of Service Employees (SEIU) Local 250, struck on July 26 against the hospital administration's attempts to gut medical coverage, cut paid sick days and impose a wage freeze. They were joined on August 2 by 2,000 members of the California Nurses Association (CNA).

In early August, with the strikes threatening to spread to San Francisco General Hospital, Democratic mayor Art ("Austerity") Agnos moved in to "mediate" a settlement. Agnos, friend of Bay Area labor officialdom, is out to impose a wage freeze and layoffs on city workers. He was able to get SF General nurses to swallow a contract which does nothing about the horrible overcrowding and rotten health care at the public hospital. The health-for-profit hyenas who run Affiliated hoped to wear down the service workers, but the nurses' walkout forced them to withdraw their takeaway demands. Despite a miserly bonus payment in lieu of a wage increase, the Local 250 contract was ratified on August 15.

WV Photos

**Striking nurses picket San Francisco hospitals.**

But the militant service workers—70 percent minority and more than half women—refused to cross the nurses' picket lines, vowing to stay out until the CNA also settled. The Local 250 leadership knew the nurses were voting on a proposed contract in two days, and thought their militant posture would be cheap. (During the strikes the union tops let the picket lines leak like sieves, as the hospital recruited scab nurses from across the country and about 100 service workers seabbed.) But the nurses, taking advantage of the critical national nursing shortage, voted down the contract offer of 20 percent over three years by a two-to-one margin. And the Local 250 members stuck to their guns and stayed out.

The self-styled "professionals" in the CNA leadership invited Local 250 to cross their lines, as the CNA has routinely done to other hospital workers. Although SEIU local leaders had agreed to this stab in the back, the vicious hospital administrators stiffened their spine by insisting that scabs would be given seniority over returning strikers. But as soon as an arbitrator ordered the hospital to recall by seniority, the union tops rushed to get strikers back to work. On August 28, the nurses, angry but with no alternative to the CNA sellouts, finally accepted a 21 percent wage hike over 34 months. Despite the wage gain, the hospitals got a three-year contract separating by nearly a year the expiration dates of Local 250 and the CNA.

All too often mutual scabbing has knifed strikes, while union misleaders honor strikebreaking injunctions handed down by the capitalist courts. It wasn't playing by the bosses' rules or liberal Democrats that beat back the Affiliated bosses. It was the Local 250 members' adherence to the principle that "picket lines mean don't cross." ■

## Moral Majority Bigots...

*(continued from page 6)*

As part of the Reaganite onslaught against "secular humanism," the top echelons of the anti-abortionists have also launched a virulently anti-Semitic campaign against the movie, *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Recently an insurance company canceled fire insurance for a Montgomery, Alabama theater that was going to show the film—a virtual invitation to a firebombing. When the film opened in Atlanta, some of the anti-abortionists took the day off to go protest at the theater where it was showing and listen to Pat Boone railing against Jews. (The theater got a bomb threat, too.)

The B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League appealed to Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, of all people, to condemn anti-Semitism—in effect asking the perpetrators to condemn themselves along with their pogromist followers. Pat Robertson replied saying that the movie had to be seen as "a Jewish affront to Jesus Christ," and telling the head of the ADL to "exercise your influence with Lew Wasserman and others at MCA to eliminate this affront to Christianity before trouble begins" (*New York Times*, 24 August). What "trouble" could Robertson be talking about? Another *Kristallnacht* pogrom? A lynching, like Leo Frank, the Jewish factory supervisor in Atlanta who was strung up by the Klan in 1915?

From the speedup on death row to targeting AIDS victims and pregnant teenagers, the Reaganite "hit list" keeps getting longer. And it's no accident that the Democratic Party chose the Deep South to hold its convention, or that Dixiecrat plantation owner Lloyd Bentsen is Michael Dukakis' V.P. The Democrats and Jimmy Carter's racist, strikebreaking "human rights" regime paved the way for the all-sided onslaught against the workers by the Reaganites. The anti-abortion terrorists and their collaborators are driving sex education from the schools. Their answer to teenage pregnancy and AIDS is "just say no." Meanwhile, single mothers and their children are rapidly becoming an ever larger percentage of the ranks of America's poor and homeless—the old sexist joke about "keep 'em barefoot and pregnant" has been raised to the level of a program by key sectors of the American ruling class.

The courts, the government and their shock troops *have no business* interfering in an individual's decision over whether or not to have a baby. The Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky denounced abortion bans as "a foul police interference in what is to every woman the most intimate sphere of life" (*The Revolution Betrayed*). What's needed is a workers party that will act as a tribune for all the oppressed of society, mobilizing the power of labor to defend the abortion clinics and beat back the state's assault on our democratic rights, as part of the fight for a workers government. No to the partner parties of racist American capitalism! Free abortion on demand! ■

# The Case of Al Sharpton, FBI Fink

Last January *Newsday* dropped a bombshell with its exposé that New York black activist preacher Rev. Al Sharpton was an FBI informer. Sharpton didn't even deny it—he admitted in an interview with the paper that he let the feds install a tapped phone in his home, that he carried a concealed microphone at times, and had accompanied "wired" undercover cops to meetings with people the feds were trying to entrap. He admitted that he finked on two black Brooklyn politicians, Congressman Major Owens and state assemblyman Al Vann, back in 1986 when the Reagan/Meese gang was investigating "vote tampering." At the time, Sharpton was working for Owens' campaign opponent, Roy Innis, notorious as a recruiter for the South African-backed UNITA terrorists in Angola.

According to *Newsday* (20 January), Sharpton began informing for the FBI in 1983, after getting caught in a "sting" operation where he was allegedly videotaped during a cocaine deal with a narc posing as a South African businessman. This type of dirty set-up is a favorite of the G-men for going after everyone from troublesome politicians to maverick auto maker John DeLorean. Sharpton says he only informed on organized crime and drug dealers, but never finked on any "leaders in the movement." Who knows? Sharpton *admits* he secretly worked with the FBI, whose bloody tracks lead from the murder of civil rights workers in the South to the assassination of Black Panther leaders in the North. The political police of racist American capitalism are a deadly threat.

Sharpton was working with the feds just when the notorious FBI/NYPD "Red Squad" was born again as Mayor Koch and NYPD Commissioner Ben Ward's "Black Desk," planting informers in black community meetings, tracking black militants and taping black radio WLIB. And Sharpton wasn't just wired—the man was a walking provocation. In 1986, he tried to whip up a pogromist backlash against Arab shopkeepers in Harlem (for supposedly selling drug paraphernalia). That same year he backed Reaganite Senator Alphonse D'Amato for re-election (while D'Amato was describing blacks living in housing projects as "animals"). Moreover, it appears the FBI wasn't the only agency Al Sharpton did dirty work for. Columnist Warren Hinckle reports:

> "Sharpton's role is troubling as much for his background as his style. His immediate background has been revealed to be that of an FBI informer. His past background, according to intelligence sources, is that of a CIA contract agent who was involved in destabilizing the Manley regime in Jamaica."
>
> —*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 March

Jet

**Al Sharpton's vigilante-style "anti-drug" antics set up black community for more cop terror.**

Predictably, the bourgeois media had a field day, while black establishment outfits like the NAACP hinted that the Sharpton revelations showed "black militants," notably lawyers Maddox and Mason, were just provocateurs. On the other hand, several NYC black papers alibied Sharpton in the name of black solidarity. The former New York Eight—who had been allied with Sharpton, Maddox and Mason, and were themselves the main target of the NYPD witchhunt—initially supported cop informer Sharpton, then hacked off as the revelations continued. One Harlem community meeting broke up as activists stormed out chanting, "Wired up and can't take no more!"

The obscene debate over "collaborating with the collaborator" spread to the pseudo-socialist left, many of whom had participated in Sharpton's provocative stunts, such as leading black demonstrators into the white racist enclave of Bensonhurst. The Socialist Workers Party, which published a lead photo of this poisonous demagogue in the *Militant* (15 January) just days before the revelations, belatedly ran a red-faced column about the danger of government links. The cynical con artists of the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party lined up hard with Sharpton, running a full-page article defending the cop, claiming "Sharpton, Maddox and Mason have promoted the use of militant tactics..." (*Working Class Opposition*, March 1988). And Lenora Fulani's New Alliance Party has gone whole hog with Sharpton over the murky Tawana Brawley affair, staging a joint rally outside the Democratic Party convention in Atlanta.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, has come out against Sharpton, in order to defend black establishment figures allied with liberal governor Mario Cuomo. CP leader Jarvis Tyner writes in a pamphlet, "Al Sharpton: Government Agent—Not Civil Rights Leader":

> "If you listen to what he was saying, the main target of Sharpton's attack was always the Black elected officials. And it follows that this so-called civil rights leader went to the FBI and Justice Department to frame up two of the most progressive Black politicians we have in this town, Congressman Major Owens and State Assemblyman Al Vann.... He was an agent provocateur."

The point of Tyner's pamphlet is that all those who break with the black establishment and mainstream black elected officials are...cops! And while they come out against penny-ante cop Sharpton, the CP is campaigning for the Democratic ticket of Michael (First Strike) Dukakis and Lloyd (Nuke North Korea) Bentsen as U.S. top cops of the world.

It's grotesque: the CP cop-baits "militants" while the NAP parades with cops in the name of "militancy." And they both support Jesse Jackson, who says the fight against racist terror is history, who says not to mobilize against the KKK but join the Reagan anti-drug crusade, who tells blacks: don't fight, vote Democrat. It is the bankruptcy of all wings of black leadership, from Democratic Party BEOs to black nationalists, which has created the vacuum for the most grotesque demagogues like Al Sharpton and the sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan (the man who wanted Malcolm X dead) to step into. For Sharpton is not alone.

Take Sonny Carson, who joined with the New York Eight to form the Black Men's Movement Against Crack, whose raids, like Sharpton's, fall in behind the anti-drug witchhunt. Carson's stock in trade is "off the pig" rhetoric usually hurled during protests which are surrounded by trigger-happy cops. Less well-known is his role as quartermaster for brutal Liberian dictator Samuel Doe. According to the *New York Times* (6 July 1987), Carson commutes "between New York and Liberia, where his company has built a network of PX's for the Liberian army." While opponents of Doe's regime are summarily executed, Liberia today is the only country in West Africa that allows U.S. military aircraft to refuel on 24 hours notice.

The sham of reactionaries posing as black militants is not limited to New York City. In Atlanta, former MLK lieutenant and black city councilman Rev. Hosea Williams today backs Ronald Reagan and boasts, "I have a key to the White House now" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 9 February 1987). In 1984 Williams supported a $96,000 pension for ax-wielding, segregationist ex-governor Lester Maddox. And the prototype for the black reactionaries with progressive veneer is CORE's Roy Innis, who in 1975-76 recruited black American vets to fight alongside CIA-funded rebels and South African troops in Angola and later recruited mercenaries for Uganda's bloody dictator Idi Amin.

The very existence of this layer of black demagogues now posing as "militants" reflects the profound crisis of black leadership. The armies of homeless on the street corners, the black youth without jobs or hope, the mounting cop terror from Texas to New York, the KKK lynchers mobilizing in Chicago, the white racist backlash in Yonkers—this situation cries out for revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League puts forward a program of struggle in defense of the oppressed black population, fighting for mass labor/black mobilization to smash racist terror, for school integration and integrated affordable housing for the poor, linking the impoverished ghetto masses with the social power of the organized working class in the cause of black liberation through socialist revolution ■

# Fulani...

*(continued from page 5)*

> diverting the workers' movement for independent political action into the channel of bourgeois politics dressed up with radical demagogy which cost nothing. That is what we have to say, and that's what we have to fight—vigorously and openly, and with no qualifications at all. We have to be 100% anti-Wallaceites."
>
> —"Election Policy in 1948," *ibid.*

In particular, Cannon emphasized that Wallace's "peace-loving" rhetoric could in its way serve as a means of gearing up the American people for war with the Soviet Union:

> "Wallace's policy can be just as much a preparation for war as the Truman-Marshall program. Just as much. It is a matter of opinion as to which is the most effective way of preparing war against the Soviet Union—whether by an outward effort to reach agreement by concessions in order to prepare better and put the onus of responsibility on the Soviet Union before the fight starts, or by the rough and tumble 'get tough' policy of Truman and [secretary of state] Marshall."

And just a few years later Wallace rejoined hands with Truman in supporting U.S. forces in the Korean War, that is, *the* major military showdown between Western imperialism and the Sino-Soviet bloc in that period.

Cannon shot down the argument that the Progressive Party was not really a bourgeois party on account of Stalinist organizational dominance in it. He noted that Wallace himself had made the decisive counterargument: the Communists were supporting *his* program, not the other way around. Thus Cannon insisted:

> "We must denounce the Stalinists for once more betraying the independent class party of the workers and selling it out to bourgeois politicians, in the hope of exerting a little pressure in Washington in the interest of Kremlin diplomacy."

Today, these same Stalinists (in some cases literally the same people) are selling out to bourgeois politicians—Dukakis, Bentsen and Jesse Jackson—compared to whom Henry Wallace comes off looking like a flaming red.

### Two Tails on the Democrats

As for the New Alliance hunch, when you strip away their rad-lib electoral trappings you find frenzied rhetoric reminiscent of Lyndon LaRouche back when he was vowing to physically liquidate the CP in one month. Following an attack on the NAP in the *People's Daily World*, William Pleasant responded in the *National Alliance* (9 June) with an avalanche of putrid racist epithets against New York State Communist Party leader Jarvis Tyner, labeling him "the Skunk," "Jiveass" and "B.O." Tyner. This is *Klan* rhetoric.

And when we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 458, 29 July) that the NAP is a "dubious outfit on the fringes of the Jackson campaign," and warned that supporting Fulani would be "an eccentric act, irrelevant to the future of the American proletariat," William Pleasant replied in a piece titled "Two of a Kind—Clowns and Geeks, Stalinists and Trotskyists" (*National Alliance*, 18 August) which reeks of moral degeneracy. Along with typical "Spart"-baiting about "ultra-leftism," the NAP writes:

> "Maybe Trotsky was right about Stalin—so what?!! He got an icepick buried in his brain in 1940 and there is still no independent working class political party in the U.S., except the nascent NAP."

The cynicism of the NAP knows no bounds. With the New Alliance, hold on to your wallet, and watch your back.

With the Communist Party, in contrast, what you see is pretty much what you get—a deeply reformist Stalinist party that's been a transmission belt within the workers movement for the sellout policies of the Kremlin and an apologist for the "liberal" bourgeoisie for some 60 years. Communism it isn't. As Cannon said of the CP's attempt to continue the Roosevelt popular front in the Wallace campaign:

> "I don't know of any effort made by the Bolsheviks to maneuver within the parties of the bourgeoisie.... What was the meaning of the great slogan, 'All Power to the Soviets?' What was the meaning of the slogan, 'Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers?'...! They were all *class* slogans designed to split the workers' parties entirely away from all collaboration with bourgeois politicians."

Today the urgent task is still to forge a multiracial vanguard party capable of leading the working class to power, sweeping the bosses and the opportunist tails on the Democratic Party into the dustbin of history. ■

# New York...

*(continued from page 16)*

fence to get back in the park; foot police swarmed in behind, beating them. No one was safe. Residents were pulled off their stoops. A policeman jammed his nightstick into the spokes of a passing bike and the rider was clubbed by several cops. A student emerging from the Rocky Horror Picture Show was dragged by his hair, tossed against a car and into the gutter. Reporters for the *Daily News* and the *Times* were punched and shoved. Eventually, 450 cops joined the attack and a spotlight-equipped police helicopter hovered at rooftop level.

It was a full-scale cop riot. At first Koch and his black police commissioner Benjamin Ward stood four-square behind their uniformed thugs. But millions of New Yorkers soon saw what really happened. Clayton Patterson, a community artist, recorded the assault with his video camera and showed it to reporters. Paul Garrin, another freelance video cameraman, filmed the attack from atop a van and was then hauled down and beaten by the cops. Clips of the brutal police onslaught were aired on TV all week. Patterson courageously refused to turn his film over to a grand jury, saying he feared Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau was too close to the cops:

> "You had that guy uptown who was beat up by the cops on videotape, and the victim ended up getting prosecuted—it's all starting to sound too much like South American dictatorships."
>
> —*New York Times*, 4 September

The vicious treatment routinely meted out to blacks and Hispanics was suddenly headlining the 6 o'clock news. And between the ACLU and legal aid lawyers, more than 100 charges of police brutality were filed. So Koch and Ward had to change their tune. An NYPD report criticized some police brass for "administrative lapses." The net result: a deputy chief retired, the number two commander transferred, two street cops put on desk duty. Don't hold your breath for more: until last May, the commander of the Civilian Complaint Review Board's investigative staff was none other than Thomas Darcy, the on-site commander of the Tompkins Square cop riot.

A lot of the community ire was directed at yuppie professionals moving into the area. The grand finale to the all-night battle came when protesters rammed a police barricade through the brass and glass front doors of the Christadora House, a 16-floor condo containing apartments which sell for up to $1 million. The developer is a notorious slumlord who also manages the Bronx building where six people were incinerated last month when an after-hours club burned down in a suspicious fire.

Liberals and reformists like to blame the decay of the cities on "Reaganism" and vow that things will be different if Dukakis wins in '88. But for the last eight years, Democratic mayors have been trying to out-Reagan Reagan in their attacks on municipal unions, minorities and the poor. Reagan's America is perfectly embodied in Koch's New York. A few years ago Reagan claimed the homeless are homeless "by choice." Now Koch declares the unemployed just "don't want to have to work."

Koch positively grooves on screwing people. Last month the mayor announced plans to reduce the number of beggars by calling on New Yorkers to stop giving donations to panhandlers. That same day he publicized a letter imploring New York Yankees owner (and convicted Watergate felon) George Steinbrenner to accept a $90 million gift from the state and city for a new parking garage, restaurant and stadium boxes in exchange for an agreement not to take his ball club out of town.

In recent months Koch tried (unsuccessfully) to ban hot dog vendors from midtown. He's also going after corner newsstands, which are not only where most New Yorkers get their daily paper but are neighborhood social institutions besides. In the name of improving sidewalk traffic flow, new city guidelines threaten to drive 80 percent of the 300 remaining stands off the streets. No doubt that's exactly what Koch wants, since the print media are increasingly hostile (unlike TV which continues to provide a platform for the bigmouth mayor).

Ed Koch has always gloried in being gross. Recently subway riders were inflicted with the mayor's mug saying "I want you to have my baby," in posters encouraging support for city foster care. But Koch has a special meanness toward the homeless. Last winter he spearheaded a roundup of bag ladies on the Upper East Side, going after a black woman, Billie Boggs. Koch complained that she talked to herself and used the street for a toilet. Boggs shot back: "Provide public facilities." After a court battle she won her release from Bellevue.

Now influential New York establishment figures are wondering out loud if Koch shouldn't be checked into Bellevue himself. After being re-elected in 1985, Koch declared that "while it was the people who elected me, it was God that selected me" (*New Yorker*, 23 March 1987). Lately, contemplating a fourth term as mayor, he said maybe he'd stay in office forever.

Koch and his cossacks are the instruments of bourgeois rule in the financial center of the capitalist world, in a period where the program of the ruling class is to take back those minimal gains won by the working people through past struggles. This is the program of Reagan as well. In New York, the takebacks and cutbacks, the racist attacks and cop terror, didn't begin with Koch, and they won't end by putting in another Democrat, black or white.

What's needed is a revolutionary workers party that will sweep away a truly vicious ruling class that callously tramples on our rights, our livelihoods and our lives. As for Koch, he will end up in the pooper-scooper of history. ■

UPI Ruiz/Picture Group

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**As tens of thousands are forced to live in NYC's mean streets, Mayor Koch blasts New Yorkers for giving money to the homeless.**

# Yonkers...

*(continued from page 16)*

housing, to be scattered around white areas. But on August 1, they voted 4 to 3 to reject the second phase of the federally ordered plan, to construct 800 moderate-income apartments which would be part of larger, mainly "market-priced" complexes built in predominantly white areas. The council vote was a last-ditch stand calculated to spark a racist backlash—and they're getting it. The four city councilmen gloat in their national notoriety, waving telegrams from every racist anti-busing bigot in the country.

Governor Cuomo calls for "understanding" the racist bigots, claiming race isn't the issue but "class," and stating: "I don't believe that people would object to Lena Horne. I don't think they would object to Harry Belafonte. I think they're afraid of poverty" (*Daily News*, 6 August). So this liberal hero baldly defends the country club set keeping out the poor. In capitalist America, ever since slavery, race and class oppression are intertwined, with blacks on the bottom. Now Cuomo claims Yonkers is just suffering from "esthetic misunderstanding" about the housing designs!

The U.S. Supreme Court has now agreed to hear the bigots' appeal, thus putting on hold Cuomo's cynical ploy to remove the four city councilmen from office in order to save these racist pigs from the consequences of their bigotry. As journalist Murray Kempton pointed out:

> "...the new development would be set on its way; and then the Yonkers Four could run for re-election innocent of this infamy and be triumphantly re-elected....And then they would go peacefully back to deceiving the voters."
>
> —*Newsday*, 28 August

Yonkers rests uneasily between the devastation of the Bronx to the south and the wealthy white suburbs of the rest of Westchester County to the north. Many residents are lower-middle-class or working-class whites who fled New York City. One white Yonkers resident angrily said, "When the Bronx was burning, the Irish, Italians and Jews all came to east Yonkers. I won't live next to a housing project." But who burned the Bronx? It was landlord arson-for-profit. Many blacks and Hispanics, too, would desperately like to escape the city—abandoned burnt-out ghettos in which capitalism and racism have kept them imprisoned.

The Yonkers city council is playing on the fears of working people who've put all their small savings into their homes. But it's not blacks threatening them—it's the banks with their mortgages, the landlords and real-estate sharks who really own their homes. And now rampant rent-gouging and real-estate speculation have made NYC a place where only the very rich can afford to live, even as thousands of homeless crowd the streets—the bitter result of Koch, condo king Donald Trump and the Rockefellers' plans to "gentrify" the city.

There is resentment among some white residents against Manhattan judges and rich liberals from lily-white suburbs attacking Yonkers for segregation. Yonkers accounts for only 25 percent of Westchester County's population, but has 43 percent of its publicly assisted housing. Meanwhile, neighboring Bronxville, Hastings-on-Hudson and Scarsdale have excluded blacks entirely for decades and have not even a single unit of public housing. There is also a lot of bitterness over this minimal housing plan *among blacks* on Yonkers' southwest side, where federal high-rise housing projects have been systematically neglected.

Decent housing and education are basic rights for everybody. And segregated housing means segregated schools. The fight for busing and its extension to the suburbs is a key element of the fight for equality for blacks and other minorities. Ironically, there already is a lot of "busing" from NYC to Westchester, but it's the rich white kids from Park Avenue who ride the Metro North to elite academics. Black and Hispanic youth should have the same opportunity for a quality education. But they'll never have equal opportunity as long as they're locked up in impoverished ghettos and barrios. We're fighting for integrated schools and integrated housing, and it's going to take a socialist revolution to achieve it.

NAACP leaders have noted that the "Yonkers Four" racist city councilmen are seeking to become the "Bull" Connors of today. Analogies are being made to the early struggles of the civil rights movement—Little Rock, Birmingham, Selma. But the civil rights movement foundered when it went North, because it had no answer to oppression of blacks in the ghettos, which is based not on Jim Crow laws but rooted in the economic bedrock of American capitalism. M.L. King's "open housing" struggles went down to defeat in Cicero and Chicago, as "Boss" Daley's Machine showed that the Northern Democrats, no less than Southern Dixiecrats and Goldwater Republicans, were die-hard defenders of the racist status quo.

You can't crack the hard-core racism crystallized in Yonkers with the methods of the liberal civil rights movement: reliance on the Democrats and the courts. The battle over busing in Boston, where liberals Kennedy and Dukakis defended "neighborhood schools," showed that. And looking to the party of Cuomo and Koch, or to the Reagan/Rehnquist Supreme Court—enemies of the oppressed—will not advance the fight for equality. The Spartacist League fights on the program of revolutionary integrationism, for forging a Trotskyist party through hard battles against segregated schools and housing, for labor/black defense against racist attack, for proletarian revolution to smash the racist capitalist system. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

# Ed Koch: Enemy of the People of New York

## NYPD Wild in the Streets

New York Post

Peter LeVasseur

**Hundreds of NYPD cops run amok, assaulting protesters and passers-by in Tompkins Square Park, August 7.**

For six weeks the heat and humidity beat down on New York City in the worst summer in more than 30 years. Emergency rooms filled up with victims of the heat. Runners dropped dead in Central Park races. The beaches were closed due to pollution from raw sewage and medical waste that washed up, including AIDS-contaminated blood. The homeless sought relief from the heat on air-conditioned subway cars, just as poor people used to ride the Staten Island ferry all night. Sweltering New Yorkers could hang out in the public parks, sip a few beers, listen to their boom boxes, hope for a breeze.

Tompkins Square Park in the East Village is one such refuge. It's a gathering place for moms and kids, elderly Poles and Ukrainians, young Puerto Ricans, '60s burnouts, '80s punk rockers, chess players, Rasta ganja dealers, street people, muggers and about 150 homeless generally clustered around the band shell. Everyone in a New York state of mind. To put it another way, it's just the sort of place that NYC mayor Edward I. Koch wants to close down. In early August, Koch's cossacks tried to do exactly that, touching off a battle between the police and the community which went on until dawn.

Hizzoner and his cops vowed to enforce the universally ignored 1 a.m. curfew in city parks. Upscale yuppies who have recently moved into the area were complaining about late-night noise. City authorities were going to make this the front line of the bipartisan "war on drugs." Residents of *Loisaida* (Lower East Side) were fighting a war against "gentrification" that was driving up rents and driving them out. There had been protests all month, culminating in a demonstration called for 11 p.m., August 6.

The NYPD was ready and waiting for them. Police captain Gerald McNamara told reporters, "It's time to bring a little law and order back to the park and restore it to the legitimate members of the community." As protesters gathered, carrying a banner which read "Gentrification Is Class War," the cops were removing their badges or covering up their badge numbers. Nearly 100 police on foot and on horseback sealed the park. But they retreated as firecrackers went off, bottles were thrown, and marchers advanced. McNamara called for reinforcements, including SWAT cops.

Just before 1 a.m. the mounted cops charged. They chased protesters up Avenue A. Demonstrators sealed the

*continued on page 15*

## Smash Segregated Housing, Integrate Westchester Schools!

# Racist Backlash in Yonkers

Yonkers, just north of New York City, has become a national symbol of racist backlash and segregation. A majority of its city council, backed up by mobs screaming "Save Yonkers," continues to defy a federal court order to abolish a 40-year pattern of segregation in housing and schools. Bigwig politicos from Cuomo on down wring their hands and squirm, and suddenly the press is full of "crisis" talk because Yonkers faces bankruptcy as contempt of court fines levied by Judge Leonard Sand will soon reach $1 million a day. Yet nobody was talking "crisis" as the fight of blacks for decent housing and education in Yonkers went on for decades. We say it's just too damn bad for the racist city fathers, who after all squandered *over $10 million* of taxpayers' money fighting the desegregation suit.

The Democratic Party honchos are oozing sympathy for the Yonkers segregationists, while trying to deny racism has anything to do with it. But as Winston Ross says, "It's race." Ross filed the complaint 13 years ago that finally led to federal judge Sand's 1985 decision ordering a housing and school integration plan. Ross grew up in a black section of Yonkers, where at the end of his dead-end street there was a six-foot strip of "border" land owned by the neighboring white Homefield association, to keep out blacks.

Ross went to a public school that had been integrated in the 1930s but due to redistricting was black by the time he attended. When he and his wife tried to buy a house on the white east side, real-estate brokers never had anything available. The lengthy federal court suit, which was brought in the last days of the Carter administration, heard overwhelming testimony about Yonkers' segregation, which has kept blacks, and public housing, penned in the southwestern area across the Saw Mill River Parkway from the white east side.

Last January after years of stalling, Yonkers' city council finally approved a token 200 units of low-income public

*continued on page 15*

Mairman/Sygma

**Racist mobs unleashed by Yonkers city council.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 461 | 23 September 1988

Reuters/Bettmann

**The streets of Santiago, August 30.**

Cambio 16

**Bloody dictator Augusto Pinochet.**

# Chile: Smash Pinochet Plebiscite!

On August 30 in Santiago de Chile, four military commanders—Army general Augusto Pinochet, decked out in Prussian dress gray and full-length cape, accompanied by the chiefs of the Navy, Air Force, National Police—filed up a red carpet into the Ministry of Defense. After a closed meeting, in a televised ceremony they announced their "decision": Pinochet's will be the sole name on the ballot October 5, when Chileans get to vote "yes" or "no" on continuing the tyrant's rule until 1997. This fraudulent "national consultation" is a typical plebiscite of the sort that bonapartist military dictatorships, from Napoleon on down, have used to legitimize the rule of the mailed fist.

Earlier in the month, when Pinochet announced he was ending the state of emergency, the imperialist press gave his proclamation great fanfare. But aside from letting a few more exiles return, it didn't make a lot of difference. When youths took to the streets in their anger and barricades went up in the workers' shantytowns (*poblaciones*) after Pinochet nominated himself, the water cannons drenched protesters with streams of water filled with untreated sewage, to infect them with typhoid. Once again, the air was thick with tear gas, sprayed from the little armored vehicles Chileans call *zorillos* (skunks). Once again, the jackboot was heard at the door as more than 1,000 were rounded up, scores injured, three killed.

Pinochet has run a war against the Chilean masses ever since he seized power in the bloody coup of 11 September 1973. In his "nomination" speech, Pinochet declared the "Marxist danger" still has not been rooted out and

*continued on page 9*

## Russian Nazis Raise Their Heads

# Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!

Recent statements in Soviet newspapers report an ominous development. An outfit calling itself the "Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat" has been staging weekly demonstrations in the city of Leningrad. An Italian tourist who witnessed a Pamyat demonstration wrote to *Moscow News* (14 August), "A week has passed, and I'm still horrified. I felt as if I'd attended a real fascist meeting of the 1930s." "Surrounded by bodyguards in black shirts," Pamyat leader Dmitri Vassiliev rails against Jews while his cohorts blame the Chernobyl nuclear disaster on "enemy forces." The blood of every decent Soviet citizen boils over Pamyat's racist outrages. Leningrad must be cleansed of this fascist filth!

There is scarcely a street in Leningrad which does not evoke memories of this hero city's 900-day stand against the Nazi invaders and of the million or more who died to defend this western gateway to the Soviet homeland. From the somber mass graves of the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, burial place of more than 500,000 Leningraders who died in the Nazi siege, it is but a few minutes' drive to the Rumyantsevsky Garden. Yet here, every Thursday, in this public park in the heart of Leningrad—the city of Lenin, the birthplace of the internationalist October Revolution—Pamyat has staged its disgusting spectacle. The proud people of Leningrad can't allow this to continue.

Leningrad writer Valery Voskoboinikov described one of the Pamyat rallies (*Moscow News*, 14 August):

> "One speaker demanded that it should be forbidden for Russian men and women to marry members of definite alien races. Another called for the immediate deportation of Jews and members of other 'alien races' to 'their historical motherland.' Still another suggested declaring a ruthless war on those who 'concealed their ethnic origin under a Russian name'."

In recent months, leaflets have appeared on walls demanding, "Russia is for Russians—Death to Yids!" Jewish

*continued on page 4*

Novosti Press

**Pamyat fascists march in Moscow, May 1987.**

## For a Proletarian Fight Against Stalinism and the Popular Front

# Trotsky Belongs to Workers of the World

MEXICO CITY—In the garden of the Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán, in the house where Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist assassin in 1940, some 250 people attended a September 17 meeting called by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), Mexican section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," to demand, in the words of the PRT newspaper, "the political rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky" (*Bandera Socialista*, 12 and 14 September).

Speakers at the event included Trotsky's grandson Esteban Volkov, who underlined Stalin's criminal sabotage of Soviet defense in World War II; United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel, who lauded recent Soviet denunciations of the Moscow Trials while stating that the USec's demand is for juridical, not "political" rehabilitation; and popular-front presidential contender Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who stated that as a supporter of freedom of ideas he joined the call for juridical rehabilitation of Trotsky.

Among the speakers from the audience were Luciano Galicia, who in 1939 deserted the Fourth International claiming the leadership was forcing him to capitulate to Lázaro Cárdenas over the nationalization of the imperialist oil companies. Ironically, Galicia spoke today in support of the popular front of Cárdenas Jr. The only opposition to the popular front's attempt to exploit the name of Trotsky came in the remarks made by a representative of the international Spartacist tendency. In response to the iSt, Mandel explicitly disavowed the PRT's call for "political rehabilitation" of Trotsky.

At the end of the event, following a moment of silence at Trotsky's memorial stone, the popular-frontists chanted: "Long live Leon Trotsky! Long live the Fourth International! Long live the victory of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas! Long live Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas!" In our view, this explicit support for bourgeois politics is tantamount to desecrating the memory of the Bolshevik revolutionary who fought unremittingly against the political subordination of the working class to its class enemy.

Pathfinder Press

**Leon Trotsky at Coyoacán, Mexico. The Fourth International was forged in struggle against the class collaboration of the popular front.**

The following is a translation of the statement by the Spartacist tendency representative:

"In view of recent declarations by Soviet spokesmen, it seems that the *juridical* rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky in the USSR is under way. Nevertheless, today's meeting was called—according to the announcement in the newspapers—to ask for his *'political* rehabilitation.' But what is really posed now is a *political struggle*. In this struggle, the international Spartacist tendency believes, revolutionary workers must not place their confidence in the Stalinist bureaucracy. On the contrary, they must struggle against the bureaucracy—the gravedigger of the proletarian, internationalist and revolutionary principles of Lenin and Trotsky—in order to defend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution.

"The battles over *perestroika* are a battle over the heritage of Stalin. The Stalinist bureaucracy continues to exist, balancing atop and deforming the collectivized economy established by the Revolution of 1917. *Perestroika* is a bureaucratic response which endangers the planned economy. The problems of the planned economy can only be solved through the re-establishment of soviet democracy *by the workers of the USSR* and by the international extension of the October Revolution.

"Instead of calling upon the Stalinist bureaucracy, it is necessary to direct oneself to the Soviet masses. The works of Leon Trotsky must be published in the USSR. Then the Russian workers can decide for themselves if those works are as important as we consider them to be.

"Today in Mexico a new popular front has been formed. Trotsky defined the popular front as a class-collaborationist alliance subordinating the proletariat to a sector of the exploiters. Today the popular front is trying to exploit Trotsky. But Trotsky does not belong to the popular front; he belongs to the workers front, to the party of authentic Bolshevism. It was Stalin who pushed a policy much like that preached by many here today. The Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country' translates into the politics of the popular front in the other countries—a policy whose tragic outcome was seen in Spain with the triumph of Franco and later with the triumph of Pinochet in Chile.

"Against the popular front, and against the apologists for the popular front, Trotsky founded the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. It is necessary to reforge that Bolshevik-Leninist Fourth International of Trotsky. To defend the conquests of the great October Revolution, it is necessary to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, fighting to extend socialist revolution to the entire planet."■

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Teach the Fascists a Lesson

*Hitler's coming to power in Germany in January 1933 fueled the growth of fascism throughout capitalist Europe. In France, responding to a fascist march in February 1934, workers began mobilizing in united-front actions. Leon Trotsky wrote to his French comrades commenting on a local incident and indicating the tactics needed to disperse the fascist menace. The key to answering the naked terror of capitalist reaction, Trotsky insisted, is mass proletarian action.*

What is the objective, not just for the moment but for the entire coming period? It is to get the workers to take up the struggle against the fascists before these elements have become the dominant force in the state, to get the workers used to not being afraid of the fascists, to teach them how to deal blows to the fascists, to convince them that they are stronger in numbers, in audacity, and in other ways.

In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to "arbitrate." We know what this means from the sociological point of view. However, this is not a matter of sociology but of giving blows and taking them. Politically it is part of the nature of a pre-Bonapartist, "arbiter" state that the police hesitate, hold back, and on the whole are far from identifying with the fascist gangs. Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the "arbiter," its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point....

The tactical, or if you will, "technical," task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks.

—Leon Trotsky, Letter to the Ligue Communiste (March 1934)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.*

**No. 461** **23 September 1988**


# Free Salvadoran Bank Workers' Leaders!

In mid-August the Salvadoran National Police arrested three top leaders of the militant bank workers union and are holding them on charges of being "subversives." The seized unionists, whose union is affiliated with the Revolutionary Labor Federation (FSR), are General Secretary Jorge Alfonso Aguilar, Mario Ramirez Nuñez and José Aguirre Gómez. They are accused of membership in the Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front (FCER), a split-off from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrilla coalition. The FCER, which rejects the FMLN's call for a "government of broad participation" including bourgeois parties, claimed credit for the attack on U.S. Marines in the center of San Salvador in June 1985.

Continuing labor combativity in the face of renewed death squad terror has led the tottering regime of Washington's puppet president José Napoleón Duarte, who is dying of cancer, and the military butchers to single out union leaders as a special target. In March, UNTS labor federation leader Humberto Centeno was seized and brutally beaten by the notorious Treasury Police. In response, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined with others in an emergency campaign mobilizing international solidarity which helped secure Centeno's release.

Following a militant electrical workers strike which blacked out most of the country for three weeks, in late July the Salvadoran legislature, dominated by the fascistic ARENA, passed a "national emergency" law allowing the government to militarize public services and subject union leaders to summary court-martials. Now Aguilar, Ramirez and Aguirre are the first targets of the new crackdown, charged with membership in a "subversive association" (which they have denied).

The Partisan Defense Committee calls on the workers movement internationally to defend the arrested Salvadoran bank union leaders. FSR international representatives and the Latin American solidarity groups CONICA and CADENA have called a demonstration demanding their freedom at 11 a.m. on September 24 in San Francisco, at 2966 Mission (near 25th Street) outside the offices of the Banco Agricola Comercial de El Salvador.

# 1,000 in NYC Protest Attacks on Gays

## Democrats, Republicans Fuel Bigotry

Ellen Nelpris/Impact Visuals

**Protest against anti-gay terror, New York, August 30. Labor must defend the democratic rights of gays!**

On August 30 an integrated demonstration of over 1,000 gathered on 103rd Street near Amsterdam Avenue in Manhattan to angrily protest recent brutal assaults against homosexuals—including murder—particularly in the Upper West Side. Despite a heavy police presence, and at one point a shower of ice cubes from neighboring buildings, protesters held their ground chanting "Stop the violence!" "No more victims!" and "Shut the city down!"

The militancy and outrage of the demonstrators and a determination not to be driven off the streets by this anti-gay terror was voiced by speaker after speaker. When John Brandon of the New York City Human Rights Commission spoke "on behalf of Mayor Koch," he was roundly booed and his remarks drowned out.

After a series of speeches by community activists, local politicians and two recent victims, Barry Finnegan and David Frank, the demonstration marched off to the 24th Police Precinct with signs saying, "We Demand Police Action." But when 500 protesters blocked Broadway at West 100th, stopping traffic for more than two hours, they got police action all right: cops arrested 105 demonstrators.

This anti-gay violence is the jagged edge of the AIDS witchhunt, and in Koch's New York gays are catching hell. Barry Finnegan and David Frank were walking down the street on August 22 when they were set on by a gang of white, black and Hispanic lumpen thugs shouting anti-gay epithets and wielding a baseball bat and knife. Frank was badly beaten and Finnegan was stabbed, suffering a collapsed lung. Then the very next night a black man on the west side of Central Park was brutally stabbed to death, the victim of an anti-gay gang attack.

And these are only two of hundreds of *reported* incidents of anti-gay harassment, intimidation, assault, arson, bombing and murder that have been increasing in New York in the last few years. This terror against homosexuals is on the rise nationally. According to the Anti-Violence Project of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) in 1986 there were 4,946 such incidents, in 1987 7,008 incidents including 64 homicides, and so far in 1988 the figures are up sharply over 1987.

The NGLTF estimates that the number of reported attacks is only a small fraction of those that actually take place, due in no small part to the legitimate fear of the victims of further victimization if they go public. David Frank, for instance, was evicted by his landlord after his case was publicized in the media. And in September 1987 in Long Beach, California an AIDS sufferer was attacked by three young thugs and suffered a broken hip and other injuries—the cops caught his assailants and then let them go when they found the victim had AIDS!

It was important that the August 30 demonstration drew large numbers of both blacks and whites. In America anti-gay bigotry and racism go hand in hand. Fascists and other reactionaries see homosexuals as particularly vulnerable, and black people are the special targets of American fascism, which aims to whip up a frenzy of race-hate as a battering ram against the working class. The way to fight this was shown by the 27 June 1982 Spartacist League-initiated labor-centered mobilization of 3,000 to stop a Nazi provocation against Chicago Gay Pride Day.

At the New York demonstration there was a lot of talk from local Democratic politicians against the Republican-dominated state senate, which for the second year running failed to pass an anti-bias law including gays in the categories of victims. The gay movement is one of the most loyal Democratic Party "constituencies." Yet the Democratic presidential candidate, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis, made it state policy to deny gay couples the right to be foster parents.

In recent years anti-homosexual bigotry in this country has focused on the *bipartisan* AIDS witchhunt. The Republicrat program is billions for nukes to bomb the Soviets back to the stone age and to finance the CIA's cutthroat contras in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and a pittance for AIDS research and care. Moreover, last year the Democrat-controlled Senate voted 96 to 0 for mandatory AIDS testing of immigrants. (Homosexuals are already banned by law from entering the U.S. under outrageous "sexual deviance" exclusion clauses.)

Meanwhile, arch-hypocrite Cardinal O'Connor of New York called those who attack gays "stupid," while condemning the "sin" of homosexuality. In the same vein, a Vatican statement on homosexuality said that "when civil legislation is introduced to protect behavior to which no one has any conceivable right"—i.e., homosexuality—people should not be surprised when "irrational and violent reactions increase" (*New York Times*, 23 November 1986). This is a grotesque justification for "gay-bashing"! Gays are up against all the forces of reaction in this decaying bourgeois society. Fascists and lumpen gangs carry out their bigotry with guns and knives; more "respectable" bigots do so by withholding billions needed for AIDS research and leading a scare campaign against the "homosexual disease."

One of the central demands of the August 30 demonstration, organized by the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation and endorsed by the AIDS coalition ACT UP as well as the Coalition for Lesbian & Gay Rights, was for "increased police interest and action in all cases of anti-gay and anti-lesbian violence." This reliance on the capitalist state is at best a dead-end strategy; more often, as recent history shows, it's suicidal. And to call on the NYPD is downright perverse. Koch's cossacks busted every head in sight at Tompkins Square Park in August, allowed anti-abortion bigots to blockade abortion clinics in April, and have raised cop killings of blacks and Hispanics to almost epidemic proportions!

The only way out of the murderous cycle of hatred, ignorance, bigotry and terror is through socialist revolution, liberating all the oppressed by sweeping away this decaying imperialist society. Labor must defend the democratic rights of gays! Break with the Democrats and Republicans—build a workers party! ■

## S.F. Cops Rampage—Farmworkers' Leader Brutally Beaten

# Arrested for Feeding the Homeless and Hungry

SAN FRANCISCO—The SF police have been beating and arresting people for the crime of feeding rice and beans to the homeless and hungry in Golden Gate Park. The liberal pacifist group Food Not Bombs has had nearly 100 arrests of its members and supporters in the last several weeks, culminating on Labor Day when dozens of riot-clad Tac Squad cops moved in on the crowd, shoving and arresting homeless activists and dragging them away with their wrists bound. All this in response to complaints of yuppie residents of the neighborhood, which is in the process of gentrification, that "children shouldn't be exposed to the sight of homeless people turning out each Monday for the free food giveaway" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 10 September).

The obscene spectacle of peaceful protesters being arrested for a simple act of humanity toward the city's many homeless people aroused so much indignation that the D.A.'s office is apparently afraid to prosecute. So Mayor Art Agnos, who has posed as would-be savior to SF's homeless, engineered a "cooling-off period" until October 17 during which time the group can give away food unhassled by the "guardians" of capitalist "law and order."

Maloney/SF Chronicle

**San Francisco cops rough up and arrest activists for giving food to the homeless in Golden Gate Park.**

But then on September 14 at a protest against George Bush at SF's St. Francis Hotel, the cops really went wild. They savagely beat up United Farm Workers co-founder Dolores Huerta, breaking two ribs and rupturing her spleen, which had to be removed in emergency surgery. An embarrassed Mayor Agnos, a personal friend of Huerta, ordered all kinds of investigations while Police Chief Jordan issued statements that he believed "proper police protocol was in place" (*Chronicle*, 16 September). There was no such beating, they said, on the cops' videotapes of the protest. But then KRON-TV showed footage of a cop wearing helmet #1448 belonging to one Officer Francis Achim repeatedly pulling his baton back and ramming it furiously with all his might into the protesters in front of him. The woman you could see crumple and fall was 58-year-old, 110-pound Dolores Huerta.

Huerta and other UFW workers were present at the protest to distribute a statement protesting Bush's earlier denunciation of the UFW's grape boycott campaign. Huerta's son Emilio told the press that a cop grabbed a UFW black eagle flag Huerta was holding, threw it on the ground and stomped on it. A *WV* salesman also witnessed a gang

*continued on page 9*

# Crush Pamyat...

*(continued from page 1)*

gravestones in cemeteries in Moscow and elsewhere have been defaced. At a poetry reading by Andrei Voznesensky, who recently published a poem denouncing these acts, anonymous notes were sent to the stage reading, "All of you are Jews or sold out to Jews," "We will kill you." With their appeals for an anti-Semitic "Final Solution," with their ostentatious black shirts, with their racist diatribes against all non-Russian nationalities, these Great Russian "patriots" are more than extreme nationalists or latter-day Black Hundreds tsarist pogromists. *They are dyed-in-the-wool Nazis, the Great Russian offspring of Hitler.*

Pamyat should be made to feel the wrath of the survivors of the 20 million Soviet citizens of all nationalities who died fighting the Hitlerite invaders. For every one of these Pamyat fascists, there are tens and hundreds of fascist-hating workers, students, veterans and youth in military service who would eagerly come out to the Rumyantsevsky Garden on a Thursday to teach the Russian Nazis a lesson. Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Leningraders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to *burn Nazi swastika flags* in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat? The Pamyat Nazis must be crushed before this festering sore becomes a gangrenous cancer threatening the Soviet state and its multinational people.

### Why Has Pamyat Been Tolerated?

Writer Voskoboinikov bitterly relates how at one of the weekly Pamyat rallies:

> "One scene was particularly outrageous, when one of the Leningraders raised a poster with the words: 'Workers of all lands, unite!' Before the eyes of both militia and 'commissars' this poster was snatched out of his hands and torn up, and he himself was immediately pushed back by Pamyat militants. Why did the militia officials so carefully 'safeguard' the interests of the sponsors of the meetings?"

It is an open secret that Pamyat has its protectors within the bureaucracy. One of its Moscow leaders is Valery Yemelyanov, a professional anti-Semite attached to the Soviet diplomatic corps in the 1950s, who was convicted of the grisly murder and dismemberment of his wife in 1980. He was let off with a short term in a psychiatric hospital, only to re-emerge in Moscow when Pamyat became active. As we wrote last year,

Yevgeni Khaldei

**Victorious Red Army tramples Nazi swastika, Austria, 1945. Twenty million Soviet citizens died to rid the Soviet Union of Nazi murderers.**

"With the advent of Gorbachev's *glasnost* (openness), everything from leftist currents to sinister ultranationalists are coming out of the closet" ("Pamyat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads," *WV* No. 434, 7 August 1987). Obscenely declaring itself the guardian of Russia's "memory" (*pamyat* in Russian), Pamyat crawled to the surface and started organizing.

While still party chief in Moscow last year, arch-*perestroika* advocate Boris Yeltsin granted a two-hour audience to a Pamyat delegation. Both Raisa Gorbachev and anti-Gorbachev "hard-liner" Yegor Ligachev heap praise on Russian artist Ilya Glazunov, whose latest work commemorates the 1,000th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox church by depicting *Stalin, Trotsky and Lenin* leading a Bolshevik mob over a road of skulls, under the gaze of Russian tsars and saints! (The government's official celebration of the millenium in June swelled Russian nationalist obscurantism—and seems to have provided the occasion for Pamyat to initiate its weekly rallies.) Most recently, tsar-lover Alexander Solzhenitsyn (who blames the *gulags* on *Lenin*) was invited to participate in an official committee appointed to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's crimes.

With its conservative program of "socialism in one country," its repudiation of Leninist internationalism, its embrace of the hoary traditions of Russian nationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy at best politically disarms the Soviet masses in the face of nativist fascist reaction and at times dangerously overlaps with outright Great Russian reactionaries. In his murderous campaign to smash the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, Stalin resorted to vile anti-Semitism. The Russian fascist groups that flourished among the counterrevolutionary émigré communities in the 1920s and '30s ultimately came to praise Stalin because he "had killed more Communists than Mussolini, Hitler, and Chiang Kai-shek combined," as one historian of Russian fascism observed.

### Is This Where Gorbachev's Russia Is Heading? To Pamyat? It Had Better Not Be!

Describing the dual character of the nationalist bureaucratic caste, resting atop the internationalist foundations of the workers state created by the October Revolution, Trotsky wrote:

> "If it were possible to X-ray politically the whole Soviet apparatus, we would find in it: concealed Bolsheviks, confused but honest revolutionaries, bourgeois democrats, and finally, candidates for fascism."
>
> —"New Defectors" (March 1938)

Under *glasnost* and *perestroika*, a whole political spectrum which had lain dormant under decades of heavy-handed repression has come to the surface in Gorbachev's Russia. Pamyat stands at one extreme—outright fascist counterrevolution. Lopping off that excrescence would open up possibilities for a revolutionary transformation that would bring authentic socialism to the Soviet Union.

Having in the past suppressed everything which was seen as a threat to its bureaucratic order, now that the lid has been somewhat lifted, the Stalinist regime allows Great Russian fascists to run loose in the streets. We certainly do not look to the Stalinist regime, which won't recognize genuine fascists under its very nose, to now crush the Pamyat menace. Many Soviet citizens may be fearful, with good reason, that any crackdown would be a signal for renewed all-sided repression. The Soviet people must reassert their right to mass political demonstrations.

What is necessary now is an aggressive mobilization organized as widely as possible—from below, independently of the authorities—in Leningrad, to ensure the greatest preponderance in the relationship of forces against the dangerous Pamyat fascist fanatics. People from many different political persuasions can join together in *action* to smash Pamyat. They will undoubtedly attract many Leningraders with embittered memories who make up in zeal what they lack in physical stamina. Massive and determined demonstrations must eliminate this nativist Hitlerite menace, presenting the authorities with an accomplished fact.

It will take a Trotskyist party at the head of the Soviet working people to restore genuine soviet democracy. The crushing of Pamyat as a necessary measure of self-defense by the Soviet people will be a step on that road.

Reporting on an attempted Nazi demonstration in Moscow in 1982, the *New York Times* (29 April 1982) commented: "Memories of the war against Nazi Germany and its 20 million Soviet victims remain sacred in the Soviet Union, and Muscovites who heard reports of the attempted rally generally expressed shock that anyone would openly profess fascism." When the handful of Russian Nazis showed up in Moscow's Pushkin Square to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday, they were immediately pounced on and given short shrift by hundreds of students and youthful sports fans from the Spartak, Dynamo and Red Army Clubs.

The political climate which emboldens Pamyat to show its face has been enhanced by the Gorbachev regime's encouragement of capitalist profiteering and its disavowal of even lip service to the cause of the international class struggle. But there are many thousands of Red Army vets who remain proud of having fulfilled their "internationalist duty" combatting CIA-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan, and are well trained in defending themselves and the Soviet state against reactionary rabble. They are not about to let a ragtag gang of Nazis muscle their way into the city of the October Revolution. The mullah-led child-murderers should have been wiped out in Afghanistan; the Pamyat Nazis had better be stamped out in Leningrad! ■

USSR Embassy

Lenizdat

**Leningrad: birthplace of October Revolution and hero city in fight against Nazi invaders. Armed workers mobilized to defend the city during 900-day siege (left). Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, burial place of over 500,000 of the one million Leningraders who died in the siege.**

# Metro North Workers Flex Their Muscle

"We made a stand for our safety," declared a Teamsters union steward for New York's Metro North commuter railroad, as track maintenance workers picketed outside Grand Central Station. Taking the NYC transit bosses completely hy surprise, 800 members of Teamsters Local 808 threw up picket lines at 4:00 a.m. on September 9—and the lines were honored by thousands of engineers, trainmen, cleaners and electricians. Commuter service to the northern suburbs was stopped cold, snarling traffic and reminding the Wall Street bankers just whose backs they ride on.

After almost three years of working without a contract, constantly pushed around hy the railroad, workers have reached the boiling point. The immediate cause of the walkout was Metro North's provocative suspension of 37 Teamsters for their refusal to work dangerous forced overtime three days earlier, when the arrogant management ordered an exhausted track gang to work an extra five hours. The trackmen were replacing 600-pound timbers on a bridge east of Port Chester station, working without safety nets or catwalks 30 feet in the air. When the men refused to knuckle under, the railroad put them "out of service" (and took away pay for Labor Day). The local struck in protest.

Faced with the first successful labor action in five years, Metro North squealed like a stuck pig—and ran to the nearest federal judge for an injunction, demanding a *$1 million fine* against the Teamsters local. But Local 808 secretary-treasurer John Mahoney vowed that "if we've got to pull it again, we will," and United Transportation Union (UTU) general chairman Jim Phelan told *Workers Vanguard* that "any picket line that goes up is one that we recognize."

The intervention of the capitalist state is nothing new to Metro North workers. Local 808 members, who earn less than trackmen in other Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) divisions, have been working without a contract since December 1985, as the union tops have knuckled under to the anti-labor Federal Railway Labor Act (RLA). Ever since the government's bloody suppression of the rail strikes of 1877 and the Pullman strike of 1894, where federal injunctions and the army were used to crush the early rail unions, the state has used endless "mediation" and "cooling-off" periods, backed up by the threat of troops.

WV Photo

**Teamsler track maintenance workers picketing at Grand Central Station as railroad bosses were put "out of service."**

And it has been the "friend of labor" Democrats, supported by the union tops (and by reformists like the Communist Party), who have wielded the ax, from Roosevelt to Truman to Kennedy. But even the RLA isn't anti-union enough for Democratic Party politicians in New York, who want to put the LtRR and Metro North workers under the no-strike Taylor Law, which was used to break the 1980 walkout by NYC subway workers.

All MTA workers are under the gun, facing unsafe conditions, anti-drug witchhunts and union-busting two-tier wage scales. On the Metro North and LIRR commuter lines, workers are split into a score of craft unions, all played off against each other. NYC subway workers are forced to work in dangerous, heavy fumes from cleaning chemicals and paints. Metro North was just fined for leaking toxic wastes, including deadly PCBs, at its Hudson River maintenance yard with 600 workers. And the MTA bosses harass workers daily with drug and alcohol tests, making them scapegoats for unsafe trains and tracks.

If a one-day walkout at Metro North made the MTA bosses squeal, *a joint battle by all rail and transit workers in New York can bring them to their knees.* But this means challenging the partner parties of capitalism and their strike-breaking laws and cops. Any decent union leader ought to be prepared to go to jail, to tell the labor-hating judges "to drop dead in [their] long black robes," as transit union president Mike Quill did in 1966.

But the transit union chiefs in New York, like president Sonny Hall of Transport Workers Union Local 100, call for *more* cops, and have invited the racist, strikebreaking transit police "unions" into the labor movement, even as the cops gun down ghetto youth for the "crime" of turnstile jumping. Metro North cops were recently exposed for their racist taunts and persecution of homeless blacks at Grand Central during the UTU's six-week strike against the railroad in 1983—and the PBA "union" officials backed the racist cops to the hilt.

The labor lieutenants of capital and their reformist supporters tell workers to crawl for Dukakis and the Democrats. Sonny Hall and CP supporters in the TWU were united in using Jesse Jackson's campaign to *derail* transit workers' anger over last spring's stinking contract. And under Dukakis as Massachusetts governor, current MTA head (and former CtA spymaster) Robert Kiley lorded it over Boston transit workers, slashing jobs and trying to cut cost-of-living protection. Cuomo brought Kiley in to do the same job in New York—even before he was appointed to the MTA, he acted as a consultant in mugging the '83 UTU strike.

Rail and transit workers have enormous power in NYC—they can shut this city down tight, turning judges' injunctions into worthless scraps of paper, as the coal miners did to Jimmy Carter's use of Taft-Hartley during the 1977-78 coal strike. But this requires a leadership that will stand up to the twin parties of capitalism with hard class struggle, a leadership committed to forging a revolutionary workers party. ■

# Eastern Workers: Sock It to Lorenzo!

## For Industrywide Strike Action!

The 12,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Eastern Airlines are voting on a contract "proposal" by union-buster and Texas Air chief Frank Lorenzo. Accepting the "offer" would amount to mass suicide, with drastic pay cuts and massive layoffs. The vote (where Lorenzo's contract will be lucky to get *any* support) is a delaying tactic by IAM aircraft District 100 and the International, in the hopes that federal mediators will rule that Lorenzo's empire is a "single carrier employer" and extend unionization to Continental Airlines.

But the capitalist judges and mediation boards won't defend embattled Eastern workers. Lorenzo, known as the Darth Vader of the industry, has already begun laying off over 4,000 workers, as he gears up to dismember Eastern and tries to break the unions. Even as the union tops plead with the National Mediation Board in Washington, Lorenzo's managers are waging war on the unions in the hangars and terminals: harassment, forced overtime, short manning scales and physical intimidation occur daily. Since Lorenzo took over Eastern, 30 IAM stewards have been fired in New York airports alone, including two chief stewards at LaGuardia and three at JFK. A former IAM chief steward at LaGuardia told *Workers Vanguard* that he was physically assaulted by one of Lorenzo's commando managers, then fired because he refused to violate essential safety rules.

In the face of Lorenzo's assault, the IAM leadership can only preach that "we will take casualties," as they stall in the hopes of getting a better shake from a Dukakis White House. But it was Democrat Carter who opened up the deregulation assault on airline workers. And Lorenzo's union-busting outfit is full of "liberal" Senate staffers from Ted Kennedy's office. IAM president William "Wimpy" Winpisinger, who postures as a "socialist" and nominated Jesse Jackson at the Democratic Party convention in Atlanta, is setting up Eastern workers for a massacre—just as he abandoned the air controllers to Reagan's mass firing when he refused to honor PATCO's picket lines in '81.

WV Photo

**At Machinists convention in Atlanta thousands march against union-buster "Darth Vader" Lorenzo.**

Machinists, Transport Workers and pilots must prepare now for the fight against Lorenzo, mobilizing solid support *in action* from the rest of the labor movement—especially the Teamsters who deliver fuel—to shut down Eastern *and* Continental. The battle with Lorenzo must be extended to all the airlines, who use the Mutual Aid pact (called the "rat pact" by one Eastern worker) to carve up the unions one by one. A mechanic at LaGuardia told *WV*: "What we need is an industrywide contract. This is the only way the unions can survive." But it won't come from the likes of Wimpy and his crawling for the Democrats. Bust Lorenzo! For an industrywide strike with mass picket lines that nobody crosses! ■

## Appeasing U.S. Imperialism, Gorbachev Turns Screws on Hanoi

# Vietnam—Don't Abandon Kampuchea!

*The following article is adapted from* Australasian Spartacist *No. 127, August/September 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.*

The Vietnamese army has begun a partial withdrawal from Kampuchea. On 26 May Hanoi announced that it would withdraw half of its military contingent, some 50,000 men, before the end of this year. On June 23 the Vietnamese army command in Phnom Penh was wound up amidst farewell ceremonies. Deputy commander of the Vietnamese forces, Major General Le Kha Phieu, announced that Vietnam lost 55,000 dead in the war in Kampuchea since 1977. Significantly, 30,000 of these were killed in the bloody border fighting in 1977-78 against Pol Pot's murderous raids into Vietnam, which was finally goaded into overthrowing Pol Pot in January 1979. The remaining fighting men are to be "put under the command" of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), led by Heng Samrin and Hun Sen, until final withdrawal in 1990. Hanoi expressed confidence that the PRK and its army was now sufficiently strong to guarantee Kampuchea's security against the murderous counterrevolutionary bands holed up along the Thai border, which receive massive aid from the imperialist West, the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) bloc and the Chinese Stalinists.

But the timing of the statement, only days before the Moscow Summit between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, made it clear that Hanoi's decision was the result of arm-twisting by the Soviet leadership. Vietnam is totally dependent on Moscow for economic and military aid to stave off the all-sided and relentless imperialist pressure upon this heroic people. Confronted by imperialist militarism and in fear of renewed economic stagnation, the Gorbachev regime has chosen to attempt to accommodate the U.S. through a policy of global appeasement—burying the struggles of all the peoples who look to the Soviet Union for aid in liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke. Gorbachev thinks that he can buy "peace in our time" by extinguishing "regional hot spots" from Afghanistan and Angola to Kampuchea. All he will do is fuel Washington's counterrevolutionary ambitions to roll right up to the Kremlin gates.

With the Vietnamese withdrawal under way, the imperialists, ASEAN and China see a chance of gaining at the conference table what their Khmer contra proxies had no hope of winning on the battlefield. In late July the diplomatic ice was broken by the informal "cocktail party" talks in Bogor, Indonesia between ASEAN, Vietnam, PRK prime minister Hun Sen and the three factions of the "resistance" coalition. This consists of the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, with Khieu Samphan as front man; the ultrarightist KPNLF of Son Sann; and the followers of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who staged yet another theatrical resignation as president of this unholy and uneasy "coalition" just before the talks. All are on the CIA payroll, but the last two are military phantoms. Pol Pot's remaining forces, now openly standing for capitalist restoration, are the "coalition's" only military muscle.

Phansak/Sipa

**Vietnamese troops pulling out of Kampuchea. Vietnamese army liberated Kampuchean people from nightmare of Pol Pot rule.**

For its sponsors the "cocktail party" wasn't much of a party. Hun Sen declared there was no way the PRK would dissolve itself to form a coalition government with the contras, but offered Sihanouk a place on a "national reconciliation council." It's far from likely that the Khmer rebels can patch together any kind of lasting coalition. The Khmer Rouge are the major obstacles to a deal. For the imperialists, the Khmer Rouge were a useful instrument of military pressure against Vietnam, but they don't want them back in power and what to do with them now is a problem. Likewise for Sihanouk, most of whose family was murdered under Pol Pot and whose latest resignation was prompted by more Khmer Rouge killing of his men. Thus the talk of shunting off Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, their wives and several key henchmen—the "Pol Pot clique"—into Chinese exile, although the Peking Stalinists don't seem all that keen to host their Khmer creatures.

The Vietnamese Stalinists, thoroughly nationalist and wedded to the dogma of "socialism in one country," went into Kampuchea in 1979 out of a sense of self-preservation. In so doing they *rescued* the Kampuchean people from the horrendous holocaust of the insane Pol Pot regime, which had turned the country into one huge concentration camp. There is absolutely nothing to negotiate with the murderous Khmer contras and their imperialist paymasters. All the Western talk of a "coalition government" and "free elections" is a transparent cover for their real design—to force a bloody capitalist counterrevolution against the terribly weak PRK bureaucratically deformed workers state. This could only mean a terrible new reign of terror for the Kampuchean people and, given the military and political weakness of the contras, direct imperialist military intervention doubtless in the guise of a "peacekeeping force," which the Japanese government has already offered to finance.

But that is not all. Not only are the nations of Indochina a geographic and in part economic unit, but the Kampuchean border is less than 50 miles from the heart of Ho Chi Minh City. The imperialists are rubbing their hands with glee at the prospect of massively tightening the military/economic squeeze on Vietnam, already one of the poorest countries on earth, in order to wreak bloody vengeance against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, whose historic defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism in 1975 marked the end of the "American Century." And wherever there's a whiff of counterrevolution, there is the Pope—in a symbolic act in June, the Vatican canonized 117 Vietnamese priests killed last century in anti-colonial uprisings. The Hanoi regime must know that the possibility of counterrevolution in Kampuchea, opened up by too rapid a military withdrawal, potentially poses a mortal threat to the Vietnamese workers state itself.

### Gorbachev Undermines Defense of the USSR

The Gorbachev leadership, in pursuit of the profound illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, is leaning on its toughest ally, Vietnam. For what? Even bourgeois commentators accept that there is one thing that all Kampucheans agree on. The Vietnamese army must stay in Kampuchea until the threat of the return of the Pol Pot gang and their Sihanoukist front men is obliterated. To do that against the sinister U.S./Chinese Stalinist alliance, Vietnam and the PRK need massive Soviet-bloc aid. The Soviet working class has a direct interest in demanding that they get it, for it was the decades-long heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism that bought precious time for the USSR to achieve nuclear parity with the U.S. And it is the Soviet nuclear shield that stays the hand of the war-crazy imperialists. The Vietnamese should get whatever they need to complete their internationalist mission and clean up the Khmer reactionaries for good.

In putting the squeeze on Hanoi, the Kremlin is angling to improve relations with China as well as appease imperialism. Next on the agenda is a Soviet-Chinese meeting in late August to discuss Kampuchea. The Deng regime has long demanded Kampuchea as the price for the normalization of relations with Moscow. Peking's alliance with U.S. imperialism predates the Vietnamese intervention against Pol Pot but it has been drawn in blood against Vietnam ever since. The invasion of Vietnam in 1979 was a bloody disaster for the Chinese army but they have maintained the pressure ever since, reflecting the frustrated chauvinist appetite of the Chinese bureaucracy to dominate Indochina like the Han Chinese empires of old. The Chinese Stalinists' alliance with imperialism against the Soviet Union, accompanied domestically by policies of "market socialism" which fuel procapitalist forces, is ultimately suicidal. If U.S. imperialism were ever to prevail over the USSR then the gains of the

1949 Chinese Revolution would be in deadly peril.

In confronting the U.S. drive to war against the Soviet Union, anti-imperialist unity from Moscow to Hanoi to Peking is necessary. In 1982, at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the international Spartacist tendency addressed this question:

> "What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese.... Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the U.S. is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess. So you have a grievance; whether it's just or unjust is immaterial to us at this point, within the framework of practicality just tell us what you want and we'll give it to you.' That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.
>
> "Next, clean up Afghanistan...."
>
> —"Reagan, Begin and Hitler," *Workers Vanguard* No. 308, 25 June 1982

Instead Gorbachev is abandoning Afghanistan, opening the way for a bloodbath of Afghan leftists and women, and putting the squeeze on Vietnam to pull out of Kampuchea, which could be equally disastrous. The Kremlin is simultaneously appeasing the U.S. and attempting to improve relations with Peking *within the context* of the Deng regime's ongoing alliance with imperialism. This "new thinking" can only undermine the defense of the Soviet Union. Real communist unity *against* imperialism requires nothing less than proletarian political revolution to sweep aside the parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic castes in Peking and Moscow on the basis of a *rebirth of Leninism*—the program of Trotskyism.

## Hail the Reconstruction of Kampuchea!

In January 1979 the Vietnamese army in a typically brilliant campaign liberated the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's death grip. The Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies of the Salvation Front—surviving Kampuchean communists who had led desperate revolts in the eastern provinces against Pol Pot in 1978—found an utterly devastated land and people, a veritable hell on earth, littered with corpses. Urban areas, including Phnom Penh, were depopulated ruins. Factories, schools and hospitals no longer existed. Even currency and markets had been abolished. The staple rice crop failed and famine stalked the land as the surviving population searched for lost relatives.

Pol Pot's murderous horror had helped bring the Khmer nation to the point of extinction but the mass murder had begun long before—by the U.S. imperialists and their allies including Australia. For Washington their aerial onslaught against Cambodia and its people was a "side show" to their decades-long effort to crush the Vietnamese Revolution. For four years after 1969 the U.S. Air Force, directed by Nixon and Kissinger, dropped the conventional equivalent of 150 atomic bombs of the Hiroshima type (or 100 tons of explosives for every person in Cambodia) on the countryside, wrecking the primitive rural economy and social fabric and killing hundreds of thousands of peasants. Now Reagan and Hawke have the nerve to lead a "crusade" against Vietnam in the name of Kampuchean "independence."

It was the U.S. bombing, above all, that ensured the ascendancy of the xenophobic Pol Pot clique within the Kampuchean Communist movement, creating the conditions for the bizarre and utopian peasant autarky of "Democratic Kampuchea." Returning from their studies in Paris after the end of the war against French colonialism in 1954, Pol Pot & Co. steadily took over the Kampuchean party from the veterans of the Vietnamese-allied Issarak guerrilla struggle, by murder and whipping up anti-Vietnamese chauvinism. For this purpose, Pol Pot demagogically exploited the betrayal of the Cambodian Issaraks at the 1954 Geneva conference, betrayals forced upon the Viet Minh by their Soviet and Chinese Stalinist allies, most of all Zhou En-lai. Though they controlled large areas of the country, the Issarak delegates were excluded from the conference, their forces denied even a regroupment zone and finally completely disarmed. Of the thousand or so Khmer communist cadre evacuated to Hanoi in 1954, only 30-40 remain alive. Most were murdered by Pol Pot after returning to Cambodia after 1970, alongside all other communists who fell foul of Pol Pot's murderous paranoia, many in the ghastly torture chambers of Tuol Sleng prison. *Pol Pot killed the real Khmer communists, then committed genocide!*

Thompson/Oxfam

**Phnom Penh in 1979 after overthrow of Pol Pot (above) and today (below). Heroic sacrifices of the Vietnamese mean that Kampuchean people now have a future.**

Greg Davis

When the peasant-based Khmer Rouge guerrilla army entered Phnom Penh in April 1975, it smashed the ramshackle U.S.-backed capitalist state. But, violently opposed to any alliance with the victorious Vietnamese Revolution, the dominant Pol Pot clique instead shut the country off from the world and carried out the brutal, total and immediate depopulation of the cities. From the outset, as many leftists were blindly cheering the Khmer Rouge, we condemned "the actions of the victorious Cambodian peasant army marching into Phnom Penh not to liberate the poor and working people but rather to impose an immediate and total depopulation of the city" ("Indochina: Deformed Revolution," *WV* No. 72, 4 July 1975).

Subsequently, we reviewed the evidence of the murderous destruction of urban life wreaked by Pol Pot in an article ("Cambodia: Peasant Stalinism Run Amok," *WV* No. 180, 4 November 1977), referring to the regime as "A *Really* Deformed Workers State" and noting the resemblance to the bloody peasant revolts of the pre-capitalist era. But while it was plenty deformed, Pol Pot's "Democratic Kampuchea" wasn't any kind of workers state. As we wrote some years later:

> "The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture—a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms—utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique."
>
> —"Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!" *WV* No. 338, 23 September 1983

Most of the economic infrastructure of a modern society that existed was abandoned or destroyed; the educated strata and small working class necessary to operate it were deported to become rural slave labor.

Endemic mass starvation and accompanying mass terror produced violent instability and a widening spiral of purges within the regime. In desperation, the ultra-chauvinist Pol Pot clique recklessly picked a fight they couldn't win with Vietnam. By the time the nightmare was over, at least one million and perhaps as many as two million had died.

In 1979 we said that history would decide whether or not the Vietnamese occupiers in Kampuchea would be seen as national oppressors or liberators. The verdict has long been in on that question. Kampuchea, although still a desperately poor country, has made a remarkable recovery. Phnom Penh, then a ghost town, is now a bustling city of 800,000 people. The critical rice harvest has gone up from 538,000 tonnes in 1979 to nearly two million tonnes in 1986. The always tiny industrial base has been largely revived with aid from the Soviet bloc and Vietnam. A small layer of trained health, education, technical and administrative personnel—strata which were either wiped out or fled to the West—has been recreated mainly through scholarships to the Soviet Union.

Politically the Popular Revolutionary Party of Heng Samrin and Hun Sen has grown to have over 20,000 full members and nearly 50,000 candidate members, reaching into all regions of the country. The Phnom Penh army is increasingly effective and provides reasonable security throughout most of the country, as even the bourgeois pro-ASEAN *Far Eastern Economic Review* affirmed recently: "the security situation in Kampuchea is essentially under control" (25 February). Over the past three years the Vietnamese have been able to almost halve the size of their army. In spite of incredible difficulties, a real, albeit modest, economic and social reconstruction of Kampuchea has begun. The Kampuchean people now have a future! It needs to be understood that Vietnam, itself struggling with the legacy of 40 years of imperialist devastation, has made great military and economic sacrifices in aiding the Kampuchean people—maintaining the fourth largest army in the world, mainly

*continued on page 8*

Der Spiegel

Independent

**Grisly results of Pol Pot's genocidal terror.**

# Kampuchea...

*(continued from page 7)*

along the northern border to ward off the Chinese.

Since 1979 the strategy of the U.S., Australia, ASEAN and China has been to "bleed Vietnam white" through military pressure and a total economic blockade of Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Khmer contras exist only through Western and Chinese aid, and thanks to their Thai bolt-holes. They live off a "refugee" population in Thailand who are artificially sustained by large-scale Western "humanitarian" handouts and are in effect political hostages ruled by gangster terror. The Western imperialists have banned all governmental aid from reaching the 7.5 million people actually living in Kampuchea in order to tighten the screws further on Vietnam.

As the diplomatic maneuvering is stepped up, the military pressure against Indochina continues. The Thai military, armed by the U.S. and China and frustrated at the military impotence of their Khmer allies and agents, fought and lost a border war with tiny Laos from August 1987 to February this year, attempting a naked land-grab operation along the poorly defined frontier. In March this year China launched an offensive against the Vietnamese presence in the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, sinking three Vietnamese cargo ships. According to Hanoi 70 Vietnamese seamen were missing after the attack. While the far-flung Spratlys are little more than a collection of rocks whose ownership is disputed by virtually every country in Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese occupy the largest of these islets. There are unconfirmed reports of oil deposits, but the real significance of the Spratlys is their strategic position almost halfway between the huge U.S. bases in the Philippines and the Soviet naval forces at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and astride Japan's vital trade routes with the oil fields of the Middle East and with Europe.

### Defend Vietnam! Down with Hawke/Hayden!

Australia under Prime Minister Hawke has been a gung ho participant in the relentless U.S./China/ASEAN drive against Vietnam. On taking office Hawke and Foreign Minister Hayden, as one of their first acts, reversed Labor's pledge of economic aid to Vietnam. This was the signal that Hawke was Reagan's man in Southeast Asia. Since then, Canberra has consistently given political and financial support to the Khmer contras while attempting to distance itself diplomatically from the notorious Pol Pot. In his various forays through Southeast Asia and Indochina, Hayden's brief has been clear—to get the Vietnamese army out of Kampuchea and above all the Soviets out of the Cam Ranh Bay naval base. Now Hayden crows that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal vindicates his "peace" diplomacy. The Soviet presence is vital for the defense of Vietnam and provides a real, albeit small, counter to Washington's nuclear war plans against Vietnam and the USSR, in which the U.S. bases at Subic and Clark in the Philippines as well as the closely interconnected U.S. bases in Australia, such as North West Cape and Pine Gap, play a vital role. It is the retention of those U.S. bases in Aquino's deeply unstable Philippines which is now the main foreign policy preoccupation of the Hawke government.

The Spartacist League has insisted that it is the duty of the left and labor movement to defend Vietnam through hard class struggle against our own racist capitalist class. For instance, when Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang (now CCP party leader) visited Australia soon after Hawke's election during a period when China was bombarding Vietnam's northern provinces, we held a spirited rally outside his state banquet in Sydney chanting "Zhao/Hawke/Reagan—Hands off Vietnam!" and "Smash ANZUS/ASEAN—Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" Amongst our placards was one proclaiming: "Stalinism Undermines the Workers States!"

Class-struggle defense of Vietnam is all the more urgent because Australia has become the second most important haven, after the U.S. itself, for the Vietnamese fascistic leftovers from the Saigon puppet regime. Admitted to White Australia as the anti-Communist exception to the racist rule, the contras use Australia as a base for funding and recruiting for terrorist action against Vietnam. Australian-resident mercenaries were amongst those killed and captured when a 150-strong band was wiped out by the Laotian and Vietnamese armies in Laos during an attempted raid on Vietnam late last year. Canberra hushed up this affair but this activity could not happen without the knowledge and sanction of the government. For the white racist Australian bourgeoisie the war against the Vietnamese Revolution has not stopped.

Much of the left, typified by the pro-Soviet Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, affect a paper "solidarity with Vietnam." But when the local Vietnamese fascists rampaged around the country in 1985 against left events celebrating the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Saigon, they all took a dive. Now they hail in advance the Vietnamese withdrawal in the name of Gorbachev's "peace offensive." The future of the Kampuchean people, exposed anew to the CIA gangs on the Thai border, bothers these reformists not at all.

As for the political bandits of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) of Nick Beams and Mike Head, for a time they actually printed a local Vietnamese fascist organ, the *Bell of Saigon*, which in 1985 was inciting the rampaging contras to "kill communists." To this day the SLL defends this class treason as a "commercial" arrangement. Having for a period proclaimed the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party to be objectively anti-Stalinist revolutionaries, Beams would now have his membership believe that the Soviet and Vietnamese party leaderships are out-and-out "pro-capitalist"! The SLL posits a cold, linear transformation of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states into capitalist states, imposed from the top. This is both stupid and completely third-campist, yet it does reflect the SLL's refusal to defend the workers states in the concrete.

### For a Genuine Soviet Federation of Indochina!

For poverty-stricken Vietnam, fending off the counterrevolutionary alliance directed against it is an enormous economic burden. The new Vietnamese leadership under party chief Nguyen Van Linh has reacted to the emergence of the Gorbachev leadership in Moscow by adopting its own policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, called *doi moi*. Faced with rapid population growth, economic isolation and with an economy based largely on urban and rural petty commodity production, Vietnam's experiment with "market socialism" appears to have been something of a disaster with inflation running at 700 percent per annum. In June Hanoi announced that up to three million people in the northern provinces were facing famine and appealed internationally for food aid—without success. The imperialists and the Chinese Stalinists see in this growing economic crisis only an occasion for increasing the pressure on Vietnam. The working class and the oppressed of the world owe a debt to the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Down with the imperialist economic blockade of the Vietnamese people!

The Hanoi regime is blinded by its own nationalist/Stalinist worldview. For the leadership the only solution to the country's isolation is to attempt to conciliate the ASEAN rulers rather than seek salvation in the extension of the revolution through the Southeast Asian neocolonies. In particular, Hanoi is seeking an anti-China bloc with the Indonesian military, the butchers of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965. Hanoi has denounced the leftist insurgents in the Philippines as "Maoists," ostentatiously signaling its willingness to strike a deal with the U.S. lackey Aquino regime, which at present sits atop a social volcano. But successful social revolution in this strategic Southeast Asian nation would shatter the imperialist front directed against the Vietnamese people.

Whatever the bureaucratic deformations of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, their desperate poverty is overwhelmingly the legacy of four decades of imperialist war. Socialized property relations lay the material basis for rapid reconstruction, but there can be no significant improvement without massively increased Soviet-bloc aid. When Vietnam again came under Chinese attack in 1983, we commented: "It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivized economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskiites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty..." (*WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983). But Gorbachev's Kremlin, wedded to the narrow bureaucratic-nationalist outlook summed up by Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country," is more interested in accommodating imperialism abroad and encouraging aspiring capitalists at home. The plight of the Indochinese peoples can be solved only with a revolutionary internationalist perspective, within the political/economic framework of a genuine soviet federation of Indochina. Ultimately, not only in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, but also in China, the construction of socialism requires proletarian revolution in the advanced imperialist countries—the U.S., Japan and Australia. In particular, the Japanese proletariat in power could render immense material/technical aid to the rapid socialist transformation of Indochina. The precondition for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, as well as for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states, is the building of internationalist, Trotskyist parties forged in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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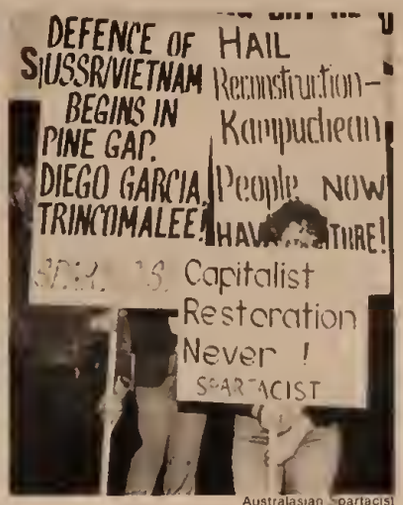

Australasian Spartacist

**Protests by international Spartacist tendency in New York (far left) and Sydney, September 1983, demand "Genocidal Pol Pot Out of U.N.!"**


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# Chile...

*(continued from page 1)*

that "liberty can be an instrument of its own death." (This was backpedaling—earlier this year he triumphantly proclaimed, "Chile is the only country that has defeated communism.") For the generals and admirals, the plebiscite is a counterinsurgency tactic to fortify military rule, just like the phony "elections at gunpoint" Washington engineered to dress up its death squad "democracy" in El Salvador. According to the terms of the vote, if Pinochet wins, he gets to rule another eight years. If he loses, he's still in office for another year (and don't hold your breath after that).

Pinochet took power at bayonet point, overthrowing Salvador Allende's left-bourgeois Unidad Popular regime, crushing the workers organizations and in the process trampling on Chile's constitution and the rest of the democratic trappings. He's already been in power longer than Hitler. Now the Christian Democratic leaders of the opposition are pretending the bloody butcher can be voted out of power. But they won't be any more successful than they were in '73, when they whipped up middle-class frenzy against Allende, only to have themselves declared "in recess" by the generals. They're playing Pinochet's pseudo-electoral game because they're deathly afraid that Chile's desperately oppressed and repressed working masses could explode in a workers insurrection that will bury the *momios* (mummies), the aristocratic reactionaries, for good.

What's really criminal is that most of the socialist and even ostensibly communist left is going along with this farce in the name of "unity." The still-banned Communist Party is caught betwixt and between. In June, reportedly after internal wrangling, the CP held a press conference in a downtown Santiago hotel to call on its supporters to vote "no" in the plebiscite, in order to "permit coordination with the opposition forces" (*Le Monde*, 17 June). Yet the Christian Democrats won't let the CP into the "Command for the NO," just as they kept them out of the "Democratic Alliance" in 1984-85. Naturally, because these are the same "democrats" who a decade and a half ago called out the *cacerolazos*, housewives hanging on their pots and pans, mobilizing to drown the workers in blood, and paid for with CIA dollars.

Today, once again, American money is all over the place, reportedly half a million dollars paying for TV ads, voter registration, high-tech poll-watching for the "Command for the NO," funneled through the "AFL-CIA" and the "National Endowment for Democracy." The bourgeois and reformist Chilean "opposition" is trying to pull a Cory Aquino, as in the Philippines, where a used-up U.S.-backed dictator is replaced with a supposedly "democratic" representative of the landed oligarchy. In order to give a popular veneer to the show, they may even have some mass demonstrations as a display of "people's power." But Pinochet isn't about to

Der Spiegel

**Christian Democrats call to vote "No" in Pinochet's plebiscite fraud.**

walk out of his Mussolini-modern HQ (built to replace the Moneda Palace where Allende met his death) because of a few pieces of paper or pots and pans. And the U.S. hasn't dumped him yet.

The Pinochet plebiscite is an obscenity. This ploy, ordered by the U.S.-backed dictatorship and joined by the U.S.-financed "opposition," aims at preparing the way for an "ordered transition" to something more closely resembling a bourgeois democracy, but still under the heavy-handed control of the army's guns. It could be stopped. A genuine communist opposition would place itself at the head of the workers and the poor, mobilizing in the factories and the *poblaciones*, not for one more one-day *protesta*, but for a real general strike against the dictatorship. And that inevitably poses the question of power. As Lenin wrote of the Bolsheviks' call for a boycott of elections for the Russian tsar's phony Duma in 1905:

> "As distinct from passive abstention, an active boycott should imply increasing agitation tenfold, organising meetings everywhere, taking advantage of election meetings, even if we have to force our way into them, holding demonstrations, political strikes and so on.... Such work, however, is unthinkable without a clear, precise, and immediate slogan. Only an armed uprising can be that slogan."
>
> —"The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma, and Insurrection" (August 1905)

In Chile, if anywhere, this can be done. The Chilean workers and poor mobilized repeatedly in 1983, 1984, 1986, in general strikes, national work stoppages, mass demonstrations of tens and hundreds of thousands, to bring down Pinochet. But these mobilizations were *called off* in order not to scare the bourgeoisie. Likewise, the balance sheet of Allende's UP drawn by the CP and other reformists is that they "went too far." This is exactly backward. The UP popular front held back the workers, returned to their "owners" factories that had been seized by strikers, supported laws permitting the military to search plants and left-wing offices for arms, turned over to court-martials soldiers and sailors who vowed to fight to defend democracy. The popular front politically disarmed the masses—it was a *roadblock* to revolution.

Today there are a myriad of small leftist groups, rank-and-file committees, dissident socialists, ex-guerrillas, etc. calling for boycotting the plebiscite. They repeatedly form and dissolve all manner of coordinating committees and fronts, because they do not have a coherent program for proletarian revolution, drawing the lessons of the UP and based on the experience of the Bolsheviks as carried forward in Trotskyism. The international Spartacist tendency uniquely called for no vote to the Allende popular front, while centrists from the MIR on down were tailing the UP. Today the key remains forging a Trotskyist vanguard party, the memory of the working class, its central organizer in the struggle for proletarian revolution. The battle cry of the Chilean workers must be: Pinochet to the wall! Workers to power! ■

Armindo Cardoso

Gamma

**March of cordones industriales (workers committees) in Santiago, 1973 (above). Unidad Popular of Allende (right) broke strikes, refused to arm Chilean proletariat, paved way for coup.**

# S.F. Cops...

*(continued from page 3)*

of five cops jabbing their clubs into a black woman who was just walking down the street, and smashing a protester who attempted to rescue her.

SF cops have gone berserk at demonstrations with some regularity. One of the more memorable incidents was the November 1984 protest against Reagan's war minister Caspar Weinberger, where the the cops rioted wildly, cracking heads and smashing TV news camera lights to ensure their dirty rampage wouldn't be clearly recorded. *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen related an incident where cops patrolling Clement Street at 2 a.m. the morning after Reagan's re-election announced over their cruiser's loudspeaker: "Ronald Reagan has just been re-elected president of the United States. Martial law has been declared. Please clear the streets!"

So no one could mistake the meaning of their November 1984 riot, the cops underlined it this time, doing one for George Bush. The mayors, like Agnos and Dianne Feinstein before him, usually Democrats, who preside over cities full of ghetto misery make sure their hired thugs have license to kill and maim for the ruling class, raining violence on the working class and spewing out the necessary lies and cover-ups. In the case of Dolores Huerta they slipped up, nearly killing a well-known labor leader respected in Democratic Party circles.

In striking contrast to the vicious assault on the anti-Bush protesters, three days later the cops handled downright lovingly more than 200 "Operation Rescue" anti-abortion scum in "arresting" them for shutting down a San Francisco Planned Parenthood clinic. At the same time, the cops corralled women waiting to get into the clinic in a holding pen formed by police barricades, where "Operation Rescue" creeps, raw material of American fascism, jeered and harassed them as they were filmed by TV, some of them hiding their faces and several crying. Three abortion rights protesters were also arrested: Roanne Hindin of the Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue, and Kathy Seeley and Kathleen McMahon, supporters of the "socialist feminist" Radical Women. Drop the charges against defenders of abortion rights!

A mass mobilization—drawing on the organized strength of Bay Area labor, blacks and Hispanics, women and gay groups, students, to defend the basic rights of women who choose not to have a baby—would clear the fundamentalist terrorists of "Operation Rescue" from the doors of Planned Parenthood and likely keep their friends-in-blue on their very best behavior.

We Spartacists fight to build an integrated revolutionary workers party based on the might of the unions to destroy the moribund *system* that sics its killer cops on everyone from Hispanic unionists to harmless peaceniks and abortion clinic defenders. Bogus investigations and review boards won't stop bonapartist police marauders. Ultimately only socialist revolution can. ■

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# Puerto Rico...

*(continued from page 12)*

intimidation used against the Puerto Rican *independentistas* starkly demonstrate that the U.S. imperialists, whose armed forces and secret police have kept Puerto Rico in colonial subjugation for 90 years, are the real terrorists.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League have defended the Hartford 15 from the beginning. We demand: Drop the charges! Free all victims of U.S. colonial repression! FBI, CIA, U.S. military out of Puerto Rico! Immediate, unconditional independence for Puerto Rico!

### COINTELPRO-Style Provocation

Eleven of the 15 charged in the Wells Fargo case were rounded up on 30 August 1985 as hundreds of FBI agents and U.S. marshals wielding shotguns and automatic rifles descended on Puerto Rico; two more were seized in Mexico and the U.S., and the rest in early 1986. The "suspects" were chained hand and foot and hauled away along with truckloads of "evidence," right down to the children's toys! So worried were the feds over an outcry that the victims were arraigned at 7 a.m. on a Sunday, then lifted out by helicopter to the Roosevelt Roads naval base and flown to Hartford, far from their supporters on the island.

The raids came on the heels of a two-year "investigation" headed by Richard Held, who led Nixon's COINTELPRO war against the Black Panther Party as head of the Los Angeles FBI office and sent L.A. Panther leader Geronimo Pratt to jail, where he remains, *18 years later*, tagged as a "dangerous revolutionary." The "Free Associated State" of Puerto Rico (referred to as "Commonwealth" in English) was used as a testing ground for COINTELPRO-type government infiltration and provocation (for example, planting a bomb, rifle and revolutionary "terrorist" literature in an office used by Filiberto Ojeda in order to get search warrants).

The FBI bugged houses, meeting places, cars, even bathrooms and bedrooms of alleged Macheteros—on at least three occasions recording their quarries making love. The FBI was forced to reveal in pretrial hearings on the admissibility of their "evidence" that a Puerto Rico federal judge conveniently backdated surveillance orders, illegal duplicate copies of the tapes were made, and the tapes were not sealed as evidence for more than 90 days. Moreover, defense lawyers working from the duplicate tapes the FBI was forced to hand over found "Rosemary Woods"-style gaps, indicating massive tampering. The FBI's means of obtaining much of this "information" were so grossly illegal that in August trial judge T. Emmet Clarie threw out of evidence 50 reels of tapes, representing the bulk of the government's "evidence" against nine of the defendants.

The feds really let their imagination run riot with the "psychological profiles" drawn up before the August 30 raids with the help of the FBI academy in Quantico, Virginia. Such information as whether the "subject" "looks at person" or "uses hands when talking," is heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual or has "gender problems," etc. are the basis for psychological torture to induce "confessions" or cooperation from their victims. The *Hartford Courant* (7 May 1987) wrote, "There is something Orwellian about the FBI's having a behavior-science unit that works up personality evaluations of suspects, nosing deep into their private lives and habits even before arrests are made."

WV Photo

**Bayamón, Puerto Rico, August 27: Powerful UTIER electrical workers union holds national assembly to vote for strike action against layoffs.**

In other cases, they resorted to more "traditional" forms of torture. Lucy Berríos Berríos, the wife of Juan Segarra Palmer, was seized in Mexico where she was beaten and threatened with rape and her children terrorized. Mexican Interpol agents told Berríos' children at gunpoint that if they didn't behave, their heads would be blown off, trying to force her cooperation. Lucy Berríos recounted in an interview, "They hit us constantly, pointed guns at the children and often told me that if I didn't talk, they were going to 'stick it to my womanhood'" (*Claridad*, 30 August 1986).

During the 30 August 1985 raids, Filiberto Ojeda was surrounded in his home; when the government gunmen smashed down his door, he fired on his attackers, wounding one of them. For this act of self-defense, Ojeda Ríos was labeled a "danger to society" and jailed for almost three years without bail, including during triple coronary bypass surgery last spring. He and Segarra were finally released, only to be held under draconian house arrest, as well as being collared like dogs with electronic bracelets tracking their every move. And when the judge threw out much of the illegally obtained electronic "evidence" against Ojeda, the feds cynically rearrested him in August for the shooting of the FBI agent.

Ojeda was then spirited back to Puerto Rico to be indicted on new charges of armed resistance to arrest. After being held in a sweltering cell at Roosevelt Roads naval base, his heart condition worsened. He was then chained hand and foot to a bed in a military hospital. When he went on hunger strike in protest, and with hundreds demonstrating outside the court in San Juan, the U.S. attorney ruled there was no place on the island Ojeda could be "safely held." So the government transferred him to Manhattan Correctional Center in NYC, a notorious hellhole where even minimal medical care is routinely denied.

Facing a life sentence along with her husband, having already spent 16 months in pretrial detention, on September 6 Lucy Berríos pleaded guilty to transporting stolen money for purchasing toys that were given away on Three Kings Day (January 6) in 1985 to children in Hartford and San Juan. She still maintains she did nothing wrong, and will not testify against the other defendants, but she faces five years in prison. In a telephone interview with *WV*, Juan Segarra said:

> "Fundamentally, it was so that one of the two of us could be here for the children. Really, she was being held as a hostage in the case. Because of the experience we went through, especially her, being tortured and having the kids threatened with death...we knew that they were going to be really cruel to her."

Paul Weinberg, a Massachusetts lawyer and the only North American charged in the case, also pleaded guilty to lesser charges (a misdemeanor), in return for cooperating with the government. Weinberg "insisted that he had been duped into getting involved in the conspiracy" (*Hartford Courant*, 7 September), and so he's become a federal fink.

From the beginning, the August 30 raids caused an uproar in Puerto Rico. Thousands have marched to protest the colonial repression against the independence movement. And as the government got postponement after postponement of its show trial, as more and more facts have come to light about the massive irregularities in the FBI operations against Puerto Rican *independentistas*, the feds' case has begun to unravel.

The persecution of the Hartford 15 was part of a full-scale witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement. This can be seen in the attempt to frame up Jorge Farinacci, one of the 15, a prominent labor lawyer and editor of the left-wing review *Pensamiento Crítico*. In the raids, the magazine's offices were ransacked, its presses destroyed and its mailing lists seized. In 1982 Farinacci was dragged before a grand jury and accused of robbing a Bayamón bank (charges dropped for lack of evidence). Even after his arrest in the Wells Fargo case, the FBI and Puerto Rican police tried to incriminate Farinacci in the 1987 New Year's Day fire at the DuPont Plaza Hotel which took dozens of lives (he is the attorney for the Teamsters local representing DuPont workers).

In 1985 convicted narcotics trafficker, hired assassin and swindler Carlos Rodríguez tried to entrap Farinacci in criminal activities on orders of the FBI. Rodríguez worked as an FBI agent provocateur infiltrating the Macheteros (who expelled him, according to the FBI itself, "for irresponsibility"). He is slated as the major prosecution witness against several of the Hartford defendants. Rodriguez has also been implicated in the shooting, attributed to the Macheteros, of U.S. sailors from the Sabana Seca naval base. In addition, Rafael Moreno, a cop convicted of perjury in the 1978 cop murder of two *independentistas* at Cerro Maravilla that continues to rock Puerto Rico, was used by the FBI as a provocateur against Hilton Fernández Diamante, one of the Hartford 15.

### 90 Years of Colonial Subjugation

The vindictive federal vendetta against the Hartford 15 is part of an all-sided campaign against the Puerto Rican left. From the "subversives lists" of up to *135,000* names kept by the Puerto Rican police—used to blacklist militants and prepare roundup lists for cop dragnets—to the Cerro Maravilla murders, Washington's colonial puppets, backed up by the FBI and the heavy U.S. military presence on the island, have attempted to smash the independence movement since Puerto Rico's subjugation 90 years ago when the Marines invaded the island.

U.S. imperialism is most interested in maintaining its island colony in the Caribbean as a military outpost in its "backyard" (one-sixth of Puerto Rico's entire land territory is occupied by U.S. military installations). Puerto Rico was the jumping-off point for Reagan's rape of tiny black Grenada in 1983; Puerto Rican National Guardsmen have frequently been sent to Honduras on the Pentagon's "training" maneuvers directed against Sandinista Nicaragua; and 500 Puerto Rican National Guardsmen


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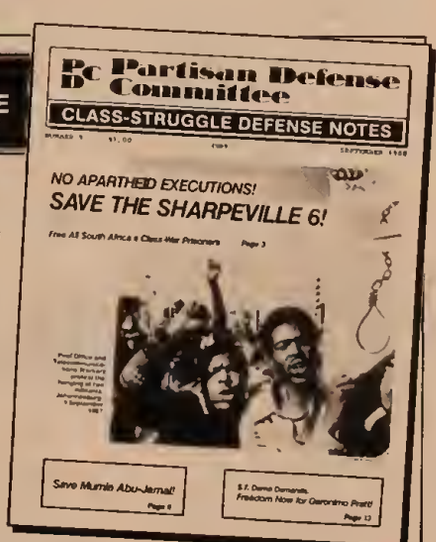


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were sent to Panama earlier this year as part of the U.S.' attempt to depose Reagan/Bush's erstwhile buddy General Manuel Noriega.

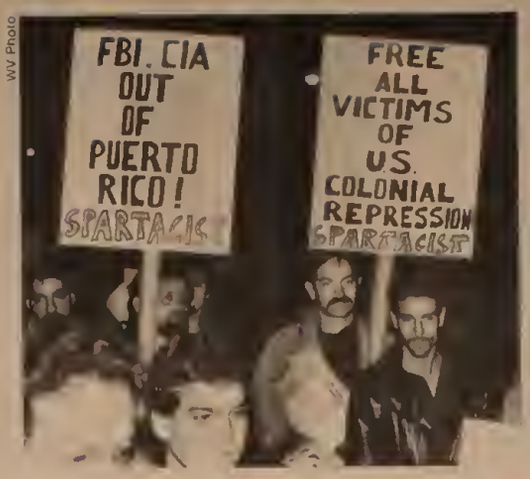
Historically, the people of Puerto Rico have been used as cannon fodder for U.S. imperialist wars—the purpose of the 1917 Jones Act which foisted U.S. citizenship on the conquered population against its will was to draft the men for imperialist World War I. From Kelly Hill in Korea to the swamps of Vietnam, Puerto Rican soldiers were thrown into the front lines to die for the anti-Communist cause of their imperialist masters. Those who resisted were thrown in jail.

Along with militarization came repression. During the 1930s, the pro-independence National Party was brutally suppressed with executions, frame-ups and jailings. In 1936 its leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, and others were jailed for conspiracy to overthrow the colonialist government. In 1937 came the Ponce Massacre, in which at least 20 were murdered and another 150 wounded by the cops as they protested the jailing of the Nationalist Party leaders. In April 1950, President Harry Truman set plans in motion to totally suppress the party, which launched an uprising in the mountain region of Jayuya in response.

For decades, the population of Puerto Rico was systematically impoverished as giant U.S. sugar companies drove small producers out of business. Beginning in the '40s, efforts were made to industrialize the island using the lure of cheap labor and tax exemptions. But as the mountains were depopulated there weren't enough jobs in the cities. The government began organizing massive migration to the north, so that today one-third of all Puerto Ricans live in the mainland U.S. Meanwhile, the island was used as a testing ground for Washington's social programs for the Third World. More than *46 percent* of the island's women of childbearing age have been sterilized. Many others became human guinea pigs for the pharmaceutical companies in testing birth control devices.

### For Proletarian Internationalism!

Colonial rule has triggered a host of nationalist political responses. Albizu Campos' Nationalists were destroyed following the suppression of the 1950 Jayuya uprising and a failed attack on Truman at Blair House in Washington, followed by the 1954 pistol attack on the U.S. Congress. The Macheteros are the main heirs of that tradition of "armed struggle," which amounts to a series of impotent gestures, some heroic, others less so. In 1981 the Macheteros attacked the Muñiz Air Force Base in San Juan, destroying the bulk of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard fleet. Yet following this glorious stunt, unfortunately and inevitably, a few days later the planes were replaced by new ones flown in from the U.S.




**Spartacist League joins protest in defense of Hartford 15, New York, 1985.**

Other nationalist groups are not so selective in their targets. Some of the bombings attributed to the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), such as the 1975 Fraunces Tavern bombing in New York City which killed four, have been utterly criminal acts of indiscriminate terror whose victims were ordinary North Americans. The most militant of the pro-independence organizations have never transcended the petty-bourgeois program of individual terror, which Marxists oppose as a strategy of despair based on a lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the working class. U.S. imperialist domination of Puerto Rico will not be ended by bombing a few banks or planes. Such gestures bring down the fist of Yankee oppression on the Puerto Rican working people all the harder while doing nothing to forge a revolutionary leadership.

Spokesmen for the political arm of Los Macheteros, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTP), may put a "left" face on their nationalism, stating that "national independence must be socialist" (*Punto Final*, April 1984). Yet their program is for nothing more than a "Democratic Republic of Puerto Rico," waxing lyrical about "developing agriculture" and returning to the age of the independent *jibaro* (peasant) in this heavily industrial island. Moreover, in the November colonial elections, the PRTP-Macheteros is calling for a vote for the bourgeois nationalist Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP). Likewise, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) is supporting the PIP.

This past August 28 in San Juan, a march was held commemorating the anniversary of the 1985 arrests. Drawing 1,500 people altogether, it was a lackluster "politico-cultural" event for the dwindling petty-bourgeois nationalist milieu. But a day earlier, a meeting of the most powerful union on the island, the UTIER (electrical workers), was held in nearby Bayamón. Drawing more than 3,000 unionists, half the total membership, the meeting voted for a one-day work stoppage against all layoffs. The company, in response, published a flyer promising there would be no layoffs, "now or ever." In addition, health workers (UNTS) and the teachers union have recently marched in San Juan, threatening strike action. Here is a repository of real power, workers power, capable of pulling the switch on Puerto Rican capitalism. What's needed is a Trotskyist party, part of a reborn Fourth International, to mobilize it.

Puerto Rico, with its combative but largely unorganized proletariat, desperately needs not a few dedicated, clandestine, nationalist "freedom fighters," isolated from the population by a romanticized, individualistic petty-bourgeois worldview, but an internationalist *workers party* armed with a revolutionary Marxist program to lead proletarian struggles not only on the tiny island but throughout the Caribbean and *in the imperialist heartland*. Puerto Rican workers have strong links with their comrades and even family members in the imperialist metropolis of New York (where more Puerto Ricans live than in all of metropolitan San Juan). And if U.S. imperialism seeks to use Puerto Rico as a jumping off place for for its imperialist adventures, workers insurrection on the island could be a springboard for revolution throughout the Caribbean. ■

# Bush's Nazis...

*(continued from page 12)*

honorary chairman Florian Galdau, a priest named by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal as connected to the pro-Nazi Romanian fascist Iron Guard. Bush personally appointed these three to their campaign posts last month. Also resigning were Ukrainians Ignatius Billinsky and Bhodan Fedorak, two more Demjanjuk supporters, and Radi Slavoff, national co-chairman of Bulgarians for Bush and former member of the pro-Nazi National Front.

Fascists in the service of the U.S. ruling class are nothing new. At the end of World War II, those Nazis whose profiles were too high for anti-Soviet espionage in Europe were sent down the "Rat Line" to the "Free World" by U.S. Army intelligence and the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner of the CIA. More than 1,500 Nazi war criminals headed for new careers in U.S. intelligence, as Pentagon advisers and, like SS-officer-turned-NASA-scientist Wernher von Braun, in military and space research. And throughout Latin America, police agencies took on Nazi experts and their torture techniques.

The use of Nazi war criminals was begun under the Democratic Truman administration and continued ever since by both capitalist parties in power. The reason is simple: like Hitler, their main objective is to do away with the "Bolshevik menace" which they see embodied in the Soviet Union and those countries, from East Europe to Cuba, where the bourgeoisie and its fascist thugs have been sent packing, mainly to the U.S. No wonder Dukakis kept quiet about Bush's "captive nations" campaigners.

Last spring Dukakis came out for a first strike against Russia when he announced he was "prepared to use nuclear force" against Soviet armies in Europe. In so doing he had merely inadvertently blurted out longstanding U.S. policy. From the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba to the contra cutthroats in Nicaragua, the U.S. bourgeoisie will use anything to maintain its rule. Anything, including fascism.

The historic mission of the American proletariat, led by its Trotskyist vanguard, is to triumph in workers revolution before the dying ruling class unleashes another holocaust employing the madmen of the last one. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Puerto Rico: Free All Victims of U.S. Colonial Repression!

## Feds' Vendetta Against Hartford 15 Unravels

Lacy/Hartford Advocate

Claridad

**Imperialist judicial vendetta against Puerto Rican independentistas. Left: U.S. Marshals drag Filiberto Ojeda to court in chains. Right: Orlando González, Yvonne Meléndez, Juan Segarra, Lucy Berríos.**

After three years of stalling by the prosecution, jury selection in the U.S. government's show trial against 15 Puerto Rican *independentistas* got under way September 6 in Hartford, Connecticut. They are accused of being members of Los Macheteros, a nationalist pro-independence Puerto Rican organization, and charged with plotting the spectacular 1983 heist of $7.2 million from a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford. Arrested three years ago, kept behind bars without bail for record periods, facing 17 counts of conspiracy and bank robbery charges, the 15 have been convicted by Reagan's "war on terrorism" before going on trial.

The Macheteros have been attempting to wage a struggle for Puerto Rican independence according to their nationalist and petty-bourgeois outlook, through bombings and expropriations. While we do not share their specific means and goals, we do solidarize with the aim of a Puerto Rico broken free from Yankee domination—through international proletarian struggle and under a workers government, which is far from the Macheteros' program. And anyone in Puerto Rico who seeks to struggle against U.S. imperialism will run head-on into the massive American machine of repression, frame-up and abuse.

Take a look at this machinery of vicious and sometimes random repression. To begin with, the feds sweep into their net a whole range of people, considering anyone fair game who is an *independentista* sympathizer. They're rounded up in dawn raids, in many cases while shotgun-wielding FBI men terrorize their entire families. They're held under the sinister 1984 Bail Reform Act, which Reagan and Meese have used to institute South Africa-like "preventive detention." The pretrial detentions of Juan Segarra Palmer (31 months) and Filiberto Ojeda Ríos (32 months) were the longest ever in U.S. history. Bail in some cases exceeded one million dollars.

The feds' "M.O." in this case is a blueprint for state terror, aimed first at those they consider "fringe elements" that nobody will defend. Yet the left and *everybody's* democratic rights are in their gunsights. Former attorney general Edwin Meese crowed that the arrests showed a "resolve and commitment to respond to terrorism." For the U.S. imperialists, this trial and the "investigation" by provocation are a club to try to smash all pro-independence dissent in their Puerto Rican colony. The FBI defines the Macheteros as a "clandestine terrorist organization committed to the overthrow of the United States Government in Puerto Rico by violence." Bandying about the "terrorist" label, the feds set up anyone they want to be harassed, intimidated or shot down at will.

Prosecutors plan to call some *400* witnesses, many of them friends and associates of the Hartford 15. Since many will doubtless refuse to testify against fighters for Puerto Rican independence, only to then be held in contempt of court, this amounts to a bald attempt to jail hundreds. The terror and

*continued on page 10*

## Flag-Waving, Russia-Bashing Election

# Bush's Nest of Nazis

A nest of Nazis and anti-Semites has been uncovered—not in Paraguay or Brazil but in top posts in the presidential campaign of George Bush. So far eight of these swine have raised their heads, from outright World War II fascists in a reactionary émigré outfit called Bulgarians for Bush. Reagan went to Bithurg to salute Nazis; Bush has them running the show. What is Dukakis' response to this political dynamite? Silence.

So the "respectable" bourgeois politicians condone the fascist killers of six million Jews, and many millions more Slavs. And their offspring are carrying on the deadly work. On the eve of Yom Kippur, vandals set a Brooklyn synagogue ablaze, incinerating Torahs and scrawling swastikas all over the building. Many in the congregation were survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. This is how it began in Europe, said one elderly lady, shaking as she relived the horror.

A few weeks ago *Washington Jewish Week* revealed that Jerome Brentar, Croatian co-chairman of Bush's Coalition of American Nationalities, was actively involved in a defense committee for Treblinka death camp guard John Demjanjuk, a.k.a. "Ivan the Terrible," who was sentenced to death by an Israeli court. (Brentar, who denies that the Holocaust took place, likened Demjanjuk's prosecution to the persecution of Jesus.) Brentar, it turns out, worked as chief screening officer for the International Refugee Organization in West Germany during 1949-50 and later boasted that he helped thousands of Nazi Waffen SS men get into the U.S. Brentar was suddenly dropped from the Bush campaign.

Next to go was Republican National Committee deputy national chairman Frederic Malek, who admitted that while working for Richard Nixon in 1971 he counted the number of Jews in top posts at the Bureau of Labor Statistics and provided a list of their political affiliations. Malek said he was just following orders. Just hours after Bush accepted Malek's resignation half a dozen other members of the Coalition of American Nationalities were suddenly out of the campaign. These included co-chair Laszlo Pasztor, a member of the Hungarian fascist Arrow Cross while an envoy to Berlin during Hitler's Third Reich; vice chairman Philip Guarino, a former Catholic priest tied to the Italian fascist lodge P-2; and

*continued on page 11*

Reuters/Pettmann

**Hell to the Chief?**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

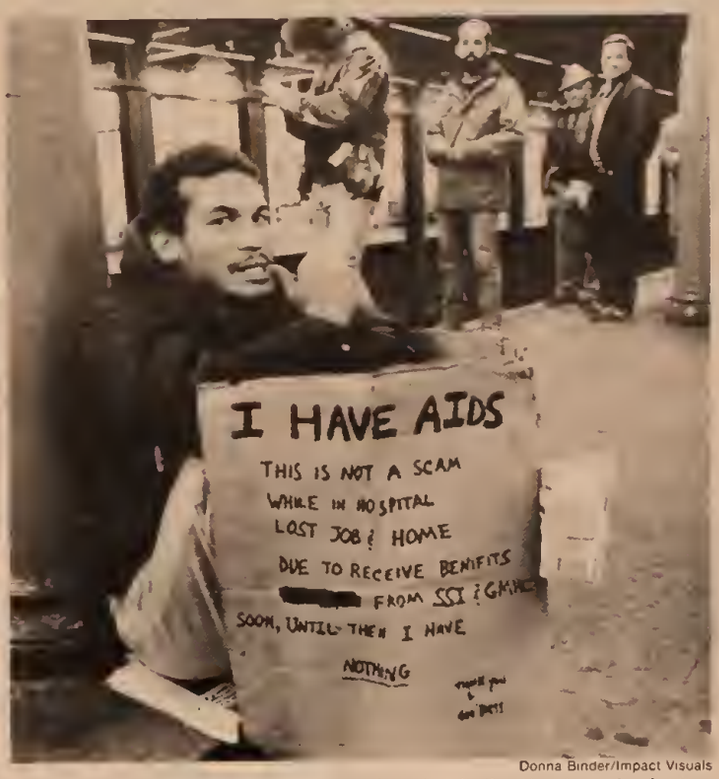
No. 462

7 October 1988


## The Politics of Death in New York City

# AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos

Tom McKillerick/Impact Visuals




Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

**Protesters hit NYC mayor Koch's criminally inadequate budget for AIDS, June 1988 (left). AIDS sufferers reduced to begging in the streets and subways.**

"AIDS patients are just discharged back out to the community, where they find themselves a spot out on the sidewalk and sit with their little cup and collect money. You can't miss them, as you're on your way to work going into the hospital, they're right there with little cardboard signs that say 'I have AIDS and I am homeless, please help me.' Right in front of Harlem Hospital."

—Harlem Hospital health care worker

The world is in the midst of a raging epidemic—an estimated *five to ten million* people are infected with the AIDS virus (HIV). In the U.S., the federal government has dumped the whole problem on the cities. In New York—city of monstrous wealth and shameless glitter—people lie dying in the streets and the subways. The financial capital of America, with the biggest network of advanced medical care anywhere for those who can afford to pay, is also the "AIDS capital of the world." Today, 58 percent of New York's 16,633 AIDS cases are black and Hispanic.

AIDS has become a plague of the ghettos. An entire generation of blacks and Hispanics has been left to rot in these concentration camps because the ruling class doesn't need them. The impact of AIDS in these communities is utterly devastating. There are *already* no jobs, no housing for the estimated 60,000 to 80,000 homeless; 45 percent of the children in New York's schools are on welfare.

- During the 12-month period ending July 1988, 4,072 new AIDS cases were reported—approximately one new case every two hours.
- Each year another 5 percent of New York City's 250,000 intravenous (IV) drug users acquire the AIDS virus. That's 10,000 new infections a year, 27 every day.
- AIDS has now surpassed homicide as the leading cause of death among women aged 25-34 and men aged 25-39, and has passed heart disease, cancer and cirrhosis to become the leading cause of death among men aged 40-44.
- 1,000 babies will be born this year infected with HIV.
- On any given night, 600 homeless people with AIDS have no place to go.

### Koch's New York: Malign Neglect

"A remarkable story of a community that did not turn away in fear but reached out to help those of its members stricken by a mysterious and frightening disease," claims the long-awaited "Strategic Plan for AIDS" released in May by the Koch administration. What a self-serving lie! New York City did absolutely nothing about AIDS for *four years* after the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) announced the epidemic in 1981. The city and state's policy was best summed up by Mel Rosen, the state's AIDS Institute director, who said: "In New York, we don't believe in throwing money at a problem."

AIDS was first seen as a "homosexual disease." But when the Gay Men's Health Crisis tried to get help from the city, Koch told them to go to hell. In 1983 the chairman of the city's Human Rights Commission was still insisting, "There is no epidemic." New York State governor Mario Cuomo said a proposed very minimal $5 million for AIDS might be a nice idea, but "I don't have the $5 million." From 1983 through 1985 Cuomo repeatedly balked at adding AIDS monies to the state budget. The city administration finally announced a pathetic $6 million program for AIDS in April 1985, partly the result of pressure generated by gay activist Larry Kramer's play *The Normal Heart*, a savage indictment of

*continued on page 5*


**Young Spartacus**

The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power ..... 7

Spartacist Brigadista Eyewitness Account: In War-Torn Nicaragua ..... 10

**Partisan Defense Committee**

**CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES**

# Free All Victims of Turkish State Repression!

On August 24 the eight-year prosecution against the Black Sea town of Fatsa in eastern Turkey came to a close. A total of 811 people were charged with "construction of the power of one class over another" under anti-communist articles of the Turkish criminal code copied from Mussolini's constitution. The judgment of war court No. 3: eight sentenced to die, 14 sentenced to life in prison, and 313 others sentenced to terms of one to 20 years in hellish Turkish dungeons!

The campaign of annihilation against this town began in 1979 when master tailor Fikri Sönmez, a sympathizer of the leftist organization Devrimci Yol, was elected mayor. Upon Sönmez' election the city began to build the "Model Fatsa," forming citizen committees to democratically control the town's finances and administration. As Turkey's "republican" rulers squeezed the working poor at the dictates of the International Monetary Fund, the country edged toward civil war. The small town of Fatsa became a symbol of political resistance. And so the "Model Fatsa" was designated for liquidation.

In July 1980 the army together with fascists marched into Fatsa wielding machine guns to bury the town's experiment. Over half the adult population was imprisoned and hundreds tortured. Sönmez and 14 others—brutally murdered in jail—never made it to trial. The invasion was a precursor to the NATO-supported coup d'état two months later. Since the coup half a million people have been detained, the trade union federation DISK was banned and many of its leaders imprisoned. Torture is systematic and pervasive. The jails are filled with thousands of political prisoners and 400 face the death penalty. Today, Turkish Communist Party leaders Dr. Nihat Sargin and Haydar Kutlu are on trial facing the death penalty on charges of "communist propaganda" and "forming an illegal organization aiming to overthrow the constitutional order."

Now Turgut Ozal's bloody regime boasts of giving refuge to thousands of Kurds who recently fled from Iraq, while Turkey continues a genocidal war against its own Kurdish minority. Kurdish refugees are immediately disarmed, kept under close guard and treated as dangerous potential enemies. Contact between Turkish Kurds and the refugees is prohibited, the government having turned down all requests by Turkey's Kurds to feed and house their relatives from Iraq.

Der Spiegel

**Turkish military seizes Black Sea town of Fatsa, July 1980.**

Using the show trials against Fatsa and CP and union leaders, the junta seeks to drown in blood the struggle for human dignity. But the combative Turkish working class continues to fight back. Strikes and student struggles have swept Turkey for the past year and a half. The devastation of Fatsa recalls the 1942 Nazi obliteration of the Czech town of Lidice—executing all male inhabitants to avenge the killing of Reinhard Heydrich, architect of the "final solution" for European Jewry. Workers around the world must rally to Fatsa's defense. Down with the death sentences! Free the people of Fatsa! Free Kutlu, Sargin and all imprisoned victims of Turkish state repression!

* * *

Last October French colonial "justice" set free seven Europeans in New Caledonia, self-confessed killers of ten Kanak (native Melanesian) militants, stoking discontent among the Kanaks throughout the South Pacific territory and setting the stage for the bloody massacre at Ouvéa on May 5.

After pro-independence militants of the FLNKS (Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front) took hostages from a French military command unit, the government unleashed a vindictive terror campaign. Using tactics employed in the Algerian War, the French boosted troop strength on the island to 12,000 (one for every seven civilians) and ordered wholesale evacuation of entire towns. Helicopters strafed villages. Families were separated as the military rounded up Kanak youth. Two days before the French presidential elections, the government, ignoring a "prearrangement" to release the hostages, ordered a frontal assault by an elite army command unit on the cave where the Kanak militants with hostages were holed up. Nineteen Kanaks were killed in the 13-hour onslaught, their bodies dumped in a mass grave.

FLNKS leaders Alphonse Dianou and Wenceslas Lavelloi survived the onslaught only to be executed in cold blood. French commandos pumped bullets into Dianou's leg while he lay on the ground. One of the hostages kicked him in the head, and later Dianou was thrown out of a grounded helicopter. Taken to the hospital by truck, Dianou died after being humped around on roads for several hours and repeatedly hit in the face by the commandos' rifle butts. France's Cold War "socialist" president François Mitterrand sanctioned the bloody assault at Ouvéa. Yet FLNKS' hopes for national independence rest on appeals to Mitterrand for vague promises of a vote for "self-determination" in ten years.

Today 29 Kanak nationalists, 16 of them survivors of the Ouvéa massacre, await trial in a Paris prison. The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the defense of the imprisoned Kanak militants, stating:

> "From their dirty wars against the Algerian and Vietnamese peoples to the sinking of the Greenpeace ship by Mitterrand's government, the French imperialists are enemies of the world's workers and oppressed. The French working class must immediately take up the fight to free these fighters for independence from the clutches of their chauvinist and murderous jailers, and to jail the assassins of Dianou and Lavelloi.... We demand immediate freedom for the Kanak militants! Immediate independence for New Caledonia!"

* * *

Issue No. 8 of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is now available, centering on our program of international class-struggle defense. This issue features the worldwide struggle against the death penalty—from Sharpeville, to Istanbul, to Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and the struggle to free the class-war prisoners. We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

## For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

LENIN

*The Fourth International was founded 50 years ago last month, in a Europe threatened by war and fascism. Its founding document was the* Transitional Program, *written by Leon Trotsky, from which the following excerpt is taken. Its cadres ravaged by murderous Stalinist and Hitlerite repression, the Fourth International emerged from World War II politically disoriented. By the early 1950s it had succumbed to a liquidationist current which denied the need for an independent proletarian vanguard. It is our task to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, whose banner and program remain intact, as the world party of socialist revolution.*

"People's Fronts" on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution. From the historical point of view, however, both these resources are stopgaps.... Nothing short of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can open a road out.

The orientation of the masses is determined first by the objective conditions of decaying capitalism, and second, by the treacherous politics of the old workers' organizations. Of these factors, the first of course is the decisive one: the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus.... As time goes on, their desperate efforts to hold back the wheel of history will demonstrate more clearly to the masses that the crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (September 1938)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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**No. 462** **7 October 1988**



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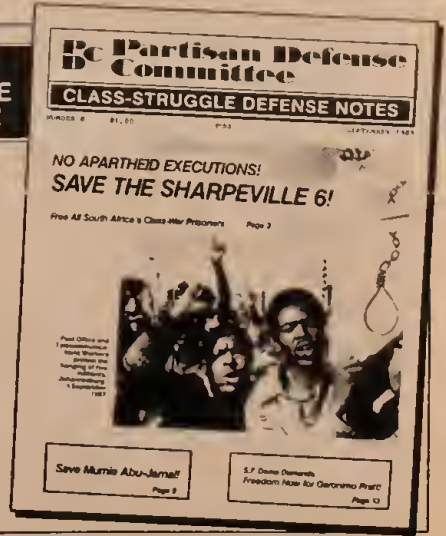


# WV Cuts Through Smokescreen

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

JUNE 16, 1988

Viewpoint
by Alexander Cockburn

## The Great American Smoke Screen

The name of the game here is productivity and profits, as was lucidly set forth in the May 20 issue of Workers Vanguard, organ of the Spartacist League. Unlike most left or liberal publications, this bi-weekly has taken a strong line in favor of smokers' rights and delivered hard blows against the "beansprout totalitarians of Santa Barbara and Berkeley" and "the new generation of clean-living Yuppies . . . [who] are running point for a section of the ruling class which has decided it can improve its profit-and-loss figures by tightening up on the workforce, all in the name of 'health.'" For its heterodox stand, Workers Vanguard provoked the left-wing weekly The Guardian to award it the Jesse Helms Memorial Tobacco Leaf.

NEWSTATESMAN
SOCIETY

15 July 1988

## The great American smokescreen

The name of the game here is productivity and profits, as was lucidly set forth in the 20 May issue of *Workers Vanguard*, organ of the Spartacist League, and by far the most spirited publication from the heavy left sector. Unlike most left or liberal publications, this bi-weekly has taken a strong line in favour of smokers' rights. It stresses that the anti-smoking drive is just one more stratagem, along with urine-testing and lie-detectors, for keeping workers in line. With the smoking bans, about a third of the

HARPER'S

SEPTEMBER 1988

[Commentary]

## AGAINST HEALTH FASCISM

*Excerpted from "Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights," in the May 20 issue of* Workers Vanguard, *a Marxist biweekly published by the Spartacist League in New York City.*

In the past few months, an anti-smoking crusade has been rapidly gathering force. Smoking has been banned from all domestic flights of two hours or less. Municipalities across the country have passed anti-smoking laws.

In New York City, a hotbed of the new health fascism, the Clean Indoor Air Act outlaws smoking in practically every indoor area imaginable.

"This is going to be one of the best self-enforced laws in the country," crowed the city's hysterical mayor, Ed Koch.

**Bosses promote anti-smoking just to oppress the workers, claims the US's far-Left SPARTACIST LEAGUE**

The Herald

MELBOURNE
FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 23, 1988

## Is anti-smoking just a capitalist plot?

IN THE past few months, an anti-smoking crusade has been rapidly gathering force in America.

Smoking has been banned from all domestic flights of two hours or less. Municipalities across the country have passed anti-smoking laws.

In New York City, a hotbed of the new health fascism, the Clean Indoor Air Act outlaws smoking in practically every indoor area imaginable.

"This is going to be one of the best self-enforced laws in the country," crowed the city's hysterical mayor, Ed Koch.

**We expected controversy when *Workers Vanguard* published "Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights" (*WV* No. 453, 20 May). The article took aim at the "health fascist" witchhunters as well as critically examining the medical evidence on the effects of "secondary smoke." And it did get attention, from as far afield as London, England and Melbourne, Australia. Alexander Cockburn published two columns, "The Great American Smoke Screen," in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New Statesman*. In addition, excerpts from our *WV* article appeared in *Harper's Magazine* and the Melbourne *Herald*, a Murdoch paper, as one might guess from the headline.**

# Daniloff Guilty As Charged

On the eve of the 1986 summit, the FBI arrested an alleged "Soviet spy," Gennadi Zakharov, in an elaborate "sting" operation. Zakharov was a physicist employed at the United Nations who had obtained unclassified technical data at various libraries. A week later in Moscow the KGB arrested U.S. correspondent Nicholas Daniloff on espionage charges. Instantly, the American media and the White House launched an anti-Soviet propaganda blitz, insisting Daniloff was an "innocent journalist" being held "hostage" for the "spy" Zakharov. The FBI arrest fit the repetitive pattern of nervous U.S. intelligence agencies seeking to torpedo any kind of détente with the "evil empire," and it quickly escalated into a U.S.-Soviet confrontation over the "Daniloff affair."

Soviet leader Gorbachev personally denounced Daniloff as a "spy caught red-handed." Even at the time, some U.S. papers admitted (buried in the inside pages) that Daniloff had acted as a courier for a suspicious Soviet citizen, delivering a letter to the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Yet they screamed for his immediate release anyway. In contrast, *Workers Vanguard* wrote:

> "If Daniloff didn't at least provide 'tips' to the local CIA station chief or U.S. intermediaries, he'd be a rare bird among American correspondents in Moscow....
> "So let's find out if he's guilty with a fair trial: an open, public trial with a defense counsel of his choice and strictly according to Soviet jurisprudence."
> —"A Fair Trial for Daniloff," *WV* No. 411, 12 September 1986

But a trial was exactly what the U.S. administration didn't want, for fear of what might come out, and a swap was arranged. We noted in "The Daniloff Dossier" that "they brought him in out of the cold to be a huckster for 'freedom'."

Cynthia Johnson

**Reagan with Daniloff, the hack who came in from the cold. Liberals howled Daniloff was "innocent" newsman; now he admits he passed into to CIA while in Moscow.**

Now Daniloff has come out with a book dealing with the affair (*Two Lives, One Russia*, New York, Houghton Mifflin [1988]), and in the middle of 300-plus pages of professing innocence and comparing himself to his anti-tsarist great-great-grandfather, he admits the central KGB charge was *true*! On 22 January 1985, he relates, the mysterious "Father Roman" left an envelope for him, and when he opened it he found "another envelope, this one addressed to [U.S.] Ambassador Hartman." Daniloff now claims he "sensed a trap" by the KGB, and says his wife told him to burn the envelope, but instead he inexplicably "decided to deliver the letter immediately." At the embassy the envelope was opened in front of Daniloff, and he saw the Russian word for "rocket" in the lengthy letter enclosed.

Two months later Daniloff was asked to "drop by" the embassy, and when he did he was invited into the "bubble," the embassy's electronically secure room used for secret conversations. There Daniloff says he was questioned in detail about his contact by Murat Natirboff, "who I later discovered was the CIA station chief"! Roman, it seems, was delivering material from a "Soviet scientist trying to contact the CIA." The KGB knew Daniloff was the CIA's courier because Natirboff and another embassy official "used my [Daniloff's] name when they contacted Roman" on the telephone and in a letter! Not surprisingly, Natirboff left Moscow for the U.S. three days after Daniloff was arrested.

In short, Daniloff admits he acted as a CIA courier, though he incredibly still claims that from mail drop to "huhhle," he didn't know what he was doing. Whether or not anyhody could be that stupid, in any case he committed the crime. Even Harrison Salisbury, for many years Moscow correspondent for the anti-Soviet *New York Times* and one who still claims Daniloff was "guilty of nothing," felt compelled to note in a book review that "the CIA had made a gift to the KGB of evidence so incriminating that even an American jury might well have concluded that Daniloff was hand in glove with the agency" (*Washington Post Book World*, 11 September).

Daniloff may be the dumbest, but he's hardly the first. Liberals howled when we declared "Shcharansky Is Guilty As Hell!" (*WV* No. 212, 28 July 1978). Yet *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert Toth admitted Shcharansky had handed him a list of pro-Zionist "refuseniks" *and the top-secret Soviet defense plants where they worked*. At the height of the Watergate investigations, it was revealed that at least 100 American newsmen had acted as paid CIA agents since WW II, while thousands more had a less formal relationship with U.S. spy agencies. And tops on everyone's list was that "nest of hacks," the Moscow correspondents. In 1977 the CIA promised to stop, but added that they couldn't stop journalists from volunteering information.

Now Nicholas Daniloff has convicted himself, but regular readers of *WV* knew long ago. And don't forget that most spectacular and deadly Reaganite spy operation gone awry, KAL 007. You read it here first: the truth. ■

# California Referendum Targets AIDS Victims

SAN FRANCISCO—Two new and extremely sinister initiatives that target the victims of the horrible AIDS epidemic are on the ballot in California this fall. Proposition 102 would make anonymous AIDS testing illegal, closing down virtually all alternative testing sites in California. It would turn doctors into witchhunters, linking to the government on anyone they "reasonably believe" will test HIV positive, and requiring the "suspects" to divulge a list of sexual partners. Prop 102 will allow employers and insurance companies to institute mandatory testing of employees and new medical insurance applicants. Tens of thousands of people will face loss of jobs, be denied insurance, and be thrown penniless onto the "mercy" of the public health system or to die like dogs in the street.

Prop 102 is sponsored by Orange County Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer and right-wing populist tax-reformer Paul Gann. These reactionary initiatives follow on the heels of the notorious "AIDS quarantine" initiatives of right-wing crackpot Lyndon LaRouche, introduced in 1986 and June of '88. Those propositions were handily defeated, with LaRouche rightly portrayed as a right-wing nut. But this time around Dannemeyer (despite his support for LaRouche two years ago) and Gann are seen as "respectable" conservative politicians. Gann, infected with HIV from a 1982 blood transfusion, makes a frighteningly effective spokesman for his racist, anti-homosexual proposition.

Equally sinister is Proposition 96, which singles out for mandatory testing "criminal" sectors such as drug users, prostitutes and prisoners. Not surprisingly, it is authored by a cop—Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block. Prop 96 allows the court to "order testing for HIV of any person who bites, spits on, scratches, or transfers blood or bodily fluids to a peace officer, fire fighter, or emergency worker." It also allows the court to require HIV testing for *accused* (not convicted) "sex offenders." The bill is designed to turn AIDS testing into a police weapon—against gays, ghetto blacks, militants at demonstrations—anybody who looks cross-eyed at a cop can be dragged in for "testing."

Insidiously, Prop 96 will allow prison guards to demand tests of inmates, claiming they suspect them of spreading the AIDS virus. The basis upon which a test may be ordered is the exchange of "bodily fluid," including blood, semen, saliva, sweat or tears. Priscilla Alexander of the prostitutes' rights organization COYOTE noted that a positive HIV test will result in prisoners being placed in isolation for the length of their prison terms. "This could be five, six, seven years with no contact with another human being," Alexander said.

What's behind these ballot initiatives is the right-wing crusade to lock people with AIDS into a caste of "legal lepers," denied jobs, entry to schools and medical insurance. To this end the bigots spread the lie that the disease is spread through "casual contact." Mandatory testing will only drive underground those who are most in need of help. We support voluntary *anonymous* testing—it's one of the only ways we have right now to fight against this virus plaguing mankind. While the current campaign doesn't contain the quarantine provisions of the LaRouche initiatives, which called for locking up AIDS victims in Nazi-like concentration camps, it springs from the same appetites. Hatred and fear of homosexuality are endemic to bourgeois society: gays "threaten" the sanctity of the nuclear family which is integral to the fabric of bourgeois class rule.

With the '88 election campaign featuring the Democrats and Republicans competing with each other in Bible-thumping, flag-waving bigotry, an important division in the fight against the propositions has emerged. While the campaign against Prop 102 has gotten big play in the bourgeois and gay press, Prop 96 has been largely ignored. The reason is Prop 96's open appeal to racism and the hysteria around "sex offenders" and "drug abusers." So if some judge thinks "bodily fluids" might be involved in an *alleged* crime, then your civil rights are a fiction, you're tested and put away. Larry Saxxon, a black Bay Area AIDS activist, makes the point: "The AIDS epidemic is changing, it's becoming a more black and brown epidemic. And it seems the more black and brown it becomes, the more aggressive all these laws get" (quoted in *San Francisco Sentinel*, 12 August).

But opposition to Prop 96 is getting very little funding from timid liberals, who are buckling in the face of rampant cop reaction. Gay politicos have essentially given up on defeating Prop 96, even as their campaign against Prop 102 looks like it could well lose. They were all waiting for Michael Dukakis to come out against the props. His wife Kitty, campaigning in San Francisco September 30, finally announced her and her husband's opposition to Prop 102. Needless to say, not a word on Prop 96. Dukakis has opposed gay couples being foster parents. And just last month, Dukakis' Massachusetts senate guards were charged with kicking and punching gay activists at the state house in January.

On the other side, the Dannemeyer/Gann forces appear to be well financed, and the real benefactors of Prop 102, the insurance company vultures, are ready to move. The September 9 *San Francisco Sentinel* wrote, "there is concern that the insurance industry will come in at the last minute with its own large cash reserves to try to put the ballot measure over the top." The Dannemeyer/Gann inquisitionists want to "spare" the multibillion dollar insurance industry the "burden" of paying medical costs for AIDS patients.

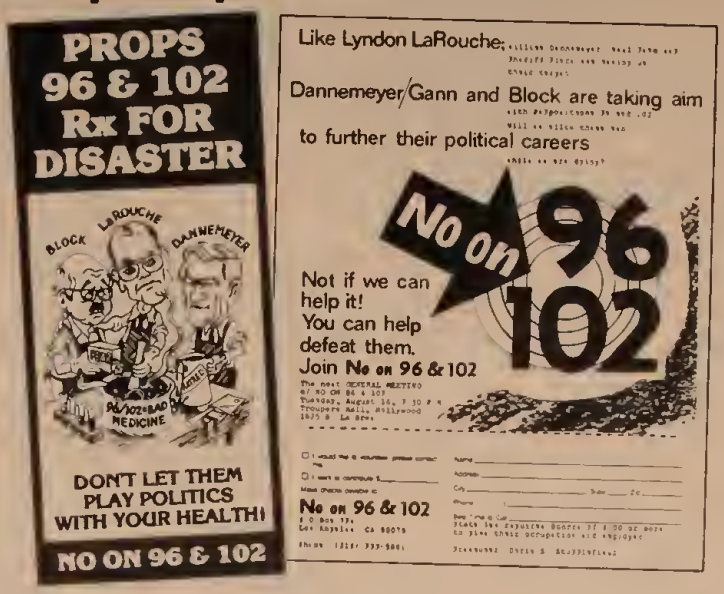
Opposition to Prop 102 includes many bourgeois politicians, the California Medical Association, the California Nurses Association and such corporate heavyweights as AT&T, Levi Strauss, Pacific Gas & Electric, Apple Computer and Burroughs Wellcome (maker of the anti-AIDS drug AZT). The state AFL-CIO has come out against Prop 102, but tailing the liberals they have said nothing on Prop 96. And hog-tied to the Democratic Party, the bureaucrats will not *mobilize* the labor movement—the key social force capable of smashing these raving reactionary schemes.

The power of the working class can beat back the all-sided attack on democratic rights in the era of Reaganite "social/sexual McCarthyism," where children are encouraged to "turn in" their parents for "drug abuse" or "sodomy," drug police militarize the ghettos, Moral Majority bigots target abortion clinics, and the skinhead/fascist hands terrorize minorities. Yet fighters against the AIDS witchhunters have looked to the Democratic Party. Many gay activists can't conceive of labor being won to defending homosexuals. But the key is revolutionary leadership. In June 1982 in Chicago, when Nazi terrorists tried to stage a "death to queers" rally on Gay Pride Day, the Spartacist League took the lead in mobilizing union support, bringing out labor and black militants. Holocaust survivors and others to stop the Nazi scum from terrorizing gays.

Bourgeois society, at its most progressive moment during the Great French Revolution, inscribed on its banner "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." Those days are *long* gone and today's rulers are blatantly flying the banner "Bigotry, Ignorance and Greed." Today the billions that are needed to speed the search for a cure to AIDS are instead, through bipartisan policy, poured into the coffers of Pentagon contractors to build the weaponry for World War III. Now the AIDS witchhunt is being used as a tool in the reactionary crusade to turn back the clock of history. But the course of the class struggle will determine the defense of *all* the exploited and oppressed. As we wrote in "The Agony of AIDS" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988):

> "AIDS exposes the gaping holes in pathetic reform schemes, 'anti-discrimination' bills, single-issue sectoralism pitting different sectors of the oppressed against each other, and every liberal patchwork scheme advocated by lackeys of the twin capitalist parties. The fight against AIDS cries out for a socialist revolution which will lay the basis for a society which will end all forms of social oppression. Only then will the limits of science be the sole limits—and those will constantly be enlarged through thoughtful, energetic research."■

## Stop Propositions 102 and 96!




**Reactionary homophobic ballot propositions are part of "social/sexual McCarthyism" of the Reagan years.**

Bartholomew/Black Star

**Props 96 and 102 seek to turn AIDS testing into police weapon.**

WV Photo

**Spartacists at gay rights protest in Washington, D.C., October 1987.**

# AIDS...

*(continued from page 1)*

bureaucratic inaction, which opened that month at the Public Theater.

Today reported AIDS cases among IV drug users have surpassed those among homosexuals. The city willfully *refused* to do anything, even after medical experts insisted that the disease was spreading through shared hypodermic needles: no education campaigns, no drug treatment programs, no distribution of sterile needles. The city's own report admits that AIDS among IV drug users has been underreported by 150 percent. And it continues—thousands *still* won't get any help.

NYC health commissioner Stephen Joseph defended the city's "Strategic Plan for AIDS" as outlining "minimum services" based on "conservative" estimates (*New York Times*, 14 July). The city claims it will spend $178 million of its own funds this fiscal year. But the Koch administration refused a proposed additional $34 million requested by AIDS service groups, including $6 million for ambulatory care at city hospitals, which is a vital service for outpatients. It has also refused $2 million for preventive education for public school students, continuing an astonishingly callous and irresponsible policy first formulated in 1985 by then-health commissioner David Sencer: "The people of New York City who need to know already know all they need to know about AIDS."

Shortly after issuing its cover-up report, the New York Department of Health announced a precipitous cut in its estimate of the number of New Yorkers infected with HIV—from 400,000 to 200,000! They've decided there are fewer homosexuals living in the city after all, which automatically cuts the estimated AIDS infection rates. The revision infuriated gay groups, including the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), which has been picketing Joseph's offices and home, correctly charging that this is one more diversion from grappling with the AIDS crisis. The CDC tends to favor the new figure, while the city itself claims not to have changed its expectation of how many people will actually be sick by 1991. But the real point is well put by *PWA Coalition Newsletter* editor Michael Callen in an interview with *WV*:

> "Rather than quibble about numbers and theories about how to arrive at those numbers, let's keep asking the question: of the cases we know we have, is there adequate health care? And the answer is no. You don't need to know the number of AIDS cases that we're going to have in 1993 to know that this government isn't prepared, whatever that number is."

## Harlem Hospital Hell

Over the last decade 4,000 acute care beds were cut in New York City; only last summer, the New York State Health Department called for closing 2,000 more. Faced with a city occupancy rate of over 95 percent last December, finally the state proposed reopening a measly 500 beds. What this has meant was pointed out by the director of Emergency Services at Bellevue Hospital, who stated: "On average, 20 medical-surgical patients and 10 psychiatric patients await admissions lying inches apart, side by side on stretchers or sitting on hard chairs. People wait two, three or four days for a bed" (*Health/PAC Bulletin*, Spring 1988).

We spoke with a health care worker at Harlem Hospital, one of the eleven municipal hospitals run by the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation, who said:

> "There used to be Sydenham Hospital, Logan Hospital, French Polyclinic, the Italian hospital. All those were closed, one after the other, which has left Harlem Hospital as the only facility in central Harlem. It originally had 1,200 beds and now it's been reduced down to 680. "Nelson Rockefeller came up with a plan to dump all these psychiatric patients out into the streets, into so-called community residential centers which were never built. The hospitals are there, housing is still here. It exists, there are rooms, everything is there. It's just a matter of opening it up. But the city and the state and the federal government just aren't going to provide the money for that."

The city has cut financial support to its hospitals by 30 percent in the past decade, drastically reducing staff positions. In 1979, when Koch launched his plan to shut down half the city's public hospitals, outraged workers of District Council 37 AFSCME (government employees) protested at City Hall on May Day and booed sell-out DC 37 leader Victor Gotbaum off the stage. But this militancy was snuffed out by the social-democratic union bureaucrats who, in fealty to their Democratic Party "allies," ensured no effective fight was waged. Working conditions and pay have gotten so bad that nurses—even those from traditionally low-paying Latin America and the Philippines—won't take the jobs. We were told that at Harlem Hospital:

> "Even basic things like counseling the spouse of somebody with AIDS just don't get done because nobody has the time. It was only two months ago that a group from the New York City Department of Health came and gave a seminar for ten Harlem Hospital workers on HIV counseling and testing. And that was the first time since the epidemic began that anything had been done to train people.
>
> "The food trays are just brought in by the food service people. And because there aren't enough nurses, the food is just left at the door. If there's no family, if the patient is not able to feed himself, the food will just sit there and later the food service person will come back and pick up the full tray.
>
> "Rooms are filthy. Floors are covered with urine, with bloody gauze, dressings, spilled blood. The place stinks. The prisoners are handcuffed to the rails on the side of their beds; actually *they* have somebody to watch over them—cops to guard them."

## Women, Babies, Homeless: A City in Agony

In the hellish conditions of Harlem and the South Bronx, the infant mortality rate is as high as some Third World countries. And now, because HIV-infected mothers can pass on the virus to babies in the womb, babies with AIDS are the fastest growing single category of AIDS cases in the country. In New York City minorities account for more than 80 percent of female AIDS cases and have given birth to more than 90 percent of the AIDS infants.

One out of every 61 babies born in New York is HIV infected. Many are "boarder babies" who have been abandoned to the hospital because their mothers have died or can't care for them. Nettie Richards, director of the boarder baby program at Harlem Hospital, noted that although the physical needs of these babies are met, there are no funds for anything else. There is no one to give them the constant attention and affection young children need: volunteers must be recruited to play with the children. "Many boarder babies are born in the hospital and live there for months or years without ever going outside the building. Richards said. Some die without ever having been outside" (*AIDS Alert*, June 1988).

This miserable situation is what State Comptroller Regan's July report calls "unanticipated increases in the number of pediatric AIDS cases"! What astounding hypocrisy! Many people predicted exactly what would happen. In 1981 Dr. Arye Rubinstein, a pediatric immunologist at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, documented cases of AIDS in black children from the Bronx. He was scorned and ignored, his paper returned unpublished because the *New England Journal of Medicine* thought it impossible children could have a "homosexual disease."

Only late this spring, seven years into the epidemic, did the city and state begin a program of counseling and testing for AIDS for New York's poor and minority women. Why this unconscionable delay? According to the *New York Times* (6 March), "testing, though voluntary, has not been offered widely, in part because of the volatile questions it raises: Should pregnant women found to be infected with the AIDS virus be urged to have abortions?" So pregnant women can't even choose not to bear babies who might be born infected with an uncurable disease! Once again, "right-to-life" means death!

*continued on page 13*

Jim Peppler

**AIDS victims are largest single group of patients at Harlem Hospital, where city cutbacks slashed number of beds almost by half.**

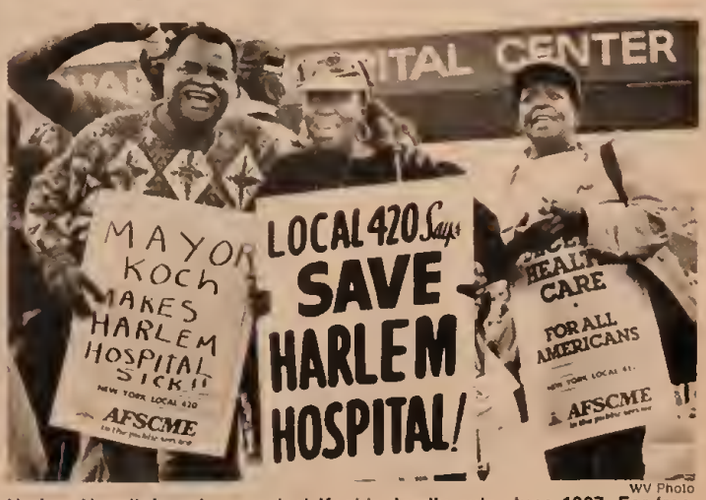
# Congressional Bigots Shaft D.C.

The U.S. Congress, playing plantation politics with the disenfranchised, predominantly black city of Washington, D.C., voted on September 30 to withhold $3.2 billion in federal funds unless the city danced to Reagan's reactionary tune.

In an action that is seen as a test case for similar actions around the country, the Democrats and Republicans in Congress told the capital city government that it must amend the D.C. law which bars insurance companies from denying coverage to those who test positive for exposure to the AIDS virus; that the D.C. Council must revise its Human Rights Act so that religious educational institutions (like Georgetown University) can once again deny funds to gay student groups; and that the District is prohibited from spending *federal* or *local* funds on abortions for the poor, except to save the life of the mother.

Congress is doing this to a city with a skyrocketing teenage pregnancy rate, with an infant mortality rate rivaling many Third World countries, and in a nation where abortion is supposedly legal! The local black misleaders, angered that their prerogatives as overseers on Reagan's plantation had been usurped, bemoaned the demise of hopes for D.C. "home rule." But one of the sponsors of the reactionary measures in Congress, Representative Henry Hyde, told D.C.'s nonvoting Congressional delegate, Walter Fauntroy, "that the rights of an unborn fetus transcend the District's right to home rule" (*Washington Post*, 1 October).

The cries of protest from Fauntroy and the District of Columbia Council ring hollow at best. Their own D.C. cops epitomized anti-gay witchhunting and AIDS hysteria when they, wearing yellow rubber gloves, arrested gays at a demonstration in June 1987. Down with the racist anti-democratic Congressional veto power over D.C.! Defend the rights of people with AIDS, gays and women!




WV Photo

**Harlem Hospital workers protest Koch's deadly cuts, June 1987. For free, quality health care for all!**

# Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs

SAN FRANCISCO—They are gangs of white racist punks with their heads shaved, wearing combat boots, their bodies tattooed with swastikas. They dance to the beat of rock groups called "White Pride" and "Final Solution" and "groove" in the streets on intimidation, brutality and the most sadistic violence. They are armed with chains, pipes, baseball bats, iron knuckles and increasingly with guns. They pick on, provoke, beat and terrorize gays, blacks, Asians, Hispanics and anybody else who gets in their way. Quite a few are up on charges or wanted for murder. They are the "skinheads." And they must be crushed.

Over the past few years they have cut a swath of terror in the cities and towns of the Bay Area:

- San Francisco, December 1985. Skinheads assaulted a gay couple shouting "You faggots are killing us all with AIDS" and then began to terrorize two elderly black women screaming "n----rs." When the gay couple came to the women's defense they were beaten with skateboards and chains.
- San Jose, July 1987. A dozen skinheads surrounded a 54-year-old black schoolteacher threatening to lynch her if she didn't pay a "n----r tax" to walk the streets.
- Redwood City, November 1987. A 15-year-old girl in this city south of San Francisco is charged with vandalizing and defacing a Jewish synagogue with the words: "We're going to get you."
- San Anselmo, summer 1987. Skinheads threw a teenager through a plate-glass window when he tried to stop them from putting up an anti-Semitic poster.

The skinhead milieu—white punks who look and act like something out of the movie *Road Warrior*—has been around for a while in the U.S. They started out adapting the Nazi regalia, "style" and music of the fascist gangs of skinheads which emerged in Britain in the late '60s/early '70s. But as one merchant in the Haight Street district of San Francisco, where skinheads routinely "bash" gay couples, told a local gay newspaper: "Three or four years ago, they just paraded around in those ugly costumes and got drunk and passed out. They didn't know the meaning of their symbols, like the swastika and iron crosses. But now they're into it" (*Sentinel*, 29 July).

### Degenerate Products of Capitalist Decay

Now the skinheads are being recruited and mobilized by Tom Metzger's fascist White Aryan Resistance (WAR). In one of WAR's race-hate sheets a skinhead leader boasts: "We are Skinheads, Boot Boys, the proud White Aryan youth who are increasing daily.... No one is going to stand in our way. Our war has just begun" (quoted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 14 May). In Southern California, where former KKK "Grand Dragon" Metzger calls the shots for WAR, there are skinhead hands who call themselves the War Skins, the Reich Skins, the American Front Skins and the Huntington Beach Skins.

In the Los Angeles suburb of Chatsworth the leader of the "Reich Skins" is in jail for terrorizing a Hispanic family, breaking into their home armed with an automatic pistol. Another member of the same gang is up on charges for murdering a young Hispanic woman. Skinheads are suspected of burning a cross on the front lawn of a black family in the Orange County suburb of Westminster. According to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), skinheads are behind an ominous 150 percent increase in anti-Semitic attacks in L.A. County over the past year.

This is not just limited to California. Chicago skinhead leader Clark Martell, with longstanding ties to the American Nazi Party, was convicted in 1979 of "attempting to commit aggravated arson against an Hispanic victim." According to an ADL Special Report, "'Shaved for Battle,' Skinheads Target America's Youth": "In 1986, Martell told an assembly of white racist leaders from around the country that...'I am a violent person. I love the white race, and if you love something, you're the most vicious person on earth'." Last February, six Chicago skinheads were indicted for viciously beating a young white woman who had black friends. They drew swastikas *in her blood* on the apartment walls.

The Chicago skinhead gang "Romantic Violence"—which touts the music of "Skrewdriver," a British skinhead band led by former National Front organizer Ian Stuart, as "music to riot by"—is also affiliated with Metzger's WAR fascists. So are Stuart's "Blood and Honor" fascists who have links with everyone from Metzger to the apartheid Nazis of South Africa's Afrikaans Resistance Movement. And skinheads are suspected as the perpetrators of a chilling mini-version of Hitler's 1938 *Kristallnacht* in Chicago last November in which synagogues and eight Jewish and two Korean businesses were attacked.

The Nazi SA brownshirts were recruited from the socially pathological, criminal dregs of crisis-racked German society, used to terrorize the labor movement and Jews, and then discarded after Hitler took power. Today skinheads in the U.S. are also the product of capitalism's social decay. Some are drawn from poor whites similar to the lumpenized working-class youth who are the base of the fascist skinheads in the squalid white ghettos of Margaret Thatcher's Britain. An example is Chicago's Marquette Park, where "skins" were among the 1,000-plus who came out for a KKK rally in August. They are losers who see no future beyond pumping gas.

But as a *Philadelphia Inquirer* article (14 May) reported: "From the affluent suburbs of the San Fernando Valley to grimy Hollywood street corners to the rural hills of San Diego groups of skinheads...have become the dominant white youth gangs in Southern California." Or in the words of an L.A. cop: "And these aren't poor kids. A lot of them come from moderate income families or above." This layer of frenzied, despairing petty-bourgeois youth produced the Charles Manson gang—cold-blooded, sociopathic killers.

With their "we don't need no education" cult of ignorance, the skinheads are the repulsive living embodiment of the Spanish fascist slogan in the 1930s, "Down with Intelligence! Long Live Death!" The absolute nihilism and violence of the layer of youth which feeds them was captured in the hit movie *River's Edge*. Based on a real-life story, it featured a teenage boy who murdered his girlfriend and then invited his (and her) friends to pay to see the corpse. Many pelted it with stones.

Take the classically fascist glorification of ignorance, add adolescent impulsiveness and refract it all through the Rambomania and all-sided reaction and racist violence of the Reagan years and you get the skinheads. They are inspired by the witchhunters and terrorists unleashed by the White House. A skinhead leaflet in San Francisco reads:

> "The Great Democracy enforces your right to blow dope; turn queer; marry a nigger; kill the unborn, and do anything else to destroy America. Some people may be sick enough to accept it ...but not us. We prefer Revolution, to Smash It! And replace it with a healthy White Mans Order."

Young Spartacus

**Spartacist-initiated picket at Berkeley campus radio station, as station broadcasts fascist führer Metzger.**

### Metzger's Race-War Gangs

Today, Tom Metzger's 20-year-old son John, the leader of WAR's Aryan Youth Movement/White Student Union, brags of the skinheads: "I pat myself on the back a little bit for organizing them. We've been able to be an influence and fine tune their perceptions. We're filling a void in their lives" (*New York Times*, 13 June). Metzger's fascists have filled the "void" by directing their rage into sick, hate-filled, racist terror.

Metzger Sr. (whose name means butcher in German) led an armed mob with attack dogs against anti-Klan protesters in Oceanside, California in March 1980. He mobilized KKK "volunteer patrols" to shoot down "illegal aliens" at the Mexican border and boasted that their "dead bodies stack up along the border." Metzger is currently facing trial with Aryan Nations *führer*

*continued on page 12*

San Francisco Independent

Gatley/L.A. Times

**Degenerate products of capitalist decay, skinheads are deadly recruits for Nazi terrorists like Metzger (right).**

Young Spartacus

# The Bolshevik Revolution

Planeta Publishers

**May Day 1917: Revolutionary workers march through Petrograd. Center banner reads: "Arm the People! Long Live the International!"**

# How the Working Class Took Power

*We print below the second and final part of a presentation by comrade T. Marlow to the New York Spartacist League branch on the Bolshevik Party and the 1917 Russian Revolution. Part One, covering the period from the February Revolution through the defeat of Kornilov, is printed in* Workers Vanguard *No. 460, 9 September. All dates correspond to the old Russian calendar.*

## Part Two of Two

From the end of September onward, Lenin continued to hammer home the point: Get on with it, do it! The people are sick and tired of the waverings of the Mensheviks. Only victory in the capital will bring the peasants over. He noted that the masses could just as easily become disillusioned with the Bolsheviks, as they had with the other parties, if the Bolsheviks failed to act. The soldiers were threatening to leave the trenches at the first sign of snow, and Lenin was quite afraid that the Central Committee was wavering, that they were putting too much emphasis on the approaching Congress of Soviets which was to be held in October.

In early October Lenin said, "Delay is a crime...a shameful toying with formalities, betrayal of the revolution." By the 25th of September, the Bolsheviks had secured a majority in the Petrograd Soviet, and Trotsky was elected its president. From that point on, they were clearly moving toward the seizure of power. The soviets openly came out and sent Kerensky's government a declaration which essentially read "*resign*."

The famous Central Committee meeting where the question of insurrection was taken up occurred on October 10. Lenin was intransigent. He said he was going to go through the CC or he was going to go against it. The vote was 10 to 2, with Zinoviev and Kamenev opposed, again representing the right wing of the party. The day after the insurrection was voted, Zinoviev and Kamenev circulated a letter within the party opposing what they considered to be a disastrous course. They said: "Constituent Assembly and soviets—that is, the combined type of state institution toward which we are travelling." Trotsky notes that this is basically a call for a peaceful system of dual power, with a constituent assembly or bourgeois parliament on one side, and on the other side the Bolshevik-dominated soviets, with supposedly co-equal power in the government. Obviously it couldn't work. Zinoviev and Kamenev were simply against the insurrection.

On October 16 the CC had another meeting. Lenin fought for the insurrection, and this time the vote was 20 to 2, again with Zinoviev and Kamenev opposed. Trotsky wasn't present at this meeting. He was getting together the Military Revolutionary Committee, which later coordinated the October insurrection. Ironically, this type of body had been proposed earlier by the Mensheviks. Back when the government tried to remove troops from the Petrograd garrison, the Mensheviks suggested that the soviets set up a committee to coordinate defensive activities around the capital. The Bolsheviks said "sure." They could see that this would be a very useful item to have around.

On October 17, Kamenev (with Zinoviev's approval) published the letter they had circulated in the party, publicly in Gorky's paper. This was a declaration of war against the Central Committee. Lenin called them strike-breakers and demanded their expulsion from the party. Zinoviev later wrote a letter to *Pravda* in which he tried to soft-pedal the political differences, and Stalin, on his own, editorialized that "The sharpness of tone of Lenin's article does not alter the fact that in fundamentals we remain of one opinion." Lenin is voting for the seizure of state power and these guys were against it—what is more fundamental than that? Trotsky figured that Stalin was trying to keep his bridges open to the right wing of the party in case the insurrection failed.

Now we come to the insurrection. With the securing of a majority in the Soviet and the decision to boycott the "Pre-Parliament" (a bourgeois parliamentary swamp convened as a last-ditch effort to create an authoritative body to undercut the soviets) it was clear that the days of the Provisional Government were numbered. Trotsky concluded a report to the Petrograd Soviet with the statement, "Long live the direct and open struggle for a revolutionary power throughout the country!" This was a public statement in the Soviet, so it was hardly a secret.

Trotsky notes in *The Lessons of October* that the success of the insurrection itself was virtually guaranteed when the Military Revolutionary Committee countermanded the government's orders to move troops out of the city. This was essentially a cold insurrection. If the government can't move troops—its armed bodies of men—it can't do anything. If the soviet is able to assert its authority over those armed bodies of men, it has assumed the state power in all but the name.

By October 23 the plans had been set and all the units loyal to the Military Revolutionary Committee were on call. All that was needed was some kind of spark. True to form, Kerensky provided one by committing a provocation. That very day Kerensky decided to ban the Bolshevik newspaper. So he sent these guys over to put sealing wax on the printshop door. A girl worker ran over to the Military Revolutionary Committee and told Trotsky what happened and said that the workers in the printshop would be more than happy to continue working if they got an armed guard. So Trotsky said, here we go and sent a platoon back to secure the paper.

Lenin was still in hiding, but came to Smolny Institute in disguise, on the evening of the 24th. There had been newspaper accounts about negotiations between the Soviet and the general staff. Lenin was afraid that once again the damn Central Committee was losing its nerve. So he went in there demanding to know what the hell was going on. After Trotsky explained that

*continued on page 8*

# Bolshevik Revolution...

*(continued from page 7)*

troops had already been sent to occupy and safeguard the Bolshevik press, then Lenin was happy. He laughed and rubbed his hands together and said, "Well, well—it can be done that way too. Just take the power." And they did, that morning. All the major communications, government institutions, etc., except the Winter Palace, were seized.

During the next day, the 25th, the Palace was surrounded by a cordon of troops and Red Guards, setting the stage for the seizure. To give you an idea of how willfully blind the Provisional Government was, during a lull in the siege, an official of the government sent a cablegram outside Petrograd, saying, "The situation is considered favorable.... The Palace is under fire, but only rifle fire and without results. It is clear that the enemy is weak." Meanwhile, two thousand guys with guns are outside and the *Aurora* is training its guns on the Palace! While the ministers were cackling they asked an admiral, well, what happens if the *Aurora* opens up on the Winter Palace? The admiral replied, it'll be a pile of ruins.

The Second Congress of Soviets opened on the 25th with acrimonious debate, because the Bolsheviks had effectively seized power. The Mensheviks were irate, they refused any kind of a coalition. During the debate, the *Aurora*'s guns began to open up. At first they only fired blanks, but later they fired a few live shells. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionary Party [SRs], the entire right wing, walked out. All that was left were a few splinters from the Mensheviks and the left wing of the SRs, which had split.

Lenin got up and opened his speech with the famous sentence, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order." They had a three-point agenda. (Think of that for the next local meeting!) One, war and peace: the declaration to the peoples and governments of all belligerent countries. Two, the land decree: abolishing private property in land. Three, setting up the government of People's Commissars. Occasionally there would be some peasant delegates from the army who got up and denounced the Bolsheviks for something, but one of the anarchist leaders summed up the feeling of the peasants regarding the land decree by saying, "We must do honour to a political party which puts such an act into effect the first day, without jawing about it!"

Later that morning the Winter Palace fell. And that was the end of the Provisional Government. Kerensky left under the safety of the American flag. How did the bourgeoisie react? The Duma, this puffed up bunch of bourgeois gentlemen, decided to go to the Winter Palace and die, and voted great, heroic resolutions. So they go marching down the street saying, yep... we're going to bare our breasts to these brutes' bullets. They came up to a picket of sailors and they started haranguing the sailors: "We will go forward! What can you do?" One irate sailor finally looked at them and said, "We will spank you! And if necessary we will shoot you too. Go home now!" So they turned around and went away. The bourgeoisie wasn't used to fighting, they were used to sending other people to do their fighting.

That episode illustrates something, a sort of childishness. For example, the ministers would be arrested and then they would be released, and the counterrevolutionary Kadets [Constitutional Democrats] would be arrested and then they'd be released, a sort of playing around. The seriousness of it hadn't actually come to the fore yet. Trotsky gives the example of the *Aurora* sitting right off the Winter Palace with its naval guns—how could they only hit the target three times? It was very clear that the sailors were mainly trying to make a lot of noise. Essentially what this means is that the civil war hadn't begun in earnest yet.

But that was going to change. Trotsky points out, for example, that the insurrection in Moscow was much more protracted and cost many more lives. One of the reasons he points to is the vacillation in the party leadership. They'd first swing from negotiation to action, then from action to negotiation and so on. Trotsky notes that if vacillations by the leadership are generally harmful in politics, they become a mortal danger under the conditions of an armed insurrection.

Kerensky was still on the loose. The bourgeois papers were filled with reports about how he'd gone to the front and was coming back with cossacks to raze Petrograd. The apparatchiks, the civil service of the old government, essentially went on strike. So for example, when Trotsky went to get the secret treaties for the Bolsheviks to publish, he found somebody had run off with them. His translators quit their jobs. This was sabotage from within. These people weren't going to openly take up arms, but they were going to do whatever they could to make it impossible for the Bolsheviks to make the country work.

On the 29th, the military cadets staged an uprising in the name of something called "The Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolution." (If you ever see something which says "Committee for the Salvation..."—watch out for some counterrevolutionary plot.) This was comprised of the right SRs and the Mensheviks, who were joined by the right-wing leadership of the rail workers union, and it was financed by the Russian bourgeoisie and probably given a little help by the Allied embassies as well. This uprising was premature. It was easily taken care of despite occasional episodes of bloody fighting, because Kerensky's troops hadn't yet made it to the city. They were parked outside Petrograd.

The Military Revolutionary Committee had tried without success to get the military staff of the garrison to get their troops in motion to smash Kerensky's operation. Finally they resorted to a direct call to the Petrograd proletariat, and that was key. Why? Because the workers at the gun factory, instead of sending their guns down someplace else, carted them off directly to the front. The Red Guards were organized, and munitions came out of nowhere—arms, artillery, you name it. The dénouement came on the night of October 30-31, when General Krasnov's cossacks were routed at Polkovo. They had been lied to that

Institute for Social History, Amsterdam

Novosti Press

**Top left: Leon Trotsky organized October 1917 insurrection. Top right: Yakov Sverdlov became Bolshevik chairman of Soviet executive, replacing conciliationist Kamenev. Bottom: Kamenev (center), "strikebreaker of the revolution," pictured with Mensheviks Cheidze and Tseretelli (left) and SRs Avksentiev and Schreider (right).**

Boni and Liveright

# The Bolsheviks in World War I

## A Correction

9 September 1988
Chicago

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Marlow's excellent basic presentation on the Russian Revolution ("The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power," Part One, *WV* No. 460, 9 September) will help educate youth club members and sympathizers for years to come. However, a photo caption accompanying the talk contains an inaccuracy. The caption beneath a shot of a field carpeted with corpses reads, "Imperialist slaughter of World War I built mass support for the Bolsheviks, who demanded peace without annexations." Yet Lenin shied away from the *slogan*, popular in centrist circles of European Social Democracy, of "peace without annexations."

In line with their advocacy of the right of all nations to self-determination, the Bolsheviks opposed all imperialist annexations, whether they originated during the war or before. But as the interimperialist conflict progressed, "peace without annexations" became the war cry of the *losing* imperialists, a demand for a return to the pre-existing status quo. The Russian social-chauvinists used this slogan to give an internationalist cover to the war aims of their own ruling class after its Polish colony was lost to the Germans. Lenin exposed this opportunist hypocrisy in an article entitled "Peace without Annexations and the Independence of Poland as Slogans of the Day in Russia" (February 1916), counterposing the war cry of the proletariat:

> "Not 'peace without annexations,' but peace to the cottages, war on the palaces, peace to the proletariat and the working people, war on the bourgeoisie!"

Revolutionary greetings,
K. Anderson


## Spartacist Forums

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Campus Center Building
Room 162-175, UMass Amherst

Speaker
Brian Manning
Spartacist League

For more information (617) 492-3928

K.A. Kuznetsov

Oietz Verlag Berlin

**Lenin (above in 1919), proclaimed October Revolution: "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order." Right: Putilov metal workers in Petrograd listen to report from the Soviet the day after the seizure of power.**

the Bolsheviks were committing atrocities, that the Bolsheviks were making deals with the Kaiser, that the Petrograd garrison was waiting for the cossacks to liberate them. So they started marching forward and got hit by a barrage of artillery, and realized that somebody had sold them a bill of goods. Most of the troops just turned around and went away. There was some fighting, but that was Kerensky's last gasp.

### A Workers and Peasants Government

There was another fight within the Bolshevik Party over the question of the so-called "homogeneous socialist ministry." This is *after* they've taken state power. The Mensheviks were clamoring that you can't set up a government just made up of Bolsheviks. The rail workers almost decided to strike, saying they were not going to move anything unless there's a coalition ministry. Partly this got transmitted, again, through the right wing of the Bolshevik Party, which thought that the Mensheviks and the SRs and the other nominally socialist parties should be included in the government.

In principle the Bolsheviks were not opposed to a coalition. A CC meeting on November 2 agreed to accept a coalition with any party *if* they would abide by soviet constitutionalism, which meant accepting the reality of the October insurrection and the fact that the soviets have a Bolshevik majority, and therefore will form the majority of the government. That was a big if. The SRs and the Mensheviks were essentially on the other side of the class line. They were in the Committee for Salvation. There was no way they were going to come over. So who remained to make a coalition with?

The same day in the central executive of the soviets, Kamenev voted against the resolution of his own party. Kamenev, the Bolshevik chairman, openly asked for the dismissal of the Bolshevik government and for its replacement by a coalition. And he had a lot of support in the party: Lunacharsky, Zinoviev, Ryazanov. Presented with this revolt, Lenin and Trotsky were outraged. On November 3 the Central Committee demanded disciplined behavior and threatened an emergency conference of the party which would either endorse the conciliators or expel them. The reply of the right wing was a collective resignation from the Central Committee, at which point Lenin went public, in *Pravda*, and denounced them as men of little faith, and waverers.

Shortly thereafter, it became clear that the Mensheviks and the SRs would never compromise under any conditions, and the conciliators backed down basically because there was nobody left to form a coalition with. Kamenev was removed, deposed from the Soviet executive and replaced by Sverdlov. The Left SRs, who had been hanging on the sidelines, were sufficiently repelled by the behavior of the Mensheviks and the SRs that they decided they would join the Bolshevik-led government, and did.

Throughout November, the People's Commissars issued the decrees of the first workers state. These included: nationalization of the banks, abolition of ranks and titles in the military, election of commanders, abolition of all aristocratic titles and privileges, etc. The foundations of the new soviet state were being laid.

The compromisers always tried to put off every major social question, like the seizure of the land, or the composition of the government. They were awaiting the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, which was supposed to be like a democratically-elected parliament. The Constituent Assembly was a hangover from February. The bourgeoisie had never wanted any part of it, had kept putting off convening it. "we'll wait till the war's over." But after October it was different. It was clear that this Constituent Assembly, which had been based on party lists from a long time ago, would in fact be dominated by right-wing parties and have considerable bourgeois representation as well. It would be a retrograde force, a focus for refounding some kind of a bourgeois republic, when the proletariat had already seized the state power. The Constituent Assembly met in early January and shortly afterward it was dispersed.

The bourgeoisie's attitude was given in Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* in an interview with Lianozov, an industrialist, who, before the revolution, called for lynching all the Bolsheviks and added, "Or if, for example, the Constituent Assembly manifests any Utopian tendencies, it can be dispersed by force of arms." It was. Only it was a different class, the working class, that was holding the arms. ■

## Curfew Fight at Boston University

# No Sex Under Silber

Thiebauth/Boston Phoenix

**"Madman" John Silber grooves on screwing BU students.**

Students beware: John Silber, the notorious twisted Bonaparte of Boston University, wants to strip booze, sex, and any rights you thought you might have from your dorm rooms in his fiefdom. Under a new Big Brother policy proposed by the puritanical Silber regime, students will no longer be allowed to have guests in their rooms after 11 p.m. on weeknights and 1 a.m. on weekends. And you can't have more than a six-pack of beer and one bottle of booze in your room—even if you've hit the legal drinking age of 21! As one BU student said, "I feel like my mother is living with me, just not in the same room" (*Harvard Independent*, 22 September). Beyond *in loco parentis*, Silber, the *in loco ayatollah*, has gone off his nut. The survival of our species on the planet is proof that people will screw, despite the turns and turds of history like Torquemada, Jerry Falwell and John Silber.

The new rules are just the latest draconian outrage from Silber. Silber is notorious for "no knock" dorm room searches for drugs, banning rock concerts, banning condoms, running a Hooveresque surveillance file system on student activists. This latest attempt to bring back the stifling social mores of the 1950s is part of Silber's drive to pound the student body into a mindless, obedient, scared mass of cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie. Young people who are unaccustomed to having any rights to privacy or dissent are far less likely to "make love not war" or politically organize against U.S. imperialism's crimes against humanity.

Silber turned BU's College of Communications into a CIA disinformation mill for the bloodthirsty feudalist mullahs in Afghanistan, who skin alive Russian soldiers and leftist schoolteachers and want to murder any girl who can read. Perhaps what Silber and his buddy William Bennett (former Secretary of Education for Reagan) yearn for are the good old days when the only people who could read lived in monasteries—and they'd probably assign the same reading list too! A sign of the rot of this decaying racist capitalist society is its inability to provide basic education for its youth. America's rulers don't give a damn about the masses of black and Hispanic youth they've assigned to the scrap heap, and they're tending toward creating an equality of ignorance with rich white kids from suburbia who aren't taught the basics either.

Silber has been met by intense and almost universal opposition from BU's student body. Students have raised the minimal and polite demand "We want guests!" and taken to taping paper plates to their windows with a logo against the 11 p.m. curfew. A thousand students rallied at Marsh Chapel on September 14 and twice that number packed the Ballroom in the student center to "discuss" the *diktat* with the *führer* himself. But a march on Silber's house was called off by timid student "leaders" who were bullied by Dean of Students Ron Carter. Carter is himself a walking incitement to riot. He says the new dorm policy "is not a ban on sex.... Students can have sex before 11:00 p.m. and after that they can play with themselves."

Silber ought to keep out of students' private lives. Fight the social/sexual counterrevolution at BU! Down with all "age of consent" laws and the anti-drug, anti-booze witchhunt! Down with the curfew!

Young Spartacus

## Spartacist Brigadista Eyewitness Account

# In War-Torn Nicaragua

Young Spartacus *is pleased to print a report from comrade Vinnie of the Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club on his recent trip to Nicaragua.*

I went to Nicaragua for four weeks and spent three in Matagalpa as part of a reforestation project. We planted trees, terraced and weeded on a historic mountain site. During the insurrection the mountain was a stronghold of Somoza's National Guard. From its top they bombed the city and set it on fire. Many a Sandinista died before it was finally taken. Seeing the word "*internacionalista*" on Ben Linder's gravestone in Matagalpa, I sang the *Internationale* in my head and it took on new meaning. Learning firsthand how the effects of imperialism go far beyond the poverty of the U.S. gave me a deeper level of hatred for capitalism. I only hope that this trip has made me a better *internacionalista* to help in the fight for socialism.

Matagalpa is more concentrated than Managua and less developed. Water comes every two days and the electricity goes out about three to four times a week. The destruction the National Guard meted out was visible everywhere. Vacant lots, destroyed buildings and bullet holes were common. Walking around in Managua, it was hard to believe that it's the central city of Nicaragua. It's so spread out that it appears like some rural area of the U.S. The damage of the '72 earthquake is still visible in the downtown area. Most gutted buildings have yet to be taken down.

The lieutenant in the Sandinista army who I lived with asked me a good question. "In the U.S., with so many unemployed, so many poor, why isn't there a movement for national liberation?" First, I explained that the U.S. is the most dominant imperialist country in the world. It doesn't need a movement for national liberation but socialist revolution. I said that in the U.S. there is a need for revolutionary leadership. He tried to convince me that Nicaragua was socialist. I asked, "what about the capitalist class in Nicaragua?" He said that without the capitalists there could be no trade with the U.S. But right now, with the embargo, there is no trade with the U.S. anyway. Another person put it like this: "We didn't have the experience to run the country when we took power. We had to let the capitalists run things." But since '79 the capitalists have been looting the economy, acting as the internal "fifth column" of the contras.

The U.S. portion of my brigade included a couple from the Boston Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), myself, and ten basically liberal types. Getting to know the YSAers was a real lesson in the degeneration of the SWP (Socialist Workers Party, the YSA's parent organization). Both YSAers complained a lot—one even asked to be moved from the house chosen for him because the chickens made too much noise in the morning! The newer YSA member felt that revolution in the U.S. was basically impossible and not worth fighting for, and that capitalism could work if it was governed properly.

### Complete the Revolution!

While the Nicaraguan Revolution is an historic advance over Somoza, the incompleteness of the revolution is striking. My first sight at the Managua airport was many little kids selling *La Prensa* and many people reading it. This open counterrevolutionary activity made me uneasy. The most striking incompleteness is that 60 percent of the property is still in private hands and the Sandinistas have no plans to change this. The nationalization of the San Antonio sugar mill last July was described as a last resort to deal with an uncooperative capitalist. The FSLN says it was a message to other owners, but they don't want to have to do it again. One FSLN representative told us that they could live with the capitalists until eternity. When pushed, she answered my question as to which class will rule very curtly, "petty bourgeoisie."

A representative from AMNLAE (Nicaraguan Women's Association) admitted that women in Nicaragua have a long way to go. Machismo is still strong. Women did all the housework where I stayed. A recent plan to build four day-care centers was cut back to build just one. Birth control is available from health centers, but they rarely have it. Many young women have two or three children. Women are excluded from the draft because they might have children. They are underrepresented in the military where some of the best-paying jobs are. Abortion is illegal and many women are hospitalized due to back-alley abortions—a deadly consequence of the strong influence of the Catholic church in Nicaragua. Most homes in our neighborhood had religious figures on the walls. Yet both of the young guys I lived with said they do not believe in god and criticized religion. One said he learned about idealism vs. materialism in school.

The economic situation in Nicaragua is quite poor. Numerous people complained about their salaries being too low. The family I lived with told me their combined salaries bought nothing but food and basic necessities. The average worker in Nicaragua earns 2,000-3,000 córdobas (US$12-15) per month. Many earn less. A pair of cheap shoes is about 2,000 córdobas, tennis shoes about 7,500 córdobas. A nice shirt goes for about 4,500 córdobas. A half-pack a day habit of cheap cigarettes is about 750 córdobas; for filtered cigarettes multiply by six. Most people like to smoke but cannot afford to buy cigarettes. Walking around Nicaragua I noticed a large dichotomy between the well-dressed people shopping at the special "dollar stores" and campesinos wearing rags and living in one-room houses.

The FSLN says the reason the economy is so bad is because of the U.S.-backed contra war and the economic blockade. This is quite true. Government estimates say that both have cost Nicaragua 12.2 billion dollars and 56,000 lives. At the same time, the FSLN seems more concerned with giving concessions to the capitalists than increasing workers' wages. The ex-owners of the recently nationalized San Antonio sugar mill will be reimbursed. The pro-Sandinista union (CST) says that strikes aren't necessary, that they impede the struggle and make problems worse. At the CST office in Matagalpa we were fed the line that relations between workers and management are so good that strikes don't happen. So the workers do their work, accept their low wages, and strikes get declared illegal while the capitalists get concessions. All this from the FSLN, which calls itself a "party of the working people."

### Smash Yankee Imperialism!

It is obvious that the U.S. government has been doing its best to smash the Sandinistas, and this policy is really taking its toll in Nicaragua. Sandinista propaganda still flourishes, but the masses don't appear very enthused about it. People are desperate for something to give way. It's a universal feeling that the current war must end for Nicaragua to prosper. "Nicaragua wants peace" is the slogan of the day.

This state of war-weariness has given rise to a lot of false hopes. Dangerous illusions are being sold at bargain basement prices. Many people feel that if Dukakis wins, U.S. policy toward Nicaragua will change. The government papers are sympathetic to Dukakis and a couple of officials explicitly told us to go home and vote for him. I responded by talking about Bentsen's support for the contras and the Democrats' history as the party of war and racism. Most were stunned and did not want to hear it.

The most dangerous illusion is the Arias "peace" plan. When I brought up the releasing of contra prisoners and allowing the contras to operate freely in the country, many agreed that this was quite dangerous. But they all insisted that the need for peace outweighs the concessions and that Arias will bring peace. These concessions don't spell peace, they spell counterrevolution! Some argued that Arias is working. Proof, they say, is that the fighting has decreased. But this is certainly not due to any compliance by the U.S. or the contras. The ex-U.S. ambassador, John Melton, openly participated in opposition demonstrations. Congress continues funding for the contras. The contra attacks have decreased only because they've gotten their asses kicked on the battlefield. The Sandinista offensive last March was so effective that Reagan felt he had to send troops to Honduras so that the contras wouldn't be wiped out altogether.

The nationalist dreams of "nonalignment" simply can't work in a world of two competing economic systems. The only way forward is to complete the revolution by expropriating the capitalists, eliminating the agents of U.S. imperialism in Nicaragua. But Nicaragua alone would be hard pressed to defend itself against the mighty forces of U.S. imperialism. The revolution must be extended to El Salvador, Mexico and on to the U.S. itself. Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America. ■

Young Spartacus

**Spartacus Youth Club brigadista Vinnie on Calavera Hill in Matagalpa, Nicaragua.**

WV Photo

**American imperialism's contra war and economic blockade bring misery for Nicaraguan poor.**

# For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

# Defend the Kurdish People!

*Adapted from* Workers Hammer *No. 100, September 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.*

The so-called "cease-fire" negotiated by the United Nations may not have ended the savage and senseless war between Iraq and Iran. But it has given these two self-proclaimed "revolutionary" regimes the respite to concentrate their forces on what they do best: massacring their own peoples.

Since the middle of July, the Baghdad generals have launched yet another offensive against Iraqi Kurdistan, where also many Assyrian Christians live. This time they sent 60,000 troops equipped with tanks, helicopter gunships, heavy artillery, napalm and, Kurdish refugees say, poison gas. Tens of thousands of refugees have been forced over the rugged, mountainous border into Turkey, where Kurds have been historically more oppressed than anywhere else. Meanwhile, Ayatollah Khomeini, who inaugurated his Islamic "revolution" by killing more than 10,000 Kurds, is presently massing troops inside Iranian Kurdistan.

Dominating the headlines, condemnations of the use of poison gas issued forth from imperialist capitals like Washington and Bonn. British imperialism lagged behind its cousins maintaining a discreet silence. There are a variety of reasons, including, as the [London] *Guardian* (15 September) speculated, a desire not to offend the brutal Ozal regime in Turkey. West Germany does a brisk business selling chemical weapons materials to Iraq, and the U.S. recently refused to sign an international ban on producing or using these weapons.

Washington has taken the lead among the NATO imperialists in denouncing Baghdad for using "C-weapons" against the Kurds. The Senate even voted sanctions against Iraq. Yet when the Iran-Iraq war was raging, and the U.S. was tilting heavily toward Iraq, there was hardly a peep from the Reagan administration about Iraqi use of mustard gas and cyanide. But now with the Persian Gulf cease-fire, the White House is tilting back toward Iran. Reports are now circulating of an "October surprise" in the works, trading the release of American hostages in Beirut for new arms and economic aid to Teheran and releasing billions of dollars of frozen Iranian assets, in order to help the Repuhlicans in the November elections.

Amnesty International, one of the first organisations to expose the massacres in Iraq and report the use of chemical weapons, appealed to the UN Security Council. But the United Nations is the same institution that dismembered Palestine and provides border guards for Israeli expansion; that murdered nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba and dismembered his fledgling African nation; that provided sanction for the U.S. rape of Korea, and protected thousands of Nazi war criminals after World War II including, of course, its own secretary general, Kurt Waldheim.

The UN's predecessor organisation, the League of Nations, was responsible for imposing the imperialist partition and balkanisation of the Near East after World War I, by which Kurdistan was denied its right to self-determination and divided between four capitalist powers: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. British imperialism played a leading role in this carving up of Kurdistan. And today 20 million Kurdish people are denied their own nation-state.

Frey/Time

Özlurk/Sipa

**Kurds flee Iraqi rampage (above). Kurdish victims of poison gas attack near Iraqi town of Halabja in March (left).**

Charges of poison gas use have been denied both in Baghdad and by NATO's front man in Ankara, Ozal. That is not surprising as Turkey makes a nice profit pumping oil from Iraq (to be precise, from Iraqi Kurdistan) to the Mediterranean. As part of its "facelift" for entering the European Common Market, the Turkish dictatorship has crowed about its "humanitarian" treatment of refugees from Iraq, which consists of shipping the men back and keeping the women and children penned up in carefully guarded camps to which outside medical relief assistance has been denied.

According to the TKP's (Turkish Communist Party) *Iscinin Sesi* (5 September) Turkey has denied refugee status to the Kurds, proffering instead the meaningless status of "temporary stay." Meanwhile southeastern Anatolia, where most of Turkey's over eight million Kurds live, remains under martial law. Referred to as "mountain Turks" since the rule of nationalist leader Atatürk in the 1920s and denied the use of their language, today even their villages have been militarily occupied and their militants jailed and murdered.

Iraq has used poison gas in Kurdistan since October 1983. Last March in a battle against Iranian troops, Ba'athist forces dropped chemical weapons on the Kurdish village of Halabja, killing more than 5,000 men, women and children. To break resistance to Baghdad's domination, the bonapartist regime is pursuing what U.S. imperialism called in Vietnam a "scorched earth" policy:

> "President Saddam Hussein has razed villages—no less than 3,000 out of Kurdistan's 4,000 are believed to have disappeared—deported tens of thousands of inhabitants—either to easily controllable settlements in Kurdistan or to concentration camps in the far south of Iraq—and Arabised the more sensitive areas, such as around the Kirkuk oilfields."
>
> —[London] *Guardian*, 14 September

Saddam's pretext for yet another murderous campaign against the embattled Kurds was that their nationalist forces collaborated with Khomeini's troops. Indeed the bourgeois (and prehourgeois) nationalist leaders of Iraqi Kurds, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) headed by the Barzani clan and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) headed by Jabal Talabani, have received support from both Khomeini and the Shah. The latter exploited the Kurdish resistance to force Saddam Hussein to sign the 1975 Algiers agreement granting Iran shared sovereignty over the Shatt-al-Arab estuary. The Algiers agreement also meant Baghdad-Teheran collaboration in crushing the Kurdish resistance until Saddam tore up that agreement in 1980 by launching a territorial war against Khomeini's newly formed theocratic dictatorship.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (DKIP), Abdel Ghassemlou, announced recently that Khomeini was about to attack his forces because he had in turn accepted aid from Saddam. When asked by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (16 September) about the Kurds in Iraq he stated: "We are not separatists. We are Kurds, but we are also Iranians." Therefore, Saddam was their problem, it was not the job of his organisation to come to the aid of the Iraqi Kurds.

The Near East, and Kurdistan in particular, give dramatic testimony to the inability of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism's decline to solve even the most elementary democratic and national aspirations of the oppressed, toiling masses. Petty-bourgeois leftists who supported Arab nationalism and the "Arab revolution" when that was in vogue, and then switched over to the "Iranian revolution" of Persian chauvinism and Shi'ite obscurantism, reaped the spoils of their tailism in the Iran-Iraq war, especially on the killing fields of Kurdistan. And among the Kurds, some from Iraq consider themselves to be "hezbollahi" (Shi'ite fanatics) while other Kurds in Iran are being slaughtered by Khomeini's hezbollah. A proletarian perspective for the Kurdish people is needed to combat these religious and regional divisions as well.

Only the international Spartacist tendency, which gives no political support

*continued on page 12*


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# Fascist Metzger...

*(continued from page 6)*

Richard Butler for a 1983 cross-burning in the San Fernando Valley. The Aryan Nations/Order murdered Jewish talk show host Alan Berg in Denver. On trial an "Order" member testified that they gave a quarter million dollars—proceeds of an armored car robbery—to Metzger, who then set up his White Student Unions.

These days Metzger brags that the skinheads who are being organized by his son "are becoming part of our overall movement. We've gone beyond the bullshit stage. We're talking about survival now. If blacks or anybody else gives them trouble, they will smash it" (*San Francisco Independent*, 29 June). When skinheads threatened to lynch the black schoolteacher in San Jose, a leader of Metzger's White Aryan Youth Movement declared: "Skinheads are our front line warriors.... They roam the streets and do what's necessary to defend the race" (*Oakland Tribune*, 2 August 1987).

Clinton Sipes, a former leader of Metzger's WAR who quit, announcing that he was "born again," described his experience with the skinheads: "The last time Sipes spent time with his skinhead friends in San Francisco, they ran their car over someone they suspected of being a homosexual, he said.... He recalls another occasion when he accompanied a group of skinheads as they kidnapped a prostitute in Oakland and tortured her while they held a loaded automatic weapon to her head" (*San Francisco Independent*, 29 June).

After Greg Withrow quit as leader of Metzger's White Aryan Youth Movement/White Student Unions, skinheads broke into his Sacramento apartment, pummeled him with baseball bats and left him for dead. Five weeks later skinheads nailed Withrow to a board through the palms of his hands and slashed his chest to the bone with a razor. These days Withrow has made prime time television talk shows with his renunciation of Metzger, who, he says, "If the opportunity were right... would make what Hitler did seem like a Mary Poppins story" (San Francisco State University *Prism*, December 1987).

AP

**Militants give skinhead thugs a thrashing in Dallas, February 27.**

### Smash Racist Terror!

Over the last decade there has been a chilling rise of racist terror. The opening shots were fired by the KKK and Nazis who gunned down five anti-Klan leftist demonstrators in cold blood and in broad daylight in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. The Klan/Nazi killers wrapped themselves in the stars-and-stripes anti-Soviet rhetoric coming out of Democrat Carter's White House, and were acquitted by an all-white jury. That same year (1980), Tom Metzger won the Democratic primary running for Congress in Southern California. The murderous far-right lunatic fringe was bidding for "respectability."

Now Reagan, the Klan-endorsed president, salutes Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. At home skinheads raise their arms in the Nazi salute and scream "*Sieg Heil*." Taking their cue from the Ollie Norths directing anti-Communist terror from the White House corridors, skinheads in Atlanta trashed a benefit to raise money for a health center in Nicaragua. Fully developed, the skinhead scum—who match the sick pathology of the likes of "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson in El Salvador and the sadistic dogs of war who fill the ranks of the Nicaraguan contras—become death squads.

When the KKK and Nazis attempted to penetrate Northern urban centers in the early 1980s with their race-hate rallies and marches, the Spartacist League initiated thousands-strong mobilizations to stop them, from Detroit to San Francisco to Chicago to Washington, D.C., bringing to bear the muscle of organized labor together with blacks and all the intended victims of fascist terror. Now the skinheads offer the fascists an opening into the cities and Metzger is organizing them as the urban stormtroopers for WAR. Meanwhile, liberal civil libertarians are defending them, claiming that the issue is not genocide but "free speech" for the fascists. In contrast, protesting an obscene Berkeley radio "talk show" featuring Metzger last spring, an SL/Spartacus Youth Club call to action declared: "Don't 'interview' fascists—MOBILIZE TO SMASH THEM!"

These sicko, Hitler-loving skinheads are feared, but they are also hated and loathed among broad sectors of the population. It is difficult to deal with packs of skinhead punks who randomly attack their victims on the streets and in back alleys. But when they have tried to come out in the light of day with their racist terror, these filth have been routed. In February an integrated crowd of 600 blacks, whites and Hispanics in Dallas drove KKKers and their skinhead allies off the streets. Neo-Nazi skinheads also got a hot reception from protesters when they tried to march in Atlanta during the Democratic Party convention.

The fight against fascism, as Trotsky said, "begins in the factory." It is the labor movement that has the power to sweep the KKK lynchers and skinhead stormtroopers from the streets. A step in the right direction was taken by San Francisco unionists after a black member of the American Federation of Government Employees was attacked by skinheads last June. At its July meeting, his union unanimously passed a motion declaring:

> "Whereas, a member of our local was brutally attacked and beaten in broad daylight on June 11th in the Haight/Ashbury area of S.F. in a savage racist assault by a mob of skinhead racists, and..
>
> "Whereas, the fascist, Nazi-loving KKK have in the past and in the present declared themselves enemies of blacks, unions, Jews, Hispanics, gays, the foreign born and are currently engaging in murderous attacks against these groups across the country, and
>
> "Whereas, attacks by these fascist thugs will only increase if the labor movement does not step in to act resolutely to stop them,
>
> "Therefore be it resolved, in order to protect not only our own members and fellow workers, but to defend the whole labor movement and all other targets of Klan/Nazi attacks Local 1457 of the American Federation of Government Employees issues an urgent call to the Bay Area labor movement and to all decent people to mobilize and act decisively to put an immediate stop to the atrocities of these skinheads."

What is desperately needed to deal with these racist terrorists is some hard class struggle. In the face of a combative, mobilized and class-conscious labor movement, the skinhead slime will crawl back into the sewers. A powerful, integrated, multiracial revolutionary workers party will sweep out the Nazi-loving skinheads and all their ilk by bringing down the rotting capitalist system that spawned these deadly beasts. ■

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# Defend the Kurds...

*(continued from page 11)*

to nationalism, could fight every injustice against the Kurdish people and take a position of revolutionary defeatism of both sides of the Iran-Iraq war, pointing out that it provided the best opportunity to carve out an independent Kurdish nation-state since the short-lived Mahabad "Kurdish Republic" of 1946. Saddam Hussein's present genocidal campaign against Iraqi Kurds is his own acknowledgement of this. And Saddam's enemy in Teheran is equally a bloody persecutor of the Kurdish people.

A demonstration called in London by the Iraqi Kurdistan Front (Britain) on 10 September to protest Baghdad's brutal offensive in Iraqi Kurdistan showed that a deformed nationalist perspective still predominates. As the demonstration took off for the Iraqi embassy, the Spartacist contingent raised our placards, including those denouncing the Iranian mullahs as well as the Iraqi colonels, Turkey's Evren as well as Syria's Assad. The organisers—including supporters of the Iraqi CP—resorted to calling the police in order to force an exclusion of our revolutionary defeatist and Soviet defensist politics.

The Russian Revolution demonstrated that in this epoch democratic rights and principles can only be fully realized by the revolutionary proletariat in power. That is why many Kurds look to the Soviet Union, despite its Stalinist degeneration, where their brothers and sisters enjoy democratic national rights together with the achievements of 20th century science and technology. As we stated in our greetings to a Kurdish conference held in central Europe four years ago (*WV* No. 362, 14 September 1984):

> "The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses can only be region-wide, involving the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes.... Our model is Lenin's Russia of 1917-24 where the Bolsheviks offered the national minorities the option and the advantages of association with the Soviet Federation. For our part, we are dedicated to the forging of the internationalist party of worldwide proletarian revolution and speak to you in the understanding that the future of humanity depends on its construction." ■

# AIDS...

*(continued from page 5)*

For homeless people with AIDS, the situation on the streets and in NYC's barracks-like "shelters" is horrible. Dr. Paul Perowsky, director of ambulatory care at Woodhull Hospital in Brooklyn, estimates 15 to 20 percent of shelter residents are infected with HIV, and about half meet the criteria for an official AIDS diagnosis according to the CDC definitions. Many are sick and unaware they have AIDS, others know it and are terrified of being beaten up by other shelter residents. Many doctors are reluctant to diagnose AIDS in those who do seek help, shelter workers told the *New York Times* (4 April), because once somebody with AIDS is admitted to a hospital, he cannot be released to a shelter and must stay there until housing can be found. And there isn't any housing.

### Mean Streets

The exigencies of administering the inner cities of this decaying capitalist society with its insane profit system necessarily lead to madness and cruelty in dealing with this raging epidemic, whose victims are largely poor, black, Hispanic and homosexual. And New York City mayor Ed Koch is notoriously neither rational nor humane. The so-called "leaders" of this city seem indeed to revel in the unspeakable degradation endured by thousands of New Yorkers. Presiding over one of the most sleazy and brutal administrations in memory, the sadistic Koch denounces those who give a coin to starving people in the streets while his buddy, the clerical reactionary Cardinal O'Connor, leads anti-abortion, anti-condom crusades in a city where begging and homelessness invite comparison with the Third World Calcutta. Real-estate mogul Donald Trump builds golden towers worth thousands per square foot while his sister-in-law, in a publicity stunt for AIDS, "camps out" in a luxury tent on the Upper East Side.

The "blame the victim" policy of this sick administration in response to the AIDS epidemic has emboldened the hard-core right wing. This has led directly to a dramatic rise in "gay-bashing" in the city. Murderous racist violence has become almost a daily occurrence, with Koch's killer cops in the lead. Police terror is Koch's real answer for everything. While whining that the city budget won't permit funding for AIDS services, Koch insists on ramming through a proposed $110 million "anti-drug" program called the Tactical Narcotics Team—or, ominously, "TNT."

The city blocked every suggestion for the widespread distribution of disposable syringes, in line with Reagan's drug witchhunt. Finally New York City health officials announced an "experiment" to give 200 addicts clean needles, starting sometime this fall. This is both timid and cruel—200 needle recipients (less than .01 percent of the minimum estimated number of IV drug users in the city) will be picked from a list of addicts seeking drug treatment, while a second group of 200 will be chosen for "comparison" and *not* given clean needles, while their "drug behavior and AIDS infection will be monitored" (*New York Times*, 12 August). Meanwhile, for about a quarter million junkies there are only 30,000 places in methadone clinics. At a news conference called by the New York Citizens Commission on AIDS, a former addict, now infected with the AIDS virus, said, "In my years on the streets, I came in for detoxification at least 15 times. Each time, I was told to come back" (*New York Times*, 16 September).

Drug addiction is the scourge of the ghettos because desperate poverty and hopelessness lead to desperate measures to escape, even for a few moments, the daily hell of ghetto life. Drug use is the classic "crime without a victim"—the addict himself is the victim. The criminalization of drugs by the bourgeois state multiplies the price by a hundred, forcing the addict into a life of crime while dealers and their cop protectors (where the cops and the dealers aren't simply the same people) make big bucks. But the fact is, the government would rather administer public health through the cops than with scientists. As we said in "The Agony of AIDS" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988), "Amid the compound horror of AIDS and the poison of drug addiction, the only hope is to decriminalize drugs, remove the stigma and get these people to some help fast."

### Free, Quality Health Care for All!

As horrifying as the official AIDS "body count" statistics are, they don't even begin to reveal the true extent of the epidemic. The CDC definition of AIDS is so narrow that only those who become ill with certain recognized diseases (like pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, or PCP) are counted. There are probably ten times the number of ARC (AIDS-Related Complex) patients in the country, some of whom die without ever getting "official AIDS." And as medical experts learn more about the disease, it is becoming clear that almost everyone infected will get sick in one way or another.

According to the rules of this truly barbarous medical "system," only the "official AIDS" patients can get access to what paltry services are available, such as Medicaid, disability or social security. But as one medical expert said, "The disease is HIV disease. It starts when you become infected with the virus. And its complications continue from there" (*Washington Post*, 5 June). *All* social and medical services should be *immediately* available to all HIV-infected people, who are subject to a wide variety of common and bizarre ailments often not even recognized as AIDS by doctors.

This country shares with South Africa the distinction of being one of the only two industrialized countries in the world with no national health system (and, not accidentally, among the few that retain the death penalty). Medical care continues to deteriorate, with vast consequences not only from the new scourge of AIDS but from older enemies of mankind as well. After 100 years of steady decline, rates of tuberculosis, long considered a key indicator of public health, have been soaring across the country among the ghetto poor. And an epidemic of syphilis and other sexually-transmitted diseases has exploded among young black and Hispanic men and women. Syphilis has increased 150 percent among blacks and 73 percent among Hispanics in the last few years—and this is a *curable* disease! In the last few years, it has *doubled* among women, leading for the first time in decades to an increase in babies born with congenital syphilis.

HIV itself is part of the cause for these hideous illnesses, because the immune suppression caused by the virus can make other infections especially virulent and difficult to treat. (The rise of sexually transmitted disease also makes it easier for HIV to spread through genital lesions.) But equally to blame are bad housing, poor nutrition, and severe cutbacks in public health spending which have chopped millions from programs to combat these diseases. There is little doubt that the witchhunt atmosphere directed at AIDS sufferers is driving "underground" people with every kind of venereal disease. But in a more impersonal way, medicine for profit cuts against the early detection and treatment of everything from coughs to cancer: people can't afford to come near a doctor until they know they need one in the worst way.

AP

**Koch's cossacks bust heads of Harlem protesters fighting against closing of Sydenham Hospital, 1980.**

The increasing gap between the rich and the poor is nowhere more blatant than in medical care. In New York, a third of all hospitalized AIDS patients at any one time are in the municipal hospitals, which have only 16 percent of the acute care beds. While foreign royalty rent luxury suites at the world-renowned NYU Medical Center, welfare mothers wait for days for care at deteriorating public hospitals. Others simply die on the streets.

Quality health care for all is objectively within the reach of material possibility, but not within the framework of this capitalist system, which cannot provide the necessities of life to its citizens even though the productive capacities and technology exist to feed the hungry across the whole planet. And while "throwing money" at AIDS won't guarantee a cure or vaccine early on, it would at a minimum ease suffering for the dying and, as treatments improve, prolong life expectancy. But it will take socialist revolution to rip the profit motive out of the health system.

### It is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

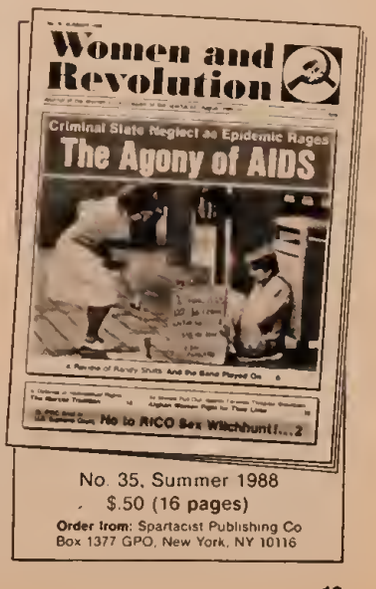
Whatever the right-wing yahoos in the White House may think, America needs New York City: it's the financial and cultural center of this country and moreover the de facto capital of the American empire. But the ruling class of this outmoded social system increasingly finds intolerable its wage-slaves' needs for jobs, housing, education, health care. Today American capitalism has no use for the inner city poor in the ghettos and barrios, even as a "reserve army of the unemployed" to hold down wages. Significant layers of white workers are permanently unemployed, even living in tent caravans in public parks as they chase jobs that just aren't there, because the nation's heavy industry has been left to rust. The new welfare bill passed in Washington—with overwhelming bipartisan support—is an open declaration of savage indifference to the fate of black America. Its punitive "workfare" provisions include forcing women into slave labor programs while cutting off child support.

The working people created the wealth of this city and it can't run without them—motormen driving the subway trains, women mopping the floors and making the beds in the fancy hotels, Teamsters and dock workers, teachers and garbage collectors. It is desperately necessary to bring the power of organized labor to bear to fight for the needs of working people and all the oppressed! To take back the givebacks and halt the rulers' drive toward abject misery for the masses, what's needed is a *leadership* that's not afraid to fight to win. But the union bureaucrats—not only the openly racist fat cats but equally the smoother "labor statesmen" who seek to placate their members with "social justice" rhetoric—give up in advance, hiding behind the fears and demoralization their own sellout policies have engendered.

Over a decade ago, in response to the bank-engineered New York fiscal crisis scam which started the massive cutbacks in basic services, the craven union tops threw their members' pension funds down the "Big MAC" sinkhole in the futile hope of "making the system work." Today they're still singing the same tune—instead of going after what we *need*, they plead for whatever crumbs are "available" after the multi-billions are ripped off for the war budget. Now these labor "leaders" who have made inertia into a way of life are suddenly running around like crazy telling workers the answer is to get Dukakis into the White House. As we wrote during a NYC Spartacist League election campaign in 1985,

> "The budget ax that came down on New York was the cutting edge of the drive to shore up American capitalism by dismantling the social welfare programs that had been built up out of the New Deal. 'Reaganomics,' this calculated policy of eliminating financial reformism for the masses, was begun by the Democrats."

America used to boast it was "the richest country in the world" but now the fashionable ideology is naked greed and gloating injustice, as hungry kids are sneeringly starved amidst cries of "no more free lunches." The agony of New York is the decay of capitalism raised to fever pitch, the heartless injustice of the system under a magnifying glass. The big-time crooks sit in their lofty offices dreaming of new fortunes to be made by sleight of hand and juggling of paper, while far below, the subways are a disaster area, the bridges are falling down and whole families are sleeping in alleys in "homes" made of cardboard boxes. And in the face of all medical technology that can perform miracles of microsurgery, people are dying every day of disease and neglect in the corridors of hospital hellholes. The greedy, vicious, incompetent rulers of this country are running it into the ground. We'd better get organized and take it away from them. ■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# Soviet Union...

*(continued from page 16)*

> "But its most worrying legacy may be regional economic disparity. Variations in regional patterns of employment will produce economic inequalities between ethnic groups. Machine tool builders in Russia will soon race ahead of cotton growers in Central Asia. These differences are certain to create resentments."

Decades of mismanagement by the Kremlin bureaucracy have undermined the belief that there can be equality between the Soviet peoples on an increasing plane of material well-being. Much of the intelligentsia throughout the USSR identifies social and national equality with economic stagnation and leveling down. So they're going for increasing material well-being by the *inequality* route—decentralization and market competition.

Stalinism has been synonymous with national oppression of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. Under Stalin (himself a Georgian) this meant Russification of the non-Russian republics of the USSR, the state which had been conceived by the Bolsheviks as a genuinely free union of peoples. (A contemporary analogue to Stalin is the "solution" to the national question in Romania by the ultra-Stalinist Ceausescu, who has ordered thousands of Hungarian villages in Transylvania razed from the face of the earth.) But once the iron lid of repression has been lifted by Gorbachev, you get the flourishing of national particularism and chauvinism as the result. And the most dangerous of these is the emergence of the black-shirted *Great Russian Nazis of Pamyat*, which has been staging weekly provocations in Leningrad. A massive, organized demonstration of Leningrad workers and youth to *crush Pamyat* would be a decisive signal that there is no place for nationalist chauvinism in the homeland of the October Revolution.

What's needed is the Marxist program which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. It is necessary to reforge in the Soviet Union an authentically Bolshevik party committed to central planning under workers democracy, social egalitarianism and equality between peoples, and proletarian internationalism. Only such a program can liberate the creative energies of all Soviet peoples, overcoming the potentially fratricidal national conflicts which loom ever more ominously in Gorbachev's Russia.

## Behind Resurgent Armenian Nationalism

The intense nationalist agitation in Armenia and the Baltic republics underscores the historic bankruptcy of Stalinist bureaucratic rule and the dangerous effects of Gorbachev's efforts to "reform" it. For the Armenians have traditionally been the most pro-Russian of Soviet nationalities, while in the era of the October Revolution Latvia and, to a lesser degree, Estonia were strongholds of Bolshevism.

As a small Christian people in the Near East, the Armenians have long looked to Russia as a protector against their hostile Islamic neighbors, especially Turkey. The Armenian Dashnaks were the only nationalist party in the Russian empire to support the tsarist autocracy. At the outbreak of World War I, the Dashnaks formed volunteer regiments to fight for Russia against Ottoman Turkey. Partly in response, the Turks massacred over a million Armenians the following year.

Amid the anarchic conditions in the Caucasus created by the Bolshevik Revolution and ensuing civil war, Armenia achieved a short-lived independence under the Dashnaks, who collaborated closely with the White Russian general Denikin. Yet even then a majority of Armenians regarded unity with Russia as the only permanent basis for military security and economic stability. To save themselves from an invading Turkish army, in late 1920 the Dashnaks negotiated an agreement with the Bolsheviks which de facto incorporated Armenia into the Soviet state.

Armenia has subsequently become one of the most prosperous regions in the Soviet Union. With its well-educated working class and large intelligentsia, it is a center of high-tech industry and scientific research in the USSR. Under Gorbachev's *perestroika*, with its emphasis on rewarding competitive superiority, the Armenian bureaucrats and intellectuals had expected to gain even more, particularly at the expense of less developed Azerbaijan. Thus Armenians are in the vanguard of "market socialism" in the Soviet Union. The idea of *perestroika* in Yerevan is that Armenians will be the factory managers, Russians the production workers and Azeris the janitors.

WV Maps

**National conflict erupts in Soviet Caucasus (at right) over demands for transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region from the Azerbaijani to the Armenian republic.**

Beginning last year, Armenian intellectuals launched a campaign to transfer the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, a mountainous enclave of 150,000 inhabitants, from the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan to Armenia. As we wrote last spring, "Since a majority of inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh are Armenians who want to be part of the Armenian republic, that is their democratic right" ("Behind the Armenia Crisis," *WV* No. 450, 8 April). But the Karabakh movement is only part of an irredentist program for consolidating Greater Armenia. Next on their agenda is the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan, once part of Armenia but now with a majority Azeri population. The demand to transfer Karabakh has been rejected by the Kremlin bureaucracy for fear of opening the door to endless territorial claims and counterclaims by the various Soviet nationalities.

Frustration over Nagorno-Karabakh has produced a wave of rabid chauvinism in Armenia. The *Washington Post* (12 September) quotes as typical an Armenian fruit merchant:

> "Azerbaijanis are just Turks, the same lot, and if I see a Turk, I'll kill him. They killed our grandparents, and now they want to kill us. We could live with them if they were only human beings. But they act like animals."

A *New York Times* report from Yerevan cites a prominent Armenian intellectual offhandedly commenting "we are a nation surrounded by barbarians," while in the streets an agitator "loudly called for Christian nations to hand together against the predominantly Moslem Azerbaijanis, who, he declares, 'breed like cockroaches'."

The Armenians, a few hotheads notwithstanding, do not want to separate from Russia. They know that as a small, independent state of some three million people in the Near East they would be easy prey for stronger Islamic neighbors, especially Turkey. Traditionally they have appealed to the Russians as a fellow "Christian people" to unite against the Muslim infidel. Armenian bureaucrats, intellectuals and petty-capitalist entrepreneurs also understand their relative prosperity stems from being a culturally and technologically advanced section of the Soviet economy. They just wanted a better deal in partnership with the Russians. But when Moscow didn't give them what they wanted, the mood turned dramatically against the central government. Back in February-March demonstrators in Yerevan carried portraits of Gorbachev and hailed *glasnost*. No longer.

Gorbachev's *perestroika* has unleashed a new round of communalist bloodletting in the Caucasus. Yet the Stalinist regime *cannot* resolve the myriad national disputes, claims or aspirations in a democratic and equitable manner. Under a regime of workers democracy the borders of the various republics and autonomous regions could be adjusted according to the will of the peoples involved. Moreover, if the Soviet Union were carrying out a program of revolutionary internationalism, smashing the reactionary CIA-backed mullahs in Afghanistan instead of temporizing and then pulling Soviet troops out, if the USSR were promoting the program of proletarian revolution in Iran, which would extend the gains of October for example to Iranian Azerbaijan, rather than capitulating before the anti-Communist Khomeini—then the Soviet peoples would not be consumed by feuding over age-old national grievances at home.

AP

**Lenin's last struggle was directed against Stalin (third from left) and his lieutenant Ordzhonikidze (at right), over their Great Russian chauvinism against Georgian Communists. Photo from 1925.**

## Estonia and Latvia Were Bastions of Bolshevism

In the Western media the Soviet Baltic republics are presented as hotbeds of anti-Communist nationalism. In recent months mass demonstrations have taken place in Riga and Tallinn and Vilnius, under the flags of the independent bourgeois Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian states of the interwar years. Yet these "independent" states were created through the direct intervention of Western imperialism after crushing the pro-Soviet, revolutionary workers of Estonia and Latvia. Historically, this region was a stronghold of Bolshevism.

From its formation just prior to the Revolution of 1905, the Latvian Social Democrat Workers Party was closely linked to Lenin's Bolsheviks. This reflected the exceptionally high level of class consciousness—scarcely contaminated by nationalism—of Latvian workers, including many farm laborers, who hated not only the German-speaking Baltic barons and Russian bureaucrats, but also the Latvian bourgeoisie and rich peasants. Until 1917 the Latvian party was the largest component of the Russian social democracy. "Menshevism was an unwanted child in the Latvian SD," writes Andrew Ezergailis in his work, *The 1917 Revolution in Latvia* (1974), and in the year of the revolution "Bolshevik dominance was assured in the Soviets from the very beginning" unlike the rest of the empire.

At the outbreak of the 1917 Russian Revolution all eight Latvian regiments in the tsarist army went over to the soviets. The Lettish Rifles—whose heroism in the Civil War was legendary—were the only regiments from the old tsarist army to be incorporated intact into Trotsky's Red Army. In the November 1917 elections to the Constituent Assembly, the Bolsheviks received 70 percent of the total vote in Latvia, 40 percent in Estonia—far higher than in Russia where much of the peasantry still supported the petty-bourgeois populist Social Revolutionaries. However, the fledgling soviet republics of Latvia and Estonia were crushed when the German imperialists overran and occupied the region in late 1917.

With the collapse of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany in November 1918, the

Latvian and Estonian workers again moved to take power into their hands. Proletarian uprisings from within and support of the Red Army from without led to the formation of the Latvian Soviet Republic in early 1919. The American bourgeois historian Stanley Page in his study on *The Formation of the Baltic States* (1959) acknowledges: "In Latvia's working class, Soviet rule did find some basis for the establishment of a government able to call upon a substantial percentage of the population for support. A workers' rebellion heralded the coming of the Red Army into Riga, and similar risings also anticipated the Reds' capture of Jelgava and Ventspils." In Estonia, likewise, the advance of the Red Army was greeted by working-class uprisings.

However, Soviet power in Latvia and Estonia was crushed by an unholy alliance of British and German imperialism, White Russian forces and native bourgeois nationalists. The principal architect of counterrevolution in the Baltic was Britain, whose fleet proved an effective weapon in the battles for the coastal cities. Tallinn fell to the counterrevolution at the end of 1918, Riga held out for another five months. Following the birth of the "independent" Baltic states, their bourgeois rulers, puppets of Western imperialism, unleashed a white terror that decimated the Communists. An attempted uprising in Tallinn in 1924, engineered by Zinoviev, was a failed putsch. In the following decades the once powerful socialist proletariat of Latvia and Estonia was progressively weakened.

In the '30s the right-wing regimes in Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius became increasingly repressive toward the left and workers movement, instituting a *numerus clausus* to restrict Jewish enrollment in the universities, unleashing pogroms. Following the 1939 Stalin-Hitler pact, Moscow incorporated the Baltic states into the USSR as a strategic defensive measure. However, Stalin left the old bourgeois order virtually intact. When Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa against Russia in June 1941, the Baltic countries were again overrun by the German army. The Nazi occupiers and their local allies exterminated not only Jews but anyone suspected of Communist sympathies. When the Red Army liberated the Baltic republics in 1944, the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian collaborators retreated with the Wehrmacht, becoming the first of the Captive Nations Cold Warriors in Bonn and Washington.

Today, Latvia and Estonia are the most economically advanced, Westernized parts of the USSR. The nationalist bureaucrats and intellectuals now want to retain control over every rouble generated in these republics. Activists in the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts—supposedly formed to promote Gorbachev's "reform" program—are demanding that self-financing be applied not only to individual enterprises, but also want full control of all foreign trade in the hands of the republics, including trade with other parts of the Soviet Union. A petty-capitalist entrepreneur in Estonia quipped: "We'll have our own currency. The rate'll be three Soviet roubles for an Estonian rouble."

On October 1, the Popular Front of Estonia held its first national congress in the Lenin Palace of Culture in Tallinn. Reportedly, a quarter of its leaders are members of the Communist Party. But CP approval or no, where this is headed is toward the breakup of the USSR. "Naturally, independent Estonia is the aim of each Estonian," said one Popular Front organizer. Among other things, they are demanding the power to stop immigration of non-Estonians (some 40 percent of the population and half of Tallinn is now Russian), and call for the exclusive use of Estonian as the official language.

These demands amount to an attack on the very foundations of the Soviet Union. The language question in particular was seen by Lenin and the Bolsheviks as a key aspect of the struggle for national equality in the tsarist prison house of peoples. The Bolsheviks fought against the imposition of the Russian language on non-Russian nationalities, but they also opposed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists who demanded "national-cultural autonomy" and official sanction for their language. Lenin insisted: "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language...." As was proven in practice through the October Revolution, a program of consistent democracy among the mosaic of nationalities under the tsarist empire could *only* be implemented through the proletarian seizure of power and the creation of a centrally planned, collectivized economy.

Der Spiegel

**Soviet troops pulling out of Afghanistan. Stalinist bureaucracy ducks internationalist duty, fuels nationalist rivalry among Soviet peoples.**

And only on a thoroughly *internationalist* program could the working masses seize power. It was under Stalin and the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" that Bolshevik internationalism was reversed and Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism again reared their heads in the Kremlin. Lenin's last political struggle, in 1922-early '23, was against Stalin's drive to impose on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the old tsarist principle of "Russia, one and indivisible." Lenin insisted that "freedom to secede from the union" was fundamental, not a paper clause to cover the Russifying bureaucracy. At the same time, class-conscious Soviet workers of all nationalities must oppose movements for secession which are in reality a cover for bourgeois counterrevolution. While the Latvian Soviet Republic of 1919 was an independent workers state closely allied with Soviet Russia, the forces now pushing for an independent Latvia and Estonia are increasingly anti-Soviet and anti-Communist. Thus Western imperialism welcomes and foments Baltic nationalism as a hoped-for first step toward the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

### For Social and National Equality

The roots of the present Soviet crisis lie deep in decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, now aggravated by Gorbachev's *perestroika*. Wherever "market socialism" has been introduced, it has generated widening social, regional and national inequalities. These tendencies have reached an extreme point in the country which originated "self-management" and "self-financing" 40 years ago, namely, Yugoslavia. Today, Yugoslavia is wracked by a 200 percent inflation rate, mass layoffs, a savage austerity program imposed by world bankers, and violent hostility between the various national republics and autonomous regions. Nonetheless, practically all parts of Yugoslavia have seen militant workers strikes and protests against the increasingly desperate economic conditions.

On at least three occasions in the last several months workers have stormed the parliament in Belgrade. Both the rising working-class anger and growing national hostilities were dramatically demonstrated in a rally of 70,000 in the central Serbian town of Kraljevo a few weeks ago. Officially, the rally was to be a Serbian nationalist protest over the exodus of Serbs from the predominantly Albanian region of Kosovo. However, the rally turned into a bitter attack on bureaucratic parasitism. A union leader at a railroad car factory exclaimed:

> "Return all you have taken from the working class! You with your privileged pensions, which are bigger than the pay of entire brigades of steelworkers, do you ever blush when you collect them?
> "We demand the right to dispose of the proceeds of our work."
> —*New York Times*, 23 September

Such sentiments could lay the basis for a struggle against the parasitic bureaucracy uniting the proletarians of all the diverse nationalities. But that requires an internationalist communist leadership.

Yugoslavia has experienced "market socialism" for four decades. In the Soviet Union, the very introduction of *perestroika* has produced a deepening economic and political crisis. There exists among Soviet working people a deep reservoir of egalitarian and collectivist values, the belief that what is produced in society should be available to all of its members more or less equally. Soviet workers have been told for decades, and they believe, that the productive resources of their country belong to them. Thus *perestroika* is bound to produce massive popular resistance which can open the road to proletarian political revolution to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracy.

After coming to power in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev enjoyed what in American parlance would be called a "political honeymoon." The confrontation over food lines in Krasnoyarsk last month and the nationalist uproar in Armenia and the Baltic republics indicates that Gorbachev's "honeymoon" with Soviet working people is over. For Soviet workers to take back political power requires the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party, a new Bolshevik party. And like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, it would be based on the inextricable link between the struggle for authentic workers rule in the Soviet Union and the fight for world socialist revolution. ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Armenia at the Flash Point

Der Spiegel

Strikers in Stepanakert demand Armenian control of Nagorno-Karabakh region.

Independent

Police move against nationalist demonstration in Yerevan, capital of Armenia.

# Soviet Union: Perestroika Fuels Nationalist Turmoil

In mid-September Soviet leader Gorbachev, appearing in public for the first time in six weeks, was confronted by angry working people in the Siberian town of Krasnoyarsk. "Go to our stores, Mikhail Sergeyevich," they shouted at him, "there is nothing there!" "Lines everywhere! For meat, for sausage, for everything!" A few days later the Soviet news agency TASS reported that in the southern Caucasus mountain republics "mass-scale fighting" had broken out between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, this time with guns and knives. Faced with communal rioting and general strikes, virtual martial law was declared in Karabakh while Soviet troops cordoned off streets in the Armenian capital of Yerevan. Now in the Baltic republic of Estonia, anti-Russian nationalist forces have founded a "popular front" aiming ever more openly at secession from the USSR. Such are the bitter fruits of *perestroika*.

*Perestroika* (restructuring) was supposed to spur economic productivity, leading to more harmonious socialist development. Instead it has produced intensified social and national conflict as various groupings are out to get a bigger piece of the economic pie and political power at someone else's expense. The turmoil in Soviet society is reflected in the upheaval in the upper echelons of the Kremlin oligarchy. In a dramatic move last week Gorbachev purged or downgraded his conservative critics in the Politburo. Yegor Ligachev was ousted as ideological overseer, Andrei Gromyko as Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and Viktor Chebrikov as head of the KGB. Supposedly Gorbachev now has a more effective, *perestroika*-minded team. But it will take more than a shakeup at the top of the bureaucracy to overcome the food shortages or resolve the festering national conflicts such as the Armenia crisis.

*It will take a proletarian political revolution to return the Soviet Union to the road of workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism, the road of Lenin and Trotsky.*

In the last few weeks and days the scale of nationalist turmoil in the Caucasus and the Baltic region has escalated dramatically. For months the Armenian capital of Yerevan has witnessed mass demonstrations numbering in the hundreds of thousands demanding that the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh be removed from the Azerbaijani republic and ceded to Armenia. Up to half a million people thronged the center of Yerevan in July to protest the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision maintaining the status quo. The capital of Karabakh, Stepanakert, has been gripped by an off-and-on general strike since the spring. In late September, an Armenian rally (called by local bureaucrats) degenerated into a riot. After reports that Azeris had ambushed a bus filled with Armenians, mobs left the Armenian rally and attacked Azeris in the nearby town of Khadzaly; in the fighting nearly 50 people were wounded, one of whom later died. In Stepanakert, Armenians roamed the streets for two days setting fire to homes abandoned by Azeris.

A deadly cycle of nationalist retribution has been set in motion that threatens the internationalist foundations of the Soviet state. Khadzaly came after the heinous anti-Armenian pogrom in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait in February in which Azeri mobs brutally murdered at least 26 Armenians and six Azeris. As communalist violence escalates, Azeris long resident in Armenia have fled in fear of their lives to Azerbaijan, and vice versa. At the time of the October Revolution, the fate of the Caucasian peoples was closely linked to each other and with the working class of Petrograd and Moscow. The Baku Soviet of 1918 was led by Armenian, Azeri and Russian Communists. Prodigious economic growth based on socialist economic relations led to an increasing interpenetration of peoples. But now the net result of more than six decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule is forced population transfers whose ultimate logic is genocide.

AFP

Tallinn, Estonia: Demonstrators march under flag of "independent" Interwar republic, a bastion of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism.

Several days after the outburst of Armenian chauvinism, on September 28 riot police with truncheons broke up a demonstration in the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius. Protesters reportedly shouted at the police, "Occupiers, get out of here!" The Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been rocked by an explosion of anti-Soviet nationalism which, unlike the communalist feuds in the Caucasus, is more or less explicitly directed against the Soviet central power. On the occasion of the anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact in August, tens of thousands marched in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. Marching under the flags of the interwar bourgeois states, notorious for their persecution of Jews and Communists, many of the protesters carried placards which obscenely showed a hammer and sickle joined to the Nazi swastika. This is the language of the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd.

What the Baltic republics and Armenia have in common is that they are among the most advanced parts of the Soviet Union, and they are playing out the dog-eat-dog logic of *perestroika* with its market-oriented reforms. A recent article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (31 August) made the perceptive observation:

> "In addition to this political turmoil, Gorbachev's economic reforms are likely to exacerbate the ethnic crisis. Perestroika is already producing unemployment, inflation, and recession ..."

*continued on page 14*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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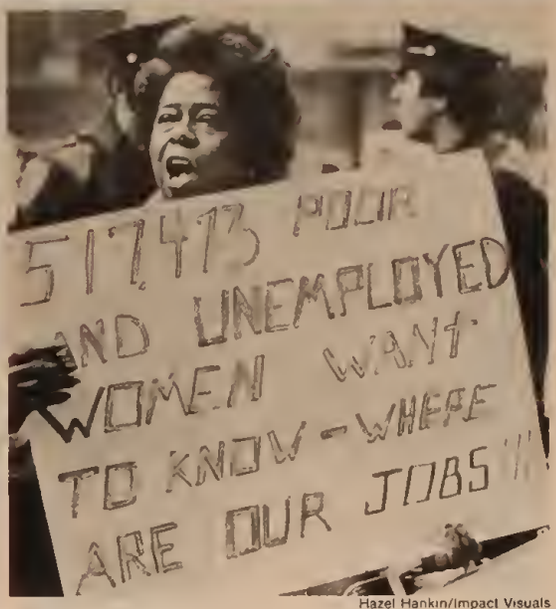
No. 463

21 October 1988


## Democrats, Republicans Wage War on the Poor

Sylvia Plachy




Hazel Hankin/Impact Visuals

**New "workfare" bill will cut off last lifeline for poor black women and their children, throwing millions off the welfare rolls.**

# Genocide U.S.A.

For black people in racist America, the "land of the free" has always been a prison house of terror and degradation. Over the past couple of decades, the inner cities have become dumping grounds for millions of human beings thrown on the scrap heap by the racist rulers who have looted this country dry. Over three million people have been turned out of their homes, to huddle, starve and die in the streets. The black ghettos and Hispanic barrios are ravaged by AIDS, while hospitals there have been shut down. Abortion clinics are terrorized and bombed by "right to lifers," forcing black and Hispanic women to bear children they can't afford to feed, or to be butchered in back-alley abortions. And, emboldened by Reagan reaction, the fascist nightriders of the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead Nazis murder and maim.

Now Congress has enacted a "welfare reform" which embodies like nothing else the wanton cruelty and cold-hearted viciousness of the Reagan years—written, engineered and pushed through by the Democrats. Crafted by New York Senator Daniel ("benign neglect") Moynihan and proudly paraded by Texas millionaire Lloyd Bentsen, the new "workfare" law was passed with the most overwhelming Democratic and Republican unity that has been seen in years. The final act of the 100th Congress, it represents the consensus of the whole capitalist class, a supreme expression of how in America, to paraphrase Gore Vidal, there is only one party, the property party, with two right wings.

In the obscene "newspeak" of Reaganite reaction it's called the "Family Security Act." It has about the same relation to the security of black and Hispanic families as the sign *Arbeit Macht Frei* (Freedom Through Labor) posted over Hitler's concentration camps had to the freedom of the Jewish victims it taunted. The same day this "workfare" law was passed, the Senate shot down a measly *40 cents an hour* increase in the minimum wage. In this club of millionaires, the Republicans demanded that any increase be coupled with an even lower sub-minimum "training wage"! And to top it off, the Senate once more refused to ratify a 19-year-old international treaty outlawing genocide!

*Genocide is what this new "workfare" is all about!* Millions of single mothers on welfare who refuse to take a job—any job, anywhere, at any starvation wage—will be cut off without a cent, literally left to starve. Suspected fathers are supposed to be hounded down through genetic "paternity" tests to have their wages garnished or be forced into the same scheme if they can't cough up "child support." The children will either be left to wander the mean streets alone or be ripped away from their mothers through "protective payments" to unspecified "third parties." This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because *there are no jobs to get*. The aim of this legislation is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them.

As Andrew Hacker pointed out in an article titled "Getting Rough on the Poor" (*New York Review of Books*, 13 October), the overwhelming bipartisan consensus behind the new welfare law "derives from the fear that growing numbers of black and brown Americans are... producing children who may be a burden to society." This brings to mind nothing so much as Jonathan Swift's "A Modest Proposal," a biting satirical attack on Britain's malign neglect of starving Irish children in the 18th century famine. To prevent "the children of poor people from being a burthen to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public," Swift proposed that the wealthy buy and eat the babies of the poor, offering up various recipes.

At least then the poor and huddled masses of Europe could hope to emigrate to the "land of opportunity." But today, if the racist white rulers have their way, for America's black and Hispanic poor there will only be someplace to die. *We the working people produced the wealth of this country, it belongs to us, and it's going to take a socialist revolution to take it back.*

### "Training" for ... Death

The new welfare act is a horrifying maze of deadly Catch-22s which center around the elimination of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, what has passed for a "safety net" for the downtrodden and dispossessed in this society. Underlining the explicit racism behind the new legislation, the Family Security Act tries to piece off the white poor by extending AFDC benefits to two-parent families on welfare—the overwhelming majority of which happen to be white—while demanding that one of the parents do 16 hours of unpaid "community service" every week. This provision is closer in concept to the old workhouses of Victorian England or to the chain gangs of convicts who broke rocks in quarries and built roads in the South.

Women with children over the age of three (which can be lowered to six months by individual states) will be compelled to enroll in job "retraining" programs. Yet the government has cut back funding for job training and employment programs by a whopping 68 percent over the past six years to help finance the trillion-dollar high-tech "Star Wars" Pentagon boondoggles. And for "child care" during the "retraining," the Family Security Act will dole out six bucks a day, which couldn't even get one of the more destitute people on the street to watch your kids.

Pimping off desperate poor people who *want* to be trained for jobs has become one of America's few growth industries. Hustlers stand outside welfare and unemployment offices hawking phony training programs which "offer little meaningful training or job placement. Instead they make money by taking students incapable of doing the required work, keeping them long enough to collect a share of government tuition payments and leaving the most naive ones responsible for paying back large Government-guaranteed loans" (*New York Times*, 6 August).

Even *Business Week* (2 November 1987) has admitted that: "Jobs that get mothers off AFDC are likely to pay low wages and exclude health benefits: a Faustian bargain at best, since many of these women would find themselves in the growing ranks of the working poor...." Moreover, what "low entry"—i.e., below poverty level—jobs there are are certainly not to be found in the impoverished inner-city hellholes where most of these women live. So, if

*continued on page 4*

**Workers' Protests Spread, Nationalist Agitation Deepens**

**Yugoslavia Inflamed**

SEE PAGE SIX

# Ray Rogers Brain-Trusts Another Defeat

# International Paper Strikers Shafted

After 16 bitter months, on October 10 strikers at the sprawling International Paper plant in Jay, Maine took down their picket lines. Hundreds of shocked and angry workers descended on United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 headquarters to learn that the International bureaucrats had "stabbed them in the back," as local officials rightly put it. Not only did the UPIU tops refuse to call industrywide solidarity action, they even threatened to cut off the meager strike payments.

Now most of the 1,250 Jay paper workers are out of a job, along with hundreds of strikers at two other IP mills in De Pere, Wisconsin and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Feelings are running high along the Androscoggin River against the scab replacements brought in by the company, and even more bitter against the 78 "super-scabs" who deserted their coworkers. To this day the children of the men who broke ranks in the 1921 Jay paper strike are known as "sons of scabs."

At least one striker, in a phone interview with *WV*, laid the defeat to "dirty politics," speculating that their strike had been sacrificed on the altar of Michael Dukakis' presidential ambitions.

Unfortunately, the local leadership made the International's treachery a lot easier by falling for strike-out artist Ray Rogers' "Corporate Campaign" line, which also screwed the hard-fought Hormel strike in 1986-87. Instead of organizing to shut down production through mass picketing, seizing the plants, "hot cargoing" scab products and spreading the strike to the rest of the IP empire, they allowed Rogers to squander the strikers' energy in Madison Avenue-style appeals to get housewives to boycott certain cosmetics.

The only way to beat International Paper was by playing hardball. From the outset of the strike in June 1987, IP took the road of old-style union-busting, contracting for hundreds of live-in scabs from the sinister BE&K strikebreaking outfit, turning the Jay plant into a barbed-wire compound surrounded by 15,000 feet of chain link fence and surveillance cameras. At Mobile, Alabama the company locked out the union. Yet the International leadership allowed the strikers to twist in the wind, keeping at least 77 other locals at work for IP, 21 of them *without a contract*.

The strikers' watchword had been "Scabs Out—Union In." Now UPIU members must bitterly watch as IP stands pat with its scab workforce, who will be the only ones allowed to vote in NLRB decertification elections. It's going to take some hard class struggle, absorbing the lessons of this backstabbing defeat, to avenge the bosses' union-busting. For a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions!■

**Ray Rogers preaching "consumer boycott" strategy, proven recipe for losing strikes.**

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Organized Workers Power Can Stop Fascists

*With Hitler and Mussolini on the march in Europe, emboldened American fascists staged a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden in February 1939. The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party responded by organizing a massive united-front mobilization outside the Garden which drew 50,000 workers of all communities—blacks, Jews, Hispanics, Italians, Irish. Following this display of labor's power, the SWP called for union-centered action everywhere to crush the fascist menace.*

Fascism is a movement of scabs and thugs....
It wants to smash and prohibit every labor union, every workers' organization.
It wants to smash and prohibit every labor political movement.
It wants to deprive us of our right to free speech, free assembly, free press, the right to organize, to strike, to picket.
It wants to send the Jew back to the Ghetto, or wipe him out altogether.
It wants to deprive the Catholic and Protestant of the right to worship as they see fit.
Last Monday night was Fascism's first big mobilization in New York.
The 50,000 workers who demonstrated against the thugs and scabs showed that they want to fight them, are ready to fight them....
The lesson of the Madison Square Garden mobilization of the Fascists is:
Labor must have a counter-mobilization!
It must immediately organize its Workers Defense Guards!
It must put the fear of ORGANIZED WORKERS POWER into the cowardly hearts of the Nazi hoodlums!
Only a fool will wait until he is in a concentration camp.
The workers of Italy, Germany and Austria are sorry THEY waited
Don't wait—act now. Act strongly! Act militantly!

—"Fight Fascism With Workers' Guards!" *Socialist Appeal* (28 February 1939)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**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO New York, NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 463** **21 October 1988**


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# Labor, Minorities: Stop Them Here!

# Klan Lynchers Target Philly

Walter Smith

The threat by KKK nightriders and violent Hitlerite skinheads to bring their racist terror to the heart of Philadelphia, November 5, is a deadly provocation against blacks, unionists, Jews, Catholics, Hispanics—virtually the entire city population. "We will not allow the burning cross and the swastika to terrorize the people of Philadelphia," said organizers of the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK. Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, the mobilization is now in full swing to bring out the power of labor, together with minorities and all those who share the common determination to "make the streets of Philly safe from these racist criminals."

In one week, more than 140 groups and individuals have signed up to say "All Out to Stop the KKK!" November 5 at Independence Mall. Among the endorsers are Philadelphia unions, including city workers of AFSCME District Council 33, social services union SEIU Local 668, and officials of AFSCME DC Council 47, the OPEIU, Newspaper Guild and other labor organizations. Four members of the Philadelphia City Council have also endorsed. At Temple University, the African American Student Union, black fraternities and sororities, and the lesbian/gay student union have joined in. And with endorsements from scores of labor officials, unions, civil rights groups and others across the country, the November 5 Mobilization has tapped a deep determination to stop the lynchers and Nazi scum.

The "Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" have said they're "inching their way to Philadelphia." On May 21 they marched through Parkside, a white suburb just outside Philly. More than 1,000 people, including blacks from nearby Chester, lined the streets shouting "racist pigs" and "take your masks off" while pelting the couple dozen Kluxers with rocks and bottles. Meanwhile, Klan activity in rural Pennsylvania is on the rise. A cross was burned in Shrewsbury. In June 200 KKKers rallied on a farm in Lancaster County. And on August 7, fifty fascists, half of them in robes, had a "picnic" at Valley Forge.

When the Klan requested a permit in September to hold a "recruiting drive" across from Philadelphia City Hall, they were turned down. So now they want to hold a "White Pride Day" provocation on federal property at the Liberty Bell. Federal spokesmen have repeatedly said that if the Klan applies for a permit, they will get one. The Klan says they will be joined by skinhead youth, violent bands of psychotic killers decked out in swastikas and jackboots. John Weiss, the local KKK rabble-rouser from South Philly, says "the color of our skin is our robe." In a three-hour interview with Philadelphia glossy magazine *SCAN* (October 1988), Weiss and a KKK/skinhead sidekick spewed out racist filth against blacks and Jews. Weiss, whose stepfather was Jewish, raved that Jews of Europe staged the Holocaust.

The Nazi-loving skinheads originated in Margaret Thatcher's Britain and have now spread to Reagan's America (see "Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs," *WV* No. 462, 7 Octoher). In Pennsylvania, the depressed industrial city of Allentown has become a center for these gangs, where on October 9 a "skinhead concert" at a local nightclub attracted hundreds of skinheads from all over the region. These depraved scum have provoked wide revulsion among the American people. In Dallas last February, 600 black, white and Hispanic protesters routed the skinheads and KKK. And when they tried to march in Atlanta during the Democratic convention in July, a crowd of 1,500 trapped them in an underground garage and trampled on their fascist regalia.

It's significant that the Klan wants to parade in Philadelphia just days before the presidential election. These shock troops of Reagan reaction have grown increasingly frustrated of late. As KKK "Pennsylvania Grand Dragon" Rick Fogel, put it:

> "I think the reason our group has grown so fast is because of Reagan in the White House. Not just us, but other right-wing—I guess you could say extremist—groups, because Reagan made promises about abortion, pornography, gun control and busing and all this stuff, and I think all he did was give lip service to the right-wing people and he hasn't really delivered."
>
> —*SCAN* magazine, October 1988

While racist terrorism is on the rise from Howard Beach, Queens to Southern California, brutal assaults against homosexuals have escalated as the cutting edge of the AIDS witchhunt. And the anti-abortion bigots of Operation Rescue have been doing Bush's work terrorizing clinics around the country. They, too, have targeted Philadelphia as part of a national action on October 29.

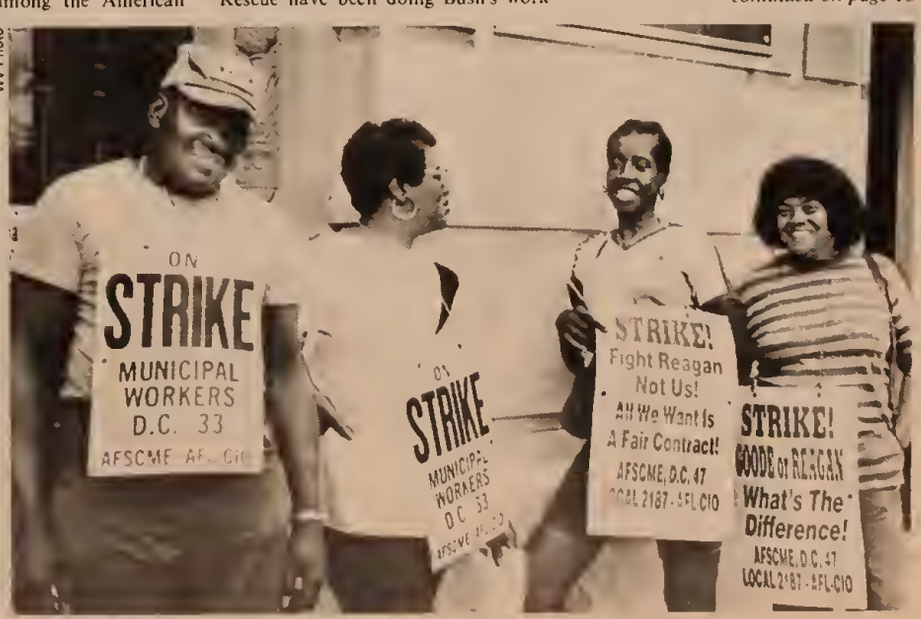
### A Century of Racist Terror

Millions of Americans revile the Klan, knowing that these racist terrorists want to reverse the results of the Civil War, the second American Revolution which smashed chattel slavery. The history of the KKK is marked by three periods: the original Klan, nightriders who hunted down freed blacks during Radical Reconstruction; the reborn Klan of the 1920s, based in Northern cities and targeting immigrants and unions; and the "new" Klan of today, where "dragons" in three-piece suits go on TV talk shows while their skinhead allies roam the streets with chains, knives and guns. But through all its incarnations, the KKK with its white sheets, lynch ropes and burning crosses has stood for white Protestant supremacy enforced by murder, and terrorism against all supporters of racial equality.

The original Klan was formed in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866 by a group of ex-Confederate officers. The first "Grand Dragon" was General Nathan

*continued on page 10*

WV Photo




**City workers manning the picket lines in Philadelphia, July 1986.**

# Genocide U.S.A....

*(continued from page 1)*

you do manage to get one, you have to travel every day back and forth from Harlem to northern Westchester County to clean somebody's bathroom.

Look at the "workfare" program recently implemented in Koch's New York. Women called in for an interview are told that they have three weeks to enroll in a job training program. If they can't, they're forced to work for city agencies, like one woman whose "job" was checking toilet supplies in a Bronx welfare office: "To me, this system is set up to keep you down, not to help you get on your feet" (*New York Times*, 23 March 1987). Sadist Ed Koch, a Democrat of course, gloats over misery and even goes so far as to claim that New Yorkers who give a coin to the homeless and destitute are simply abetting criminals.

### American Apartheid

For the past 15 years the conditions of life in America have steadily eroded. Twenty million go to bed every night hungry, close to another 14 million live in poverty, and more than two million of the American poor are full-time, year-round workers (*The State of Working America*, September 1988). The report notes that "since 1979, some 85% of the new jobs have been in the lowest paying industries—retail trade and personal, business and health services." And for a big chunk of America, the "Reagan recovery" has meant permanent unemployment. Last year less than a third of the jobless got any unemployment benefits.

During World War II millions of blacks migrated from the South to the booming war industries in the North and the West. In 1954, at the tail end of the Korean War boom, 75 percent of all black men were working. By the '60s increasing numbers were in unionized, relatively well-paying jobs in the auto plants and steel mills. But in the mid-late '70s millions were permanently thrown out of work in the deindustrialization of America which turned much of the Midwest into a rust bowl.

Today blacks are three times more likely than whites to be poor, over half of black families are headed by single mothers, and the poverty rate for black kids under the age of 18 is a shocking 67.1 percent. In 1986, only 40 percent of all black men had a full-time job. As black sociologist William Julius Wilson points out in his book *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), as the number of employed black men plummeted, the number of black single welfare mothers skyrocketed. At the same time, whatever social infrastructure there had been in the ghettos completely crumbled.

Lopez/NY Times

**Reagan (with Democratic Congressional leaders Daniel Moynihan, left, and Dan Rostenkowski) after signing "workfare" bill into law, calling it "the lasting emancipation" for those on welfare.**

The black middle class, largely white-collar workers, who were the beneficiaries of the "Great Society" programs of the 1960s had already moved out. Then the income of black industrialized workers which had sustained the ghetto economy was cut off. Stores closed. And with the mid-'70s "fiscal crisis," schools, recreation centers, hospitals, firehouses were shut down. A *New York Times* (3 October) article captured the devastation of what was once Motor City:

> "Since the 1950's, Detroit has seen the departure of dozens of factories, Stroh's brewery, the city's only department store and 850,000 people.
>
> "And in rundown neighborhoods blighted by drug-dealing and crime, the churches, many of them architectural landmarks, are often havens for the elderly or the poor, offering food and comfort and the only sign of stability."

The Polish workers following Solidarność who want to "free" the economy, introducing "a little" unemployment, should see what's happened to their relatives who migrated to Hamtramck, now nothing more than an industrial wasteland, where there's no social services, no medical care, and the state sure as hell doesn't pay the rent.

At one time American capitalism had an "industrial reserve army" which could be mobilized at times of labor shortage. In "good times" black youth could hope for a job. But now the (relatively) "good times" are gone forever. Today ghetto youth are an expendable surplus population for the racist rulers of this country. The U.S. government has already let thousands die in the ghettos by simply allowing disease to run rampant. After 100 years of steady decline, rates of tuberculosis, a disease of poverty, are soaring; 62 percent of those afflicted are black. In 1985 only 40 percent of non-white kids were immunized against polio. Speaking about conditions of life in Central Harlem, even the New York City Health Commissioner admitted: "In these dilapidated buildings infants who survived the first weeks of life are dying of pneumonia, freezing to death, falling from windows."

### Capitalism Destroys the Black Family

The report of the Senate Finance Committee headed by Democratic vice-presidential candidate Lloyd Bentsen declared that the new welfare law "builds upon a strong consensus, joined in by liberals and conservatives alike, that the nation's welfare system must stress family responsibility and community obligation, enforce the principle that child support must in the first instance come from parents" (*New York Times*, 13 June). What obscene hypocrisy! The rulers of this country destroyed any black family in the ghettos through the ravages of the economy of their decaying social system. They decimated whatever community structure there was in the ghettos and now preach "community obligation." Through a policy that at best can be called "malign neglect" they let thousands of black babies die...and now they talk about "child support."

Democratic Senator Daniel Moynihan, the leading architect of the new workfare bill, has been blaming the "breakdown of the family" among blacks for causing ghetto poverty and degradation since he wrote *The Negro Family* in 1965. Back then he suggested that one solution to ghetto unrest among unemployed black youth was to draft them for the Vietnam War. The drill sergeant was put forward as the substitute for the missing father figure to instill discipline and "family values" among blacks. At the time Moynihan was advising Nixon on dismantling the Democrats' "Great Society/War on Poverty" programs whose purpose was to keep the ghettos cool following the 1964 Harlem, 1965 Watts and 1967 Detroit ghetto upheavals. When the Vietnam War was escalating they wanted to ensure their supply of young blacks as cannon fodder. Now black youth are expendable even for that purpose.

"Family values" has been a rallying cry for social conservatism in the Reagan years. But for all the talk of a woman's place being at home with her children in the "sanctity" of the family, white and black women have massively joined the workforce to make up for falling real wages. And with the number of day care facilities utterly inadequate, the kids are left alone to be preyed upon by the pimps and pushers and terrorized by the cops in the ghettos. Just remember what happened to five-year-old Patrick Mason, the black child playing alone in his own home when an Orange County, California cop burst into the apartment and shot him dead. To top it off, his mother was charged with "child abuse" because she was out working at the time.

### Communism: America's Last, Best Hope

For over a decade, beginning under Jimmy Carter, the American ruling

no credit

Davidson/Magnum

**The rich revel in their mansions while the homeless "live" in inner-city wastelands.**

# Greed Beyond Belief

The Helmsleys. According to Jeanie Kasindorf's article "Leona and Harry: Money and Love" (*New York* Magazine, 3 October), which we excerpt here, the wealth of Harry and Leona Helmsley is "conservatively estimated at $5 billion." The Helmsleys, Trumps and their class are the people we want to overthrow—and do you believe they're going to go easily?

New York Times

**Leona Helmsley plays herself in New York Times Magazine ad: "It's the only Palace in the world where the Queen stands guard."**

**New York Magazine, 3 October 1988**

IN MARCH 1982, WHILE FIELDS'S ACCOUNTANTS WERE BUSY going through the Helmsley Palace books, Leona Helmsley's son, Jay Panzirer, died suddenly after suffering a heart attack. The death plunged Harry and Leona Helmsley into a much more bizarre legal battle.

Panzirer, who was 40 when he died, had lived near Orlando, Florida, with his third wife, Mimi, and his fourteen-year-old son, Craig, one of four children from his first marriage. He collapsed during a meeting at the Orlando Harley Hotel and was rushed to a nearby hospital. Harry and Leona immediately boarded their BAC-1-11 to fly to Florida, but Jay died before they got there. Leona had the body flown back to New York on a commercial jet for burial at Woodlawn Cemetery, where she and Harry have a mausoleum.

A few weeks later, according to Mimi Panzirer, Harry Helmsley showed up at her house in Florida. "He said he wanted me out," she says. "I asked him why he was doing this. He said he needed the money. He went into a detailed explanation of why he could no longer charge the expenses of the house to Deco. He was very businesslike, very calm." She begged him to let her stay until Craig finished the school year. He agreed.

Six months later, Harry Helmsley sued Jay Panzirer's estate for the money it had cost to have his body flown back to New York. Leona Helmsley sued the estate to recover money that she said Jay had borrowed from her—$100,000 that she said she had lent him to buy a share of stock in the Helmsley Palace. Leona also sued Mimi, claiming that she had lent Mimi an $18,000 ring from Buccellati and Mimi had never returned it. Mimi said that the ring, which was set with a 24-carat white topaz surrounded by 136 diamonds, was a present to celebrate Craig's bar mitzvah.

In the end, the court refused to reimburse Harry Helmsley for the cost of shipping his stepson's body home. Leona withdrew the claim to the ring after Mimi produced a newspaper story in which Leona had called it a gift. But the Helmsleys did get most of Jay Panzirer's $149,000 estate. Mimi got $2,171, and his four children got $432 each. At the time, a spokesman for Leona Helmsley said that she had set up trust funds for the grandchildren. "She loves them," he said, "and she is taking care of them."

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class has waged an escalating war on working people and minorities. Unions have been broken, millions of workers have had giveback contracts shoved down their throats, "two-tier" wages have become the norm in workplaces, keeping many full-time, unionized workers and their families below the poverty level. And the rights of all the most vulnerable sections of the population are mercilessly trampled on. As we wrote last year in the main document of the Eighth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

> "In sneering at hunger and homelessness, in taking aim gloatingly at those most helpless like ghetto children, AIDS victims, non-citizens, old-age pensioners and so forth, Reaganism as an ideology highlights the objective need for a fighting proletarian vanguard as a *tribune of the people*."

Why has there been so little struggle against the ravages of the Reagan years? In fact, isolated sections of the American working class have fought, and plenty hard. But they have been held back and defeated by the labor cops who let the leaders of the PATCO air controllers strike be led away in chains and have kept their own members shackled, bowing to the bosses' laws, capitulating to union-busting. And the union bureaucrats and black establishment politicos, spearheaded by Jesse Jackson, then try to channel the deep hatred for "Reaganism" into support to the Democratic Party. The result: Dukakis/Bentsen, who are running as "Reagan Democrats."

L.A. Times

**Five-year-old Patrick Mason, shot and killed by racist cop while playing in his own home.**

At the same time, the different sections of the exploited and oppressed remain divided and often pitted against one another. While selling out their members, the miserable AFL-CIO bureaucracy pushes Japan-bashing protectionism and whips up flag-waving anti-Communism. The black Democratic mayors who oversee the ghetto hellholes for the Reagan White House talk about "black empowerment" while rats ravage black and Hispanic children. Meanwhile various reformist leftists push the divisive politics of sectoralism as a cover for supporting the Democrats.

Union-busting and "workfare" genocide, anti-abortion terrorism, the rise of KKK racist terror and the emergence of skinhead fascism have *the same root cause*: the decay of American capitalism. The *only time* American capitalism has ever achieved genuine full employment, including for the black poor, is during an all-out war, such as World Wars I and II. In 1941-42, they took millions of uneducated rural Southern black and white teenagers and in the space of six months trained them to become skilled welders—because they needed the workers for their war industries. But now job "retraining" is a cruel hoax and World War III won't create jobs, only nuclear holocaust.

Der Spiegel

**Mass-produced by American capitalism: three million homeless and twenty million hungry.**

For decades liberal Democrats preached "welfare state" reformism as the alternative to both cutthroat capitalism and socialist revolution. Today the liberal Democrats have united with right-wing Republicans to eliminate the last minimal measures of social welfare in this country. Even such a genuinely modest proposal as raising welfare payments and wages to the equivalent of the official poverty level (which wouldn't cost a tenth of what they are pouring into their military machine) requires sharp class struggle by the working people, under a revolutionary leadership that won't stop short of the fight for power. As we wrote after the stock market crash a year ago (*WV* No. 439, 30 October 1987):

> "You can solve a lot of problems with 'domestic cash transfers'—make life livable for blacks, Hispanics, jobless, homeless, welfare mothers, drug users, etc. And we communists intend to do so. But you have to first smash the power of the bourgeoisie. For that you need to build a workers party, one that doesn't 'respect' the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed, we want more, we want all of it, it ought to be ours, *so take it*. And when we have the wealth of this country, we will begin to build a planned socialist economy on an international scale. Then we can right some historical crimes and pay off some debts left over by our rulers, like some tens of billions of dollars to the Vietnamese and others whose countries have been maimed under the passing treads of American tanks."

To say that "workfare" genocide is a program for barbarism is an insult to barbarism. The only answer is socialist revolution to take the productive wealth out of the hands of the murderous rulers of this country! ■

## Workers' Protests Spread, Nationalist Agitation Deepens

# Yugoslavia Inflamed

## For Workers Political Revolution to Oust the Bureaucratic Parasites!

Invoking the catchword *perestroika*, Mikhail Gorbachev proposes "market socialism" as the nostrum to cure the ills brought about by over six decades of Stalinist usurpation and misrule in the USSR. But Gorbachev's panacea has already had a trial run—in Yugoslavia. After decades of "market socialism," Yugoslavia is bankrupt. The multinational workers state was forged through great sacrifice by the Yugoslav workers and peasants in securing the victory of Tito's Communist partisans over the Nazi occupation during World War II. Today it is a powder keg threatening to explode sooner rather than later. While workers strike over starvation wages ordered by Belgrade on behalf of the imperialist banks, bureaucratic manipulation could spark bloody, internecine national conflict opening the road to possible capitalist counterrevolution.

Recent weeks have seen an ominous rise in Great Serbian nationalist agitation fomented by the new strongman of the Serbian bureaucracy, Slobodan Milosevic, who comes off like a full-blown fascist. Wearing old Serbian military caps, tens of thousands have taken to the streets with banners calling for "Death to All Albanian Nationalists!" In the nationally-mixed autonomous region of Vojvodina a pro-Serbian rally engineered by Milosevic forces chanted "One state, one army, one language." At the same time, these protests have also expressed a deep hatred in the working class for bureaucratic parasitism, which Milosevic is seeking to exploit demagogically. Thus posters at the Vojvodina rally proclaimed, "We Have Strength, But We Have No Bread" and "The Same Bread for Everybody"—referring to the inedible "people's bread."

By uncorking the genie of Serbian nationalism Milosevic is literally playing with fire. The mass explosion of Serbian nationalism will rekindle the memory of the bloody national feuds of prewar bourgeois Yugoslavia, when the Serbian monarchy and its army ran the rest of the country as a heavy-handed military dictatorship. While Milosevic's "liberal" opponents in the Yugoslav bureaucracy denounce him as a would-be Mussolini, all they can offer is preserving a status quo that has become intolerable for the working masses.

Today the country is saddled with a foreign debt of over $21 billion owed to the imperialist loan sharks; inflation is raging at over 200 percent annually; and unemployment approaches 20 percent of the workforce. Fixed investment and industrial production have spiraled down, and the workers have seen their standard of living drop by more than 40 percent since 1980. The liberal-Stalinist policies of Tito and his heirs have brought the Yugoslav deformed workers state to economic ruin and provoked the dangerous rise in national antagonisms. Together these disastrous developments pose pointblank the urgent and desperate necessity for proletarian political revolution.

### Capitalist Bankers Take Over the "Self-Managed" Economy

In 1987 Yugoslavia literally ran out of money. The Yugoslav bureaucracy, hat in hand, went begging to the imperialist bank cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In exchange for a financial quick fix the Yugoslav government imposed a savage austerity program on the workers, freezing and cutting wages while raising prices 25 to 60 percent. In response 150,000 workers in over 1,000 enterprises walked off the job (see "Yugoslavia In Turmoil," *WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987). By year's end over 1,500 strikes had taken place, including one by Croatian coal miners that lasted for two months, the longest strike in the country's postwar history. And the strike wave has not abated. This year strikes have already erupted in all areas of the country.

AP

**Carrying red flags and pictures of Marshal Tito, thousands of factory workers march on Yugoslav parliament in Belgrade last July.**

A big impetus to the latest round of strikes was another set of IMF-dictated austerity measures imposed late this spring. The intent is to dismantle the system of "workers self-management." Subsidies to money-losing enterprises would be cut off. Personal capital investment in the economy through bonds, shares and stocks would be permitted, while restrictions on foreign investments are loosened. This raises directly and inevitably the rapid spawning of a layer of petty entrepreneurs linked to the imperialist financial centers and ultimately bent on capitalist counterrevolution.

Already Yugoslavia has been racked by corruption scandals (such as the Agromerc affair last year) linked with foreign trade. Now a millionaire businessman has been awarded the "Order of Labor," an honor "customarily reserved for shock workers of Communism" (*New York Times*, 29 September). Most ominously, "bankrupt" state enterprises are now to be sold off. Yet from the standpoint of the world market almost all Yugoslav firms are "bankrupt." To whom do Milosevic and the Croatian and Slovenian party leaderships intend to sell these assets? (For a historical analysis of the Yugoslav economic collapse, see "The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model," *WV* No. 444, 15 January, reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet, *"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe*.)

As inflation soared at an annual rate of 859 percent in June, wages remained frozen or were cut by up to 30 percent. Taking their cue from a late May march on the federal parliament by 400 striking Bosnian coal miners, in June and July tens of thousands of strikers marched on Belgrade and demonstrated outside parliament in bitter protests against the government's IMF starvation policies. Over 5,000 workers at the Zmaj tractor factory located on the outskirts of the city downed tools in mid-June, and flying red flags and chanting "We want bread!", descended on parliament. According to a report in the London *Guardian* (18 June): "Slogans accusing the Government of betraying the people and condemning privileges, incompetence, corruption, and the luxury-style of top government and party leaders, were heard, together with shouts of 'Thieves'."

In July, five thousand leather and shoe workers from Borovo, Croatia journeyed to Belgrade and marched on the parliament. Clashing with security police, thousands broke through police lines and stormed inside to present their demands, which included calls for a doubling of wages and for funds to revitalize their factory complex employing 23,000 workers. The angry workers chanting "Down with the Government!" waved red flags, banners and pictures of Josip Broz Tito. Police cordoned off the area to keep thousands of passers-by sympathetic to the strikers from joining them. The Borovo strikers, joined by 2,100 leather and shoe workers in Vojvodina and Serbia, called for united action by the whole Yugoslav working class, raising the spectre of a general strike against the government's vicious austerity measures.

### Ominous Resurgence of Serbian Nationalism

Along with the massive working-class unrest there has been a dramatic escalation of nationalist agitation. The bureaucrats and intellectuals of Slovenia—the most developed region, bordering Austria—have long complained about subsidizing the poorer regions to their south. Increasingly, Slovenian nationalists want to link their future to a German-dominated Central Europe. In fact, all things German (including the language) have become very fashionable in Slovenia. At the opposite end of the national spectrum are the Albanians of Kosovo, who resent being the poor stepchildren of the Yugoslav federation and bridle at Serbian overlordship of their "autonomous province." And now we are seeing the spectacular eruption of Serbian nationalism, that is, the nationalism of the *dominant* people. This is partly economic resentment at pouring money wastefully into the impoverished regions of Kosovo and Macedonia and partly is a backlash against the vocal pro-Western nationalism of the Slovenes.

The recent wave of Serbian chauvinist demonstrations, ostensibly in defense

Tanjug

**Josip Broz Tito (left) led pan-Yugoslav anti-Nazi partisans, transcending national antagonisms through revolutionary struggle.**

of the Serbian minority living in Kosovo, are far from spontaneous, but rather have been whipped up by Milosevic. Milosevic, a former director of the Belgrade Bank, purged the Serbian party of his anti-nationalist opponents last year, and is now intent on buttressing his power by overturning the 1974 constitutional provisions that removed the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina from the direct administrative control of the Serbian republic.

Six years before his death in 1980 Tito, in an effort to curb the growing national antagonisms fostered by his regime's economic policies, imposed on both the Yugoslav state and the League of Yugoslav Communists (LCY) a completely federated structure. Thus, for example, the Yugoslav presidency is a collective presidium shared among the six republics and two autonomous provinces. Chairmanship of the presidency rotates annually. Likewise any one of the eight constituent republics can veto any measure before parliament. What made the whole unwieldy structure work while Tito was alive was that he, elected president for life, served as the arbiter. With his death the whole system has spiraled into autarky and paralysis worthy of the Hapsburg Empire in its final years.

Former bank director Milosevic is perhaps one of the LCY's strongest advocates of what the IMF calls the "structural reform" of the Yugoslav economy. Thus Milosevic is encouraging the nationalist demonstrations to put himself in the role of arbiter, "first among equals" of that utterly corrupt wing of the Yugoslav bureaucracy intent on bailing out their regime by selling the country to the imperialist bankers at bargain-basement prices. The nationalist outbursts also deflect attention from the economic misery that he and his cothinkers have been and are planning to inflict on the Yugoslav working class, not least the powerful and militant Serbian proletariat.

Milosevic and his cohorts in the Communist League of Serbia have seized upon the Kosovo question precisely to whip up the most extreme Serbian chauvinism. For diehard Serbian nationalists Kosovo *is* the Serbian question. Cradle of the medieval Serbian kingdom and site of the definitive albeit glorious defeat of the Serbs (along with their Albanian allies) by the Turks in 1389, it is woven into the national literature and messianic national myth of the Christian Serbs defeated yet steadfastly resisting the Turkish infidels for 500 years.

When Kosovo was captured by the Serbian bourgeoisie from Turkey during the course of the first Balkan War (1913) the region was already heavily Albanian, the Turks in the 19th century having encouraged the settlement there of additional Moslem Albanians as a buffer against the Serbs. During the 1930s Serb nationalists, aptly named "colonialists," moved into the province in large numbers in an attempt to guarantee Serbian hegemony. In turn, during World War II the Italians encouraged another wave of Albanian settlement.

Following the partisan victory in 1945, Kosovo became an autonomous province of Serbia, although in name only. The province was run by the Serb minority with a mailed fist via the Serb-dominated UDBa security police of Alexander Rankovic. In 1966 Rankovic was purged and by 1968 both Kosovo's and Vojvodina's autonomous status was redefined, making them in many respects the equal of the six Yugoslav republics.

Since the late '60s national tensions in Kosovo have escalated dangerously. In 1981 the region was hit with a wave of angry Albanian protests. Many were bloodily suppressed and some 3,500 Albanian nationalists imprisoned. Today Kosovo is populated by 200,000 Serbs and 1,800,000 Albanians. It is the poorest, least developed area in Yugoslavia, with an unemployment rate of over 35 percent. The billions of dinars in "development funds" which have been poured into Kosovo have mainly been squandered on palatial government buildings. Since 1981 some 34,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have left the area, many claiming they were driven out by Albanian terror tactics. Certainly there have been incidents as the Albanian nationalists work on reversing the terms of oppression. Charges of arson, rape, robbery and murder abound, and are vastly exaggerated in the superheated atmosphere of national animosity.

The Serbian exodus from Kosovo owes much to the deep economic depression of the region, another expression of which is the fact that fully *one-third* of the adult male Albanian population works in northern Europe. The Albanians in Kosovo have the highest birthrate in Europe, 34 per 1,000. Pooling their hard currency received from family members abroad, Albanian clans have been buying up Serb property by offering enormous sums. According to the London *Guardian* (12 September), houses in Kosovo sell for between $140,000 and $298,000.

The current round of demonstrations has in any case raised tensions between the two communities to a fever pitch. Both are armed and the situation could explode into an intercommunal bloodbath of Lebanese proportions. Should that happen it would threaten the unity of the one remaining effective nationwide institution in Yugoslavia—the army. Dominated by Serb officers and noncoms, the army is one-third Albanian at its conscript base, a concrete expression of Albanian demographics (Albanians are today the third-largest national component in Yugoslavia).

Problems of Communism

**Rising tide of nationalism is threatening to rip apart the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Below: Picture of rabid chauvinist Slobodan Milosevic, new strongman of the dominant Serbian republic, carried in demonstration.**

Independent

So far Milosevic has been able to ride the wave of Serbian chauvinism he has unleashed in his intra-bureaucratic struggle for power. He has managed with impunity to openly defy an LCY party presidium directive against nationalist rallies. He forced the resignation of the Vojvodina party leaders who tried to oppose his Great Serbian chauvinist policies, while mass pro-Milosevic rallies demanded the resignation of the Montenegrin party leadership as well.

Milosevic has provoked a strong backlash from among other elements of the Yugoslav bureaucracy. Now, as verbal battles escalate in the Politburo, this crisis is coming to a head at an LCY Central Committee plenum scheduled for October 17. Yugoslavia's Federal President Raif Dizdarevic, from Bosnia, has threatened to impose a state of emergency. And in an unprecedented act two Politburo members, Franc Setinc and Bosko Krunic, resigned their seats on that body in protest against Milosevic's chauvinist policies. The leaderships of the Slovenian and Croatian republics are clearly alarmed by the rise of Serbian nationalism. The Croatian newspaper *Danas* called Milosevic "the greatest danger since the Second World War."

Big sections of the liberal-Stalinist Yugoslav bureaucracy are worried about Milosevic's "extraparliamentary" mobilizations for another reason. They have also been the occasion for giant outpourings of proletarian outrage over the bureaucracy's corruption and mismanagement of the economy. A September 22 demonstration at the Serbian industrial town of Kraljevo, for example, was as much a protest over economic conditions as a nationalist rally. Speaking at the meeting, the local union chief at the railway car factory, the town's main industry, said:

> "We don't want imposing villas, planes, yachts and private beaches. You are not our comrades because you do not line up at dawn to buy 'people's bread.' You don't share our destiny on the first, second or third shift. You don't go down in the mine shafts; you don't climb high to build bridges. You are not our comrades."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 September

According to the *Times* report the crowd responded enthusiastically, shouting "Thieves!" "Down with those who sit in armchairs!" and "The people should judge them!"

It's clear that Milosevic's Kosovo demonstrations are heavily fueled by plebeian outrage. Such mobilizations may blow up in this miserable demagogue's face when the masses discover that their fool's gold of Serbian nationalism purchases them an IMF shock treatment—administered by a former bank executive in a pin-striped suit sitting in his own armchair in Belgrade and himself not lacking in access to Mercedes, villas or yachts.

### For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

In late 1945 a constitution establishing the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) was passed which stated that the republic was:

> "...a community of peoples equal in rights who, on the basis of the right to self-determination including the right of secession, have expressed their will to live together in a federative state."
>
> —cited in Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question* (1968)

The gap between these words and the situation in Yugoslavia today could not

*continued on page 8*


A pamphlet on the economics of the East European deformed workers states, analyzing Yugoslavia, Hungary and East Germany in the context of Gorbachev's *perestroika*. The pamphlet considers the history of the ruling bureaucracies' efforts to combat stagnation through decentralization and "market-oriented" reforms, and counterposes the Trotskyist program for centralized economic planning based on workers democracy. Includes "The Bukharin Dossier," concerning Right Opposition leader Nikolai Bukharin, frequently presented today as the "godfather of *perestroika*."

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# Eastern Unions: Fight or Die!

BOSTON—Eastern Airlines workers, Harvard University campus workers and hundreds of students held a protest rally September 30 outside the Harvard class reunion of vicious union-buster Frank Lorenzo. The protest was publicized by the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (HUCTW), whose hard-fought victory in union representation elections last May may be overturned by the anti-labor National Labor Relations Board as the result of an appeal by the university.

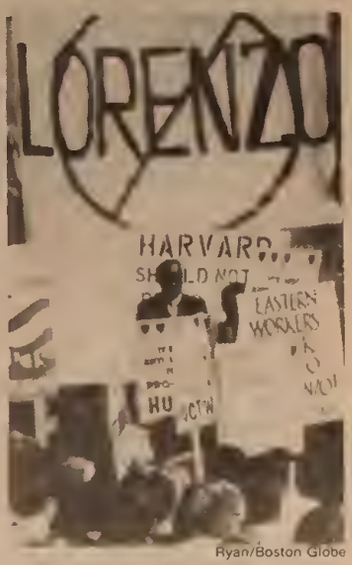
WV Photo

**At Machinists convention in Atlanta last May, thousands march against union-buster Lorenzo.**

The airline unions are under the gun. Later in the day a federal court gave Eastern the green light to ax 4,000 workers. And last week Lorenzo sold off Eastern's money-making shuttle to New York City real-estate and casino billionaire Donald Trump.

What's needed is hard class struggle to *bust the union-busters*, from Lorenzo to Harvard CEO Derek Bok. But the September 30 protest turned out to be a lackluster rally for the Democratic Party's presidential ticket. When Jesse Jackson showed up to speak, scores of Dukakis-Bentsen placards popped up. Jackson blamed the Republicans for "the political context that allows a Lorenzo," but it's the labor bureaucrats' alliance with the capitalist Democratic Party that has kept the unions from *fighting* the anti-labor offensive.

The Harvard Spartacus Youth Club carried signs reading "Eastern Workers—Sock It to Lorenzo!" and "Avenge PATCO, Philly MOVE—Build a Workers Party!" And in opposition to liberal hand-wringing about Harvard's reputation, such as one speaker's suggestion that Lorenzo be stripped of his degree unless he takes a Business School ethics course, we said: "Harvard loves union-busting Lorenzo, hates campus workers—Victory to HUCTW!" ■



Ryan/Boston Globe

**Eastern Airlines workers protest "Darth Vader" Lorenzo, speaking at Harvard.**

# Yugoslavia...

*(continued from page 7)*

be more glaring, demonstrating graphically the inability of Stalinism, even of the most "liberal" variety, to bring about a just solution of the national question. Certainly Tito stands head and shoulders above the sinister demagogue Milosevic and the ineffectual politicians now playing musical chairs in Belgrade. But the crisis now ripping apart Yugoslavia cannot be resolved through a return to the spirit of Titoism. The answer to resurgent Serbian, Albanian and Slovenian nationalism is not the pan-Yugoslav nationalism of Tito.

Take the explosive Kosovo question. So far the Albanian population seeks only the status of a seventh republic in the Yugoslav federation, a measure of their distaste for the miserable ultra-Stalinist Albanian deformed workers state. But should the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia wish to place themselves under Tirana's rule, that desire should be recognized. It would in no way disrupt the geographic or economic unity of Yugoslavia, and far from being a "counterrevolution" as the current Belgrade nationalists bluster, it would quickly bring big changes in Albania and open the road to a socialist federation of the Balkans.

But national Stalinists in Belgrade, committed to nostalgic folk dreams of lost medieval glory and to defending every inch of soil grabbed by the Serbian monarchy in the Balkan Wars, are incapable of solving this democratic task. They show themselves to be no different than the Romanian Stalinists bulldozing away thousands of Hungarian-minority villages, or the Bulgarian regime in Sofia, which forces Bulgarian citizens of Turkish descent to adopt Bulgarian names.

The fundamental inability of any Stalinist bureaucracy to resolve the national question is strikingly demonstrated by the eruption of nationalism and national conflict in the Soviet Union, fueled by Gorbachev's *perestroika*. Yugoslavia *prefigures* what could happen in Russia. At present the most aggressive nationalist movements are in the richest, most advanced regions—Estonia and Latvia—analogous to Slovenia in Yugoslavia. The Baltic nationalists want to get even richer (at the expense of other Soviet peoples). At the same time, there is certainly a potential for resentment among the poorer, more culturally backward Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia, analogous to the Albanians of Kosovo.

But the greatest danger lies in resurgent nationalism among the *dominant* people—the Russians, like the Serbs in Yugoslavia. The nucleus of such a nationalist movement already exists in the nativist Russian fascist organization Pamyat, which is protected by sections of the bureaucracy. As we wrote recently: "The Pamyat Nazis must be crushed before this festering sore becomes a gangrenous cancer threatening the Soviet state and its multinational people" (*WV* No. 461, 23 September).

The danger of the Soviet Union ripping apart through national conflict still lies in the future. In Yugoslavia that danger exists right now! It is the absence of a revolutionary leadership in Yugoslavia today that permits the inept, increasingly corrupt and nationally fractured Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy to divert the natural unity of the Yugoslav workers in struggle into the dead end of bloody national conflict. And it will take a revolutionary internationalist leadership to repudiate the country's foreign debt to the imperialist bankers.

Clearly the massive nationwide strike movement presents a crucial opportunity for a genuinely communist vanguard to reforge the fraternal links among the Yugoslav working people so badly eroded by decades of "market socialism." As Trotskyists we stand for equality among peoples on the basis of increased material well-being. This can only be achieved through a proletarian political revolution to establish workers democracy, soviet power, central planning and a rational allocation of investment resources. Above all this requires a definitive break from the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," and its replacement with the program of proletarian internationalism. As Trotsky stated in a discussion with his Greek supporters in the early 1930s: "A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into a federation of the United Soviet States of Europe." ■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**(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)**

1A. Title of publication: *Workers Vanguard*
1B. Publication no.: 098770
2. Date of filing: 30 September 1988
3. Frequency of issue: Bi-weekly (except 2nd issue in August and with 3-week interval December)
3A. No. of issues published annually: 25
3B. Annual subscription price: $7.00
4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
6. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Company, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Editor—Jan Norden, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Managing Editor—Noah Wilner, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007
7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.): Spartacist Publishing Company (Unincorporated Association), 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state): None
9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates
10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months. A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 18,460; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 13,049; (2) Mail subscription: 2,861. C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 15,910. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 306. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 16,216. F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,244. (2) Return from news agents: 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 18,460

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date. A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 21,000. B. Paid and/or requested circulation. (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 15,889. (2) Mail subscription: 2,387. C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 18,276. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 310. E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 18,586. F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,414; (2) Return from news agents: 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 21,000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(Editor)

# FBI Whitewashes Racist Murder

# Free All the MOVE Prisoners!

On September 21, the U.S. "Justice" Department announced it was closing its 38-week "investigation" into the Philadelphia MOVE massacre. Eleven black people, *including five children*, were incinerated alive on that day of infamy, Mother's Day 1985, when city police, brain-trusted by the FBI, dropped a bomb on the black radical MOVE commune.

The federal grand jury (using reports from the FBI, which was "investigating" itself) returned no indictments, and, with supreme racist contempt, also returned no report. In a three-paragraph statement the Justice Department's man for dismantling civil rights, William Bradford Reynolds, said there was insufficient evidence to seek indictments on civil rights violations. This "finding" *is an outrageous whitewash of cold-blooded racist mass murder!*

UPI

**Delbert Africa, stomped by Philly police in 1978 assault on MOVE, is still in prison.**

The 13 May 1985 attack on MOVE was a willful massacre of black people with no name (they all called themselves Africa) who had committed no crime. Philadelphia's black Democratic "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode gave the go-ahead for the bombing. Nearly 600 cops pumped 10,000 rounds of ammunition into the MOVE house, then dropped a bomb on it, and let it and 60 other homes on the 6200 block of Osage Avenue burn to the ground. Residents of the MOVE house who fled were driven by gunfire back into the blazing inferno to die.

The federal grand jury "finding," like the state grand jury report in May, was intended from the beginning to cover up the real perpetrators of calculated racist murder: Mayor Goode, who vowed "I would do it again," city managing director Leo Brooks, Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor, Fire Commissioner William Richmond and the Reagan/Meese White House gang. Yet even Goode's hand-picked commission condemned his "grossly negligent" act of ordering the "unconscionable" bombing and the "unjustified homicide" of five children.

William H. Brown 3d, the lawyer who chaired Goode's commission, lambasted the federal whitewash, saying that to "deliberately place a bomb on that house, and having done that, then make a decision not to put the fire out and let it burn while children are in the house, if that's not sufficient grounds to find that their civil rights were violated, I don't know what is." Brown also noted, "We have got a dual system of justice in this country ... if these victims had been white, I think we would have had a different result."

Today, the full force of state repression continues to bear down on the sole adult survivor of the MOVE massacre—Ramona Africa. Serving a seven-year term for "criminal conspiracy" (i.e., she *survived* to bear witness to the massacre), Ramona has been denied parole because, above all, she refuses the government's obscene demand that she not associate with her MOVE family upon release.

Ramona Africa is imprisoned in the women's prison at Muncy, Pennsylvania, along with six of her Africa family sisters, including the mothers of the children murdered in the Osage Avenue firebombing. They are Consuewela Dotson, Susan Leon, Janine Phillips, Debbie Sims, Merle Austin and Janet Holloway. Among the Africa brothers, held at separate men's facilities, are William Phillips, Edward Goodman, Delbert Orr, Charles Sims, Carlos Perez and Michael Davis. *Free Ramona Africa and all the MOVE prisoners!*

Philly blacks have faced murderous police repression for years. Former mayor and police commissioner Frank Rizzo was notorious for his assaults on the black ghetto and vicious strip-search roundup of the Black Panthers. Rizzo is the architect of the city's vendetta against MOVE. He targeted the group for five years and in the fall of '77 ordered the yearlong cop siege on the Powelton Village MOVE commune which culminated in August 1978, when 60 cops moved in for the kill. Twelve MOVE people were framed up because a cop died (likely killed in the police crossfire) and were slammed into prison for terms from 31 to 99 years.

The MOVE massacre was the bloody signature of the Reagan years, a "message" to black people from the White House, a threat aimed at all who dare to "step out of line." The bombing—carried out with the advice and consent of the FBI, using C-4 explosives provided by the feds, and praised by Ed Meese as a "good example"—took place only days after Reagan visited the SS Nazi war graves at Bitburg. The war-crazed regime in Washington emulates Hitler's Third Reich, bombing black babies at home, as they lust to nuke the Soviet Union.

The combative Philly unions *should have shut the city down over the MOVE massacre and driven Goode out of town!* Now Goode thinks he's off the hook and all's forgotten. But we of the Spartacist League seek to sear into the memory of the working class this terrible crime against black people at the hands of this racist capitalist class. We are fighting to forge a multiracial Leninist vanguard party to lead the struggle for workers revolution that will finally avenge the MOVE martyrs. ■

UPI

**Philadelphia, Mother's Day 1985—Eleven black people, including five children, were incinerated and a neighborhood burnt to the ground in "final solution"-style bombing of MOVE commune by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and the Reagan regime.**

# PDC Demands: Let Mumia Speak!

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

17 October 1988

Governor Robert Casey
Main Capitol Building, Room 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

Dear Governor Casey:

On November 5 the Partisan Defense Committee will join trade unionists, civil rights organizations, gay rights activists and many more to demonstrate against a Ku Klux Klan provocation in downtown Philadelphia. This demonstration against genocide will honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner at Huntingdon. For 20 years, Mr. Jamal has dedicated his life to fighting racist terror and championing the rights of poor and oppressed people. A renowned journalist and former president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, Mr. Jamal has been called the "voice of the voiceless." He has rightfully earned a place on the speakers platform November 5.

Twenty years ago, at the age of 13, Mr. Jamal and teenage friends were beaten and arrested by police for protesting a George Wallace presidential rally in South Philadelphia. For Jamal, it was obscene that this advocate of segregation forever be allowed to spew his appeals to racehate in largely black and minority Philadelphia. Twenty years later it is equally obscene that the KKK, along with their skinhead allies, are parading for genocide in the "cradle of liberty," and Mr. Jamal is in solitary confinement, fighting for his life, for the crime of opposing this racist filth.

no credit

**Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1980.**

There is historical precedent in this country for granting special parole under specific circumstances. It is our belief that you should grant Mumia Abu-Jamal parole to address the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Very truly yours,
Deborah Mackson
Executive Director
Partisan Defense Committee


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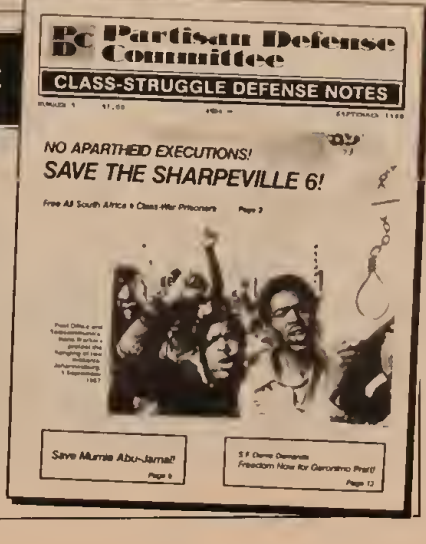

# Klan Lynchers Target Philly...

*(continued from page 3)*

Bedford Forrest, responsible for the bloody massacre of more than 300 black troops and their families at Fort Pillow two years before. (The "Klavern" which marched in Parkside last May was named after Forrest.) Forrest's Klan, modeled on the antebellum slave patrols, went after the black Union Leagues and a few black militias which defended freed blacks. The federal government, having crushed the slavocracy which had threatened Northern capital, ended military occupation after the Compromise of 1877, marking the end of Reconstruction. Blacks were forced into sharecropping, and Jim Crow segregation (named after another KKK founder) was sanctioned by the courts.

With the Klan now in the statehouses and courthouses of the South, there was no need for the paramilitary bands. In the 1870s, Klan terror had also turned against the budding labor organizations, particularly the Colored National Labor Union and the integrated Knights of Labor. But it was with the waves of immigration which filled the factories of the industrial North around the turn of the century, and the black migration from the South during World War I, that the lynchers reappeared. In 1915, inspired by the film *Birth of a Nation* which was viewed by 50 million Americans, as audiences cheered on the KKK nightriders, Joseph Simmons took a small band up Stone Mountain, Georgia (site of a monument to the Confederacy) to revive the Klan.

In the 1920s the Klan became a mass movement in the Northern industrial cities. It had some three to five *million* members nationwide, with Klaverns of 50,000 members in Chicago, 30,000 in Philadelphia. In 1925, tens of thousands of hooded and robed Klansmen marched through Washington, D.C. With the post-World War I "red scare," the KKK's nativist fascism was directed at Jews, blacks and especially Catholic immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, while the state rounded up "foreign" Communists for deportation. As the labor movement was decimated in the late 1920s and restrictive immigration laws were passed, the Klan's program was again co-opted by the bourgeoisie. But in the South, KKK terror remained a potent force, freezing out industrial unions during the rise of the CIO.

Following World War II, thousands of black GIs returned, trained in the use of weapons and determined to fight for their rights. Southern Jim Crow became an embarrassment to U.S. imperialism as colonial peoples won independence from their former masters. The civil rights movement was born which vowed to tear down the legal basis of segregation. But in response, racist terrorists once again put on the KKK robes in a frenzied attempt to maintain white supremacy. "Freedom riders" were set upon by KKKers with clubs at bus stations; in 1963 Klansmen bombed a black church in Birmingham, killing four black girls. The next year, KKKers in Philadelphia, Mississippi murdered three Jewish and black civil rights workers.

WV Photos

**27 November 1982—Determined black youth came together with forces from the integrated labor movement in a 5,000-strong mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C.**

While liberal pacifists like Martin Luther King appealed to the cops and the FBI against the Klan, those very agencies were hand in hand with the racist terrorists. FBI informant Gary Rowe was the Klan triggerman who shot down civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo on the highway to Selma. But many blacks did not buy the pacifist line. For example, in 1957 local NAACP head Robert F. Williams in Monroe County, North Carolina led blacks to arm themselves in self-defense and to drive the Klan off. The Klan reactivated around the mid-'70s battles over school busing, but failed in their forays into the North.

It was in the anti-Soviet atmosphere of Cold War II, begun under Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter, that the "new" Klan began to surface in close alliance with anti-Communist Nazis. The Greensboro massacre of 1979, in which five leftist civil rights and union organizers were murdered, was a joint KKK/Nazi effort (with the cooperation of local and federal police). When the killers were let off by one all-white jury after another, it was a green light for racist terror. In 1980 the Klan endorsed Ronald Reagan for president, and feeling the wind in their sails after his election they tried to penetrate the North in a big way.

But the lynchers were not welcome. The Spartacist League took the initiative in organizing mass labor/black mobilizations which in several cities interdicted the Klan. Detroit, 1979: the KKK was stopped from "celebrating" the Greensboro massacre; San Francisco, 1980: Nazis were prevented from their obscene attempt to celebrate Hitler's birthday; Chicago, 1982: thousands came out against a KKK/Nazi provocation on Gay Pride Day. That October the Klan was run out of Boston. And when in November 1982 the Kluxers tried to march in Washington, D.C., a 75 percent black city, the SL joined with unionists from the Tidewater, Virginia area in initiating a Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan. On November 27, some 5,000 anti-Klan demonstrators turned out at the KKK's assembly site, and after blocking the KKK we marched in triumph up the route to the White House that the Klan had vowed to take. It was a taste of the workers and black power that can turn this country around.

### Crush the Klan: Philly Labor, Blacks Have the Power

Now the Klan wants to bring its racist terror to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Here everyone is in their sights. But the Democrats certainly aren't going to stop them. When Democratic presidential candidate Dukakis spoke in Philadelphia, Mississippi to an almost entirely white crowd on August 4, 24 years to the day since the bodies of slain civil rights workers Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney were found, he never once mentioned the gruesome Klan killings or even civil rights. In Philly black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode ordered the 1985 Mother's Day police bombing that murdered eleven residents of the black MOVE commune, five of them children. And Goode isn't Philadelphia's only "mayor of murder": his Republican opponent in last year's election was racist former mayor and top cop Frank Rizzo.

Not only blacks and Hispanics have

NY Public Library

**Klan terror against Radical Reconstruction in the post-Civil War South: ex-Confederate soldiers burn down black school in Memphis, 1866.**


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# November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

## "We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Philadelphia: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan November 5'."

**Partial List of Endorsers as of 17 October 1988**

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**AFSCME District Council 33**, Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Local 2412**, Madison, WI
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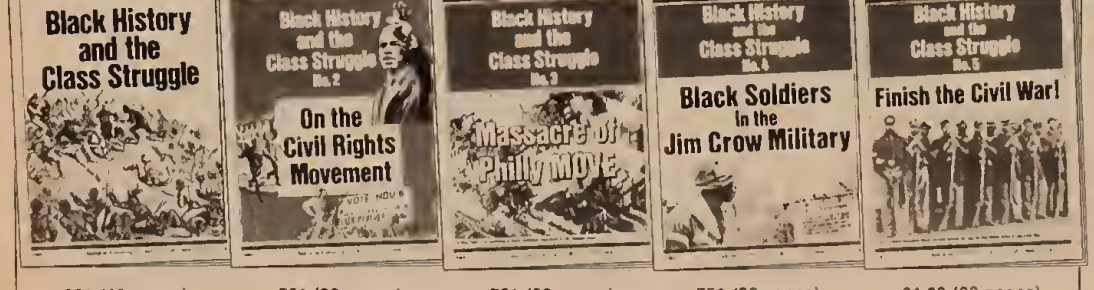
*We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed on page 12.*

been the butt of police state tactics in Philadelphia. Last year it was revealed that the cops had infiltrated everything from the Lesbian and Gay Task Force to CISPES, the Pledge of Resistance and sanctuary groups protecting Central American refugees from death squad terror. And on the bicentennial celebration of the U.S. Constitution, "freedom" meant that everyone wearing protest buttons, carrying placards or handing out literature was summarily banned from Independence Mall. Goode was put into office by the insurance companies, bankers and Main Line upper crust establishment to keep the lid on Philadelphia. And one of his main targets has been labor.

After the MOVE massacre, Goode tried to regain "credibility" with the ruling class by threatening to fire 13,000 sanitation and other blue collar workers of AFSCME District 33 during their July 1986 strike. The *Wall Street Journal* headlined that Goode's strikebreaking "Restores Confidence in His Ability to Lead." But Philly labor has real power, and they've shown they're not afraid to use it. Over the past decade, transit workers and teachers have struck repeatedly. SEPTA rail workers went out in a 109-day strike in 1983, shutting the system down with hard class struggle. When Greyhound bus drivers struck later that year, 1,000 pickets from the ATU and other unions held up scab buses for hours, taking scores of arrests. And in last year's football strike, the most militant support demonstration in the country was at Philly's Veterans Stadium.

What's needed is militant leadership to mobilize labor/black power in class struggle against both capitalist parties and the racist terrorists. The Klan rides for Reagan. And as Malcolm X said, when you're voting Democrat, you're for the Dixiecrat. Never has this been clearer than in the '88 elections where the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket has pitched its campaign to Southern white racists. The convention was a calculated insult to Jesse Jackson and millions of blacks and labor voters—and they've disappeared him ever since. What this country urgently needs is a workers party, a class-struggle party that fights for black rights, that fights to bust the union-busters with a fight for power. For as long as racist American capitalism remains, it will time and again spawn terrorists like the Klan.

Philadelphia is a labor town, a black town, a Hispanic, Catholic and Jewish city. All the fascists' intended victims, all defenders of democratic rights, every decent person in this city should unite behind the power of labor to crush this deadly threat to one and all. *All out to stop the Klan in Philadelphia on November 5 at Independence Mall!*■




25¢ (16 pages) 75¢ (32 pages) 75¢ (32 pages) 75¢ (32 pages) $1.00 (32 pages)

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## It'll Take $$$ to Stop the KKK!

**IT WILL TAKE $$$ AND PEOPLE TO STOP THE KLAN—Dig deep and give NOW. Get your union, community and campus group to pledge. Expenses are mounting—we expect to print over 250,000 leaflets and thousands of posters. We'll need over $7,500 just for printing costs, and much, much more to get the word out and to get buses in. Sign up to work distributing leaflets, fund-raising, selling bus tickets, and making posters. We need you and your help. Call us at (215) 790-1822 or your Partisan Defense Committee representative. Send contributions to:**

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P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013

or:

November 5 Mobilization
1530 Locust Street, Suite #92
Philadelphia, PA 19102

WORKERS VANGUARD

# ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!

## Philadelphia: Sat., November 5
## Independence Mall Area

*We reprint here the demonstration call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee on 7 October 1988.*

---

The KKK lynchers and the violent skinhead filth are threatening to strut into the heart of Philadelphia at Independence Mall on November 5. With their burning crosses and their swastikas, they are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unions—all of us.

The Klan and skinheads have already marched in Valley Forge, and Parkside where they got a hot reception. Now they're bringing their deadly provocation to Philly. There must be a massive, defiant display of *labor/black power*, together with minorities and all intended victims of the lynchers, on Independence Mall on November 5 to *stop these fascist terrorists*.

Make no mistake—the KKK are sadistic killers, in and out of their white sheets. Their idea of "free speech" is what the government did to MOVE—burning alive eleven black people, including five children. And the MOVE mothers are still locked up in jail!

We do not forget the Birmingham church bombings, the Greensboro massacre and now the torching of synagogues in NYC. And the degenerate skinheads with their Nazi regalia and jackboots want to act out their murderous Hitlerite fantasies. If we don't stop them here, who will be next to pay with their lives?

These labor-hating racists say they are going to bring their lynch ropes and Nazi salutes to the Liberty Bell, in the "cradle of liberty." For millions that "liberty" meant being born into slavery. The Civil War took care of chattel slavery. We need to finish the job—and one step toward that can be by stopping the KKK/skinheads *now*.

The unions were built against the violent opposition of the KKK, and if the unions' power is unleashed we can make the streets of Philly safe from these racist criminals.

We will be at Independence Mall, Saturday, November 5 to honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor. Today as black America is under the gun, all of labor is facing a union-busting offensive to roll back hard-won gains: remember the PATCO air controllers who were dragged away in chains! The Klan and skinheads are a threat to our livelihoods and our lives. The power to stop them lies with the integrated, combative unions in this city—transit, sanitation, Teamsters, teachers, longshoremen.

When the KKK tried to march against immigrants in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the integrated power of 5,000 workers and minorities, backed by over 70 unions and union officials from Norfolk to Boston, sent them packing. The fascists must be stopped—and we can stop them *here*. All out to stop the KKK and skinhead thugs on November 5! *Be there!*

INITIATED BY THE
PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1530 Locust St., Suite #92
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 790-1822

## Philly labor, minorities: This is the power that can stop the Klan!

UPI/Bettmann

## November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

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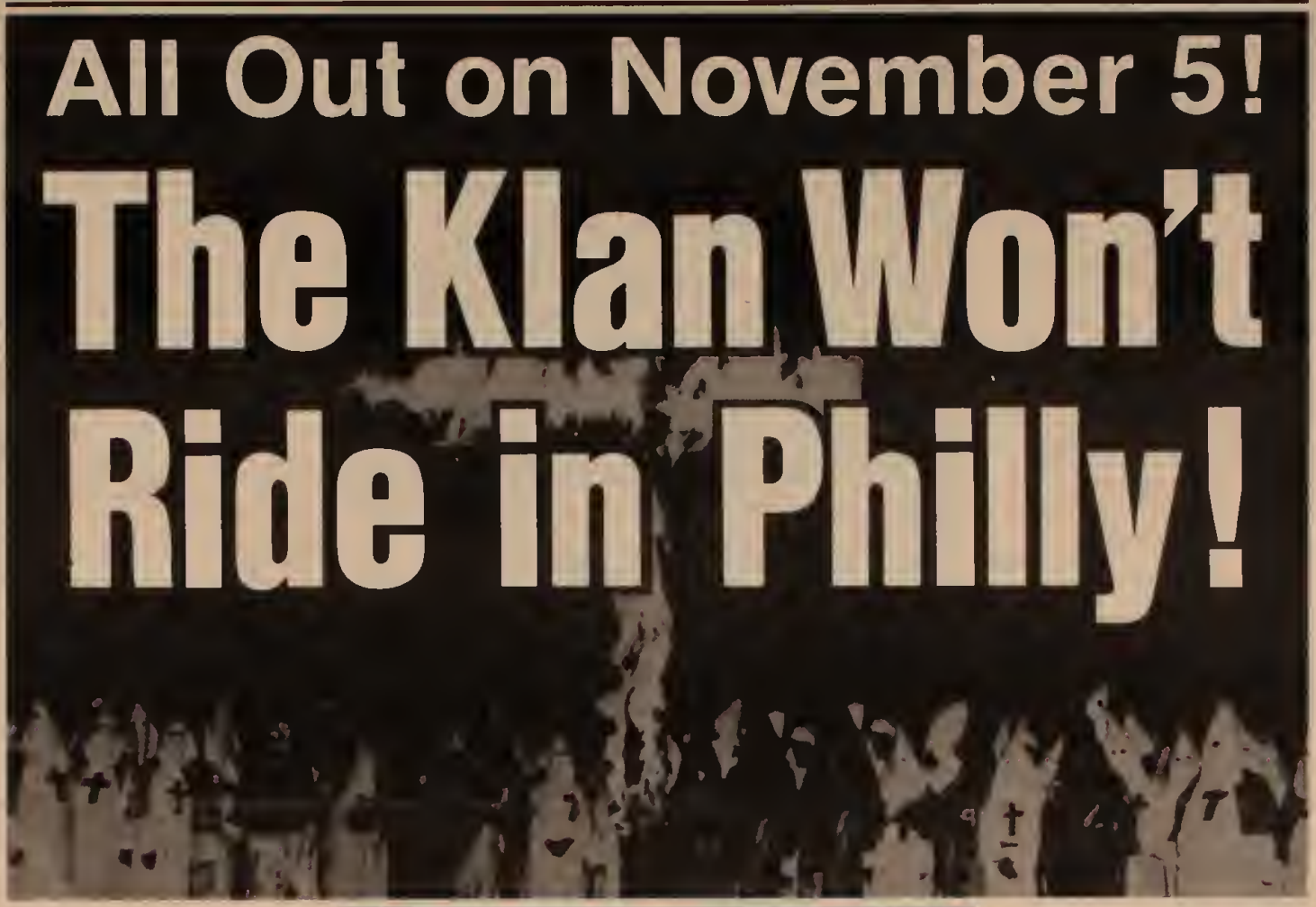
# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 464 | 4 November 1988


# All Out on November 5!

# The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!



## Saturday, 9 a.m.
## Market St. between 5th and 6th
## — BE THERE! —

**The power of the integrated labor movement has scored an important victory against the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia. The Mobilization to Stop the KKK has taken the site where the lynchers had threatened to rally. Workers, minorities, all opponents of racist terror: fill Independence Mall, Saturday, November 5, to make sure that the Klan doesn't ride in Philly!**

The KKK cross-burners and depraved, violent "skinhead" Nazi-lovers had planned to stage a racist "white pride" rally—a deadly menace to labor, blacks, Jews, Catholics, Hispanics, to all decent people in Philadelphia and throughout the country. In response, the Partisan Defense Committee vowed that "there must be a massive, defiant display of *labor/black power*, together with minorities and all intended victims of the lynchers...to *stop these fascist terrorists*."

The PDC initiated the November 5 Mobilization to honor the working people who built this country and to bring out a determined, united opposition to the Klan. In response to its call more than 200 groups and individuals representing tens of thousands of the Klan's intended victims signed up to say "All Out to Stop the KKK!" in Philly. Faced with this impressive outpouring of opposition, on October 26 the Klan's permit application was put "on hold" in agreement with the National Park Service.

PDC spokesman Al Nelson told a press conference the next day that the Mobilization's success is a blow against racist terrorists who would disrupt services commemorating the Jewish victims of the Nazis' *Kristallnacht* pogrom. It means that "black people are not going to be intimidated by hooded nightriders; the Hispanic people are not going to be denounced as 'foreigners' who should 'go home'; Catholics, who suffered tremendously after World War I as victims of the Klan"—all are safer. The militant, orderly and democratic demonstration to stop the KKK is going "full speed ahead," he said.

"The Klan has never waited for permits to carry out their lynchings, firebombings and murder," said a PDC press release. Underlining this warning, on the night of October 29, a gang of skinheads from Philadelphia and New Jersey assaulted a family on a train platform in Manhattan for objecting to their racist epithets. And that same night anti-Semites sprayed swastikas on the front doors of Temple Sholom synagogue in Philadelphia's Oxford Circle.

### A United Front to Stop the KKK

A lot of people understand that the Klan means death, that wherever it appears, however small its numbers, it inflames and feeds upon racial fears, poisoning any sort of integrated activity, from fighting segregation to winning strikes. Today millions are disgusted with the state the country is in, with the elections in which Democrats and Republicans brazenly compete for the racist vote, with bipartisan government policy that spurns the jobless, homeless and hopeless. Working people, minorities and a lot of others who oppose everything the Klan stands for are looking for a way to fight back. Stopping the KKK in Philly can be the first step.

The Partisan Defense Committee which launched the November 5 anti-Klan demonstration is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. In the early '80s, as the KKK with the backing of the Reagan White House sought to penetrate Northern cities, the SL and PDC took the lead in organizing mass labor/black mobilizations to stop them. The strategy of bringing out the power of labor and minorities to crush the fascists is drawn from the Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky's calls for a workers united front to stop the Nazis from seizing power in Germany, and the experience of the American Trotskyists in the '30s who mobilized 50,000 against a fascist meeting in Madison Square Garden.

Today, as Reagan's reign draws to a close, the ultrarightists have grown increasingly frenzied: the KKK stages brazen marches in Chicago's Marquette Park; from California to Allentown, PA, swastika-tattooed skinheads have been on the rampage, terrorizing gays, blacks, Asians, Hispanics and anybody else who gets in their way; Jewish synagogues are defaced, abortion clinics hombed, minority students in Northern universities are under attack. At the University of Wisconsin, a racist fraternity staged a "slave auction."

And as the 1988 presidential campaign draws to a close in an orgy of racist appeals, the Ku Klux Klan threatened to march in the "cradle of liberty." In response to the PDC appeal, in short order over 200 groups and individuals threw their weight behind the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia. In the forefront of it were the unions, beginning with powerful AFSCME District 33, whose sanitation workers had waged a hard strike against Wilson Goode two years ago. Other local labor bodies endorsing the November 5 Mobilization include

*continued on page 11*

**Heirs of Stalin Revile Leninist Internationalism**

**Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification**

SEE PAGE EIGHT

# Deadly Right-to-Lifers Target Women

# Defend Abortion Rights!

On Saturday, October 29 fanatical "Operation Rescue" bigots invaded over 30 cities and towns across the country to blockade abortion clinics, intimidating, harassing and terrorizing any woman brave enough to try to keep her appointment. From Deer Park, Long Island to Sunnyvale, California many clinics were forced to close for the day, their entrances blocked by the "right-to-lifers" as the cops kept pro-abortion demonstrators at a distance. Over 2,200 anti-abortion bigots were "arrested" outside clinics—gently carried to waiting buses, issued summonses and let out on the streets. "You're treating them like diamonds," shouted one pro-abortion rights demonstrator outside Philadelphia's Elizabeth Blackwell clinic.

As election day approaches, the ultra-right-wing fanatics, taking their cue from Bush and the Reagan White House, are growing increasingly brazen. Operation Rescue has plagued Atlanta's clinics ever since the Democratic convention in July, and threatened to descend on clinics in Boston and Dukakis' home town of Brookline, Massachusetts on the 29th. Instead, some 2,000 pro-abortion demonstrators, including the lieutenant governor, turned out for what was, to all intents and purposes, a Democratic Party rally. But despite Dukakis' "pro-choice" stand, it was the Democratic administration of Jimmy ("life is not fair") Carter that cut off federal funds for abortions for poor, mostly minority women.

WV Photo

**Spartacist contingent in 1,000-strong protest against bigots' blockade of abortion clinics, New York, 29 April.**

And although the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision legalizing abortion is close to being overturned by the Reaganite Supreme Court, the Democrats are doing nothing to defend it. The decision whether or not to have a child is a woman's elementary right, and it's often a matter of life and death. Yet the two parties of the American ruling class don't give a damn about the lives of women forced into back-alley abortions. On July 4, cops at a Paoli, Pennsylvania clinic ordered pioneer abortion rights defender Bill Baird to take down a photo of a woman who died in a self-induced abortion, claiming it was "obscene." The hundreds of "right-to-lifers," meanwhile, were brandishing posters of fetuses.

Intimidation by the anti-abortion bigots has spread far and wide. In France last week, the Roussel Uclaf chemical company that developed an abortion-inducing drug, RU 486, which can be used to *safely and privately* induce abortion in the early stages of pregnancy, yanked it off the market. Roussel officials cited "very powerful" pressure groups in the U.S. After an outcry at an international medical conference against this capitulation to bigotry, the French government of "socialist" François Mitterrand ordered it back on the market. In the U.S., however, under Food and Drug Administration policy, it will be years before this life-saving drug can be sold.

The anti-abortion crusade is all about politics—the politics of death. As pro-choice demonstrators chanted last weekend, "Right-to-life, your name's a lie, you don't care if women die." These "pro-life" forces are the same ones pushing the viciously racist death penalty. And behind the hundreds of (white) Christian fundamentalists, the leaders of "Operation Rescue" are *terrorists*. When they targeted New York City as the "abortion capital of the world" last April, the blockade was orchestrated by Joe Scheidler. Scheidler was arrested in June 1986 for smashing up a twice-bombed clinic in Pensacola, Florida where the anti-abortion forces are led by a "former" Klansman.

While the "right-to-lifers" rant about aborting fetuses, what about the 40,000 babies who die every year before reaching their first birthday, particularly the children of poverty-stricken black and Hispanic women? An August 1988 report by the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality reveals that the United States has the worst infant mortality rate among 20 industrialized nations, eleven per thousand. Black infants are more than twice as likely to die as whites. Pregnant women in the ghettos and barrios desperately need prenatal care, nutritious food, decent housing. Instead, they are now threatened with being thrown off welfare by the ghoulish "Family Security Act."

The abortion clinic bombers and bible-thumping bigots are only the cutting edge of a broad reactionary offensive. From "welfare reform" to cutting back inner-city hospitals and the criminal negligence over the AIDS epidemic (whose victims are increasingly black and Hispanic), Democrats and Republicans are united around a genocidal program to resolve the crisis of American capitalism by making entire minority populations expendable, left on the streets to die. While railing against teen pregnancy, they leave ghetto youths jobless, homeless and hopeless. It will take a socialist revolution in this country to make respect for the lives of women and children a genuine social priority.

The Spartacist League and our journal *Women and Revolution* call on the labor movement to defend abortion rights. In Chicago last May supporters of the SL, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, Labor Black Struggle League and the Partisan Defense Committee joined in a militant demonstration that prevented "pro-lifers" from shutting down a downtown clinic. And at an April 29 demonstration against Operation Rescue in New York, a Spartacist contingent, the largest and most dynamic in the march, won support with signs saying "Labor Must Defend Abortion Clinics," chants of "Defend the Clinics, Take a Stand, Free Abortion on Demand," and an SL banner proclaiming "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Socialist Revolution or Fascist Barbarism

*The destruction of the labor movement by fascism opened the road to the genocide of the Holocaust. Communist and left-wing socialist workers were the first to be thrown into concentration camps, to be followed by millions of Jews, gypsies, Slavs. Yet the powerful German workers movement was prevented by its Social Democratic and Stalinist misleaders from stopping the Nazis. Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky hammered away at the need for bold action by a workers united front, led by a vanguard party fighting for socialist revolution, to crush fascism, the last resort of a decaying capitalism. In an article that was unfinished at the time of his murder by a Stalinist assassin in 1940, Trotsky wrote:*

Insofar as the proletariat proves incapable at a given stage of conquering power, imperialism begins regulating economic life with its own methods; the fascist party which becomes the state power is the political mechanism....

The American working class is still without a mass labor party even today. But the objective situation and the experience accumulated by the American workers can pose within a very brief period of time on the order of the day the question of the conquest of power. This perspective must be made the basis of our agitation....

Fascism is the continuation of capitalism, an attempt to perpetuate its existence by means of the most bestial and monstrous measures. Capitalism obtained an opportunity to resort to fascism only because the proletariat did not accomplish the socialist revolution in time. The proletariat was paralyzed in the fulfillment of its task by the opportunist parties.... Fascism and the series of imperialist wars constitute the terrible school in which the proletariat has to free itself of petty-bourgeois traditions and superstitions, has to rid itself of opportunist, democratic, and adventurist parties, has to hammer out and train the revolutionary vanguard, and in this way prepare for the solving of the task apart from which there is not and cannot be any salvation for the development of mankind.

—Leon Trotsky, "Bonapartism, Fascism, and War" (August 1940)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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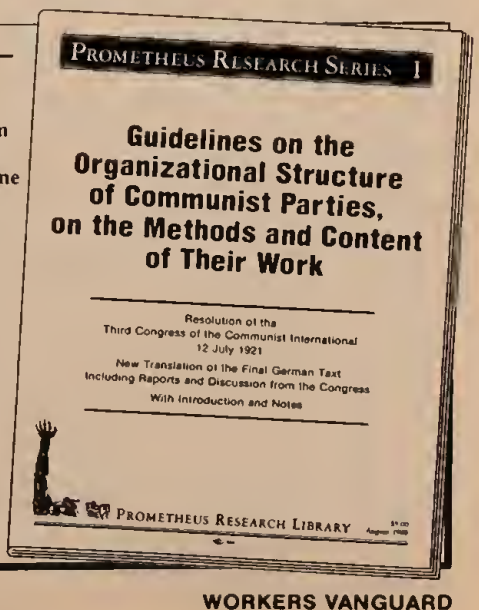


# Skinheads: Psycho Killers On the Loose

*Adapted from* Workers Hammer *No. 101, October 1988, newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

Several years ago, television audiences around the world watched in horror as the 1985 European Cup Final football (soccer) match in Brussels between Liverpool and the Juventùs of Torino, Italy exploded in bloody slaughter. Hundreds of people were maimed and 38 killed as British fans attacked Italian spectators in the terraces. This wasn't just a spontaneous outburst of mindless football violence. The sinister forces spearheading this nationalist carnage were the pathological fascistic killers known as "skinheads."

For black and Asian people in Britain's cities, this horror has become a daily fact of life and a deadly racist threat. For nearly two decades, skinheads have been on the scene, terrorizing especially the Asian population. The firebombing of shops and homes, the razor and knife mutilations, the scrawled swastikas and "white power" slogans have reached epidemic proportions. In heavily Asian Newham in London's East End a racist attack occurs once an hour. In London Southall a young Asian man was found with the initials of the fascist Young National Front carved into his stomach.

These violent white racist thugs were spawned in the squalor of crisis-ridden British society, in the remnants of a racist Empire. This is no youth "fad" of kids drunk on rock music, beer and glue-sniffing, addicted to football and fighting, angry at being stuck in grimy slums and unemployment centers. Warped and twisted by a capitalism in terminal decline, they are human garbage. From their black combat-style "bovver boots" to their shaven heads, they *aim to intimidate, to terrorize, to maim and to murder*.

In the past few years, the skinheads have become that rarest of commodities in Thatcher's Britain—an international export. From France to West Germany to the U.S. these dregs of a decaying system flaunt the regalia of Hitler's Third Reich, giving the Nazi stiff-arm salute, "rocking" to the racist beat of "Oi" music. And wherever these fascist "bootboys" appear, they leave a trail of sadistic, senseless, racist violence.

Now the organized fascists—the National Front in Britain, Le Pen's Front National in France, neo-Nazis in West Germany—have moved in on this white youth "movement" of race-hating despair. They are the raw material for the shock troops of fascism. They are a deadly menace to every racial minority everywhere, to everything associated with civilized society. They must be stamped out and swept away.

### Thatcher's Britain: Social Rot and Racist Terror

The social rot of deindustrialized Britain, with its millions of unemployed, the grim wasteland of empty factories, dead docklands and closed mines, has created a generation of enraged, hopeless, more or less permanently lumpenized youth. In his book *The National Front*, Martin Walker wrote:

> "Britain of the early 1970s was being widely compared to the Weimar Republic of Germany in the latter 1920s. The imminent economic crisis, the permissiveness of cultural life spilling over into the sordid lasciviousness of Soho, the new blunt power of the trade unions, inflation, the impotence of Government—there was a sense of the brink, of instability and of fearsome, frightful collapse."

Freed/Magnum

**In Thatcher's Britain criminal lumpen skinhead gangs terrorize, maim and murder Asians, blacks and other minorities.**

## Crush Neo-Nazi Vermin!

Hitler's "National Socialists" exploited immiseration and unemployment, channeling lumpen and petty-bourgeois rage into their pogroms and genocidal Holocaust against the Jewish people. Today the NF and skinheads strike out at Britain's immigrant population as the scapegoat for Britain's economic decline.

In the late 1960s and '70s, Tories and Lahour alike began pushing ever tougher anti-immigration legislation. When Enoch Powell spewed his racist "rivers of blood" demagogy, he gave voice to the vicious racism behind the parliamentary measures and legitimized fascist "direct action." Blood flowed on the streets at the hands of "Paki-bashing" white gangs. By the 1979 general election, the National Front was fielding 300 candidates, but Margaret Thatcher won over much of their electoral base with her own unrestrained anti-immigrant ravings.

The NF and other fascist outfits experienced a prolonged period of fracturing, turning more toward open street terror against Asians, blacks and others. Not bound by the fetters of electoral campaigning, the British Movement recruited heavily on this basis. Factional struggle raged within the fascist movement, with one wing identifying itself as "Strasserite," so-called after the populist-demagogic spokesman of the Hitlerite Brownshirts, the SA, the criminal lumpen terror gangs who were the shock troops for Hitler's rise to power.

For decades, the desperate conditions of British society have provided a culture medium for various violent youth gangs to spawn and flourish. The decade of the '60s was marked by bloody street battles between mods and rockers. The skinheads came out of this culture medium, but from the very start they were identified by their proclivity to gratuitous, racist violence. In "Oi" music, they found the "cultural" expression of their sadistic nihilism. Those youth who choose to become skinheads do so not as a "matter of taste," hut because they want to become racist killers as their way of expressing outrage with society.

An insight into the sort of psychopathic and degenerate creatures these budding fascists see as their idols can be found in one Ian Stuart, former lead singer for the skinhead band Skrewdriver, "a squat, powerfully-built man with a Mussolini-style bonehead haircut and a taste for paramilitary clothes" (*Observer*, 4 September). Stuart proudly proclaims, "I think Adolf Hitler was the greatest man who ever lived." He became a card-carrying NFer in 1979. In 1986 he was sentenced to 12 months for a street attack on a Nigerian in the King's Cross area of London.

Stuart has been instrumental in the formation of a "musical organization" which calls itself Blood and Honour, linking not only European fascist groups but also the Ku Klux Klan and White Aryan Resistance in the U.S. as well as the South African Afrikaans Resistance Movement. Other "Oi" bands feature names like No Remorse, Brutal Attack and Sudden Impact. Their "concerts," in reality fascist rallies, are orgies of racist insults against blacks and Jews, with "a brisk trade selling fascist literature, badges and records."

In Liverpool, a city with a black population going back several centuries, NF scum have stepped up attacks

*continued on page 13*

## Skinhead Racists Assault Family

In New York City's Greenwich Village on October 29 a gang of up to a dozen "skinheads" wearing heavy boots and sporting swastika tattoos severely beat a white man who objected to their racist slurs against blacks and Hispanics. William Stump, 31, of Bayonne, New Jersey was waiting with his wife and three-month-old baby at a PATH train platform near midnight when the attack took place.

According to a transit worker who witnessed the incident, one of the skinheads even tried to push the baby's stroller down a steep stairwell, but the father managed a defense by burning the thug's face with a lit cigarette. Police arrested and charged four skinheads, who boasted that they were members of a nationwide skinhead gang of white supremacists.

Ominously, three of the four accused attackers are from Philadelphia and environs: Matthew Andrews, 20; John Himmelstein, 23; and Harry Wilson, 17. While the KKK/skinheads have retreated in the face of massive opposition to their threat to stage a racist provocation in Philadelphia, this vicious attack shows their racist violence is an ever-present danger.

It is urgent for labor, minorities and all opponents of fascism to turn out at Independence Mall on November 5 to stop them.

Bill Clare

**William Stump, courageous victim of skinhead terror, with his wife Marianne and their baby.**

WV Photo

Chanting "We stopped the Klan!" thousands charge up Capitol Hill where Klan march was supposed to begin.

## Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982

# How Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan

The Ku Klux Klan threatened to march through the streets of the nation's capital, for the first time in over half a century. Behind these white-sheeted racist killers stood the Reagan White House, which had given the Klan the go-ahead to terrorize the overwhelmingly black population of Washington. More than 1,000 cops were called out to protect the hooded and robed lynchers. But there were no white sheets on the streets of D.C. that day. On 27 November 1982 the Klan didn't march, didn't rally, didn't put on its robes. Instead, along the route the KKK said it was going to march there flew the banners of more than 5,000 triumphant protesters, overwhelmingly black, who had rallied to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan.

It was the largest, most effective mass action against the fascists in decades. Initiated by the Spartacist League, it was built through mobilizing the social power and muscle of organized labor. The first, crucial support came from black waterfront unions in the Tidewater, Virginia area, the largest working-class concentration in the Southeast. Soon endorsements began coming in from longshore, machinists, auto workers and steel workers locals around the country. In Washington, officials of the teachers union, postal workers, laborers and the railway clerks vowed that labor wouldn't permit the KKK to stage its deadly provocation. In less than a week more than 70 union officials and locals had endorsed the mobilization that would stop the Klan.

This opened the way to bring out thousands from among the black and working-class population of the Washington area who rallied at First and Constitution, the site where the Klan was supposed to begin their parade of race-terror. The Klan's opponents came out in the face of powerful forces seeking to prevent the Mobilization. Mayor Marion Barry, a former leader of SNCC, gave the Klan a permit to march...and then left town. The night before the demonstration, the D.C. chief of police went on TV telling people to stay at home November 27. Washington Congressional delegate, black Democrat Walter Fauntroy, urged the population to "ignore the Klan." To keep them away he staged a "community unity" ploy with cheese handouts at churches and pray-ins at prisons.

The reformist left also tried to organize their own diversions. The All-Peoples Congress of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party held a rally at McPherson Square, *two miles* away from the Klan site and a couple of hours *after* the KKK's announced arrival. The APC/WWP had no intention of stopping the Klan—their gabfest was aimed at exploiting anger against the KKK and turning it into votes for the Democrats. It was a classic "popular front," tying the masses to the bourgeois politicians. So concerned were the Marcyites to avoid any "confrontation" that they alienated and set up many combative ghetto youths. When people tried to leave McPherson Square to go stop the Klan, they were penned in by a daisy chain of reformists. Those who got through were targets for the cops.

After a decade of rising racist terror and rampant union-busting, black Washington wasn't looking for a "free lunch" from Fauntroy. They didn't want to listen to liberal windbags drone on for hours. They were looking for a way to *fight back*, and *win*. They knew that if the Klan got away with parading through Washington it would be an incitement for fascists across the country to load up their guns and get out their lynch ropes. So three times as many came out to the Labor/Black Mobilization as to the reformists' hoax, because they knew we meant business. When the 28 KKKers who showed up in Washington that day looked down Capitol Hill and saw the thousands of determined protesters awaiting them, they stuffed their hoods and robes back into brown paper bags and were herded by the police into school buses.

The Labor/Black Mobilization gave a taste of the working class organized for power. The demonstration had the order, militancy and discipline of a general strike. Monitors squads included several members each from the Laborers union, AFSCME, Teamsters and transit workers, as well as waterfront workers from Norfolk and union supporters of the Spartacist League. Their presence ensured that there were no incidents or arrests despite an hour-long face-off with the cops at the assembly site, and we were able to hold a short, spirited victory rally in Lafayette Park despite mounted police itching to provoke and tear-gas demonstrators.

After the sniveling Klansmen were bused away and the cops pulled back their cordons and motorcycles from the Labor/Black Mobilization demonstration, thousands surged onto the streets chanting, "We Stopped the Klan!" The feeling of the working class organized for action and relying on its own strength was palpable. And not only to us. The sight of thousands of protesters, blacks and socialists, students and ghetto youth, backed up by the power of organized labor, marching in front of the White House shook the ruling class of this country. Reaganites and Democratic Party liberals, and their black front men, responded with an orgy of lies, slanders and redbaiting about "mob violence."

AP

Elsewhere in Washington, cops heaved black youth through store windows, bourgeois media screamed "looting."

Elsewhere black youth who had escaped the APC rally looking for the Klan were an easy target for the cops. People were clubbed, tear gassed and shoved through plate glass storefront windows. The media turned the cops' rampage into lurid stories of "violence" and "looting." They wanted to take back in newsprint the victory that we had won by stopping the Klan on the streets. Their violence-baiting of "Trotskyist radicals" slandered the SL and thousands of Washington's best black militants. The *Washington Times*, the voice of Korean arms manufacturer and guru Sun Myung Moon, ran a feature article about November 27 in their 30 November 1982 issue with the headline "Left-Wing Group Linked to D.C. Riot."

This mouthpiece for Reaganite reaction, which joined Ollie North in raising funds for contra terror in Nicaragua, accused the Spartacist League of "provoking violence" against the cops. The article smeared us as a violent, criminal, paramilitary, terrorist outfit. The aim was to destroy the revolutionary leadership and discredit the class-struggle strategy which mobilized militant black and white workers in the streets and stopped the KKK terrorists in Washington on November 27. But they didn't get away with it—too many people knew the truth.

The SL and Spartacus Youth League filed a libel suit, and the Moonie paper was forced to make a public apology. Stating, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League provoked violence on that day," the *Washington Times* (26 December 1983) was forced to eat its libelous words against our organization and the Labor/Black Mobilization. And on the "violence" charges, then-FBI director William Webster testified to a Senate subcommittee that police had not found "any indication" that the SL "did more than urge participation in the anti-*Klan* demonstration" by Washington residents, "who were and are unsupportive of the *Klan's* goals."

What the Spartacist League did on 27 November 1982 in Washington was to provide the leadership and organization that enabled the most politically conscious black militants and unionists to stop a dangerous threat to their community. Rather than the reformist dead-end of looking to the capitalist state and the Democratic Party, or engaging in no-win small-group confrontations like many frustrated radicals, the Trotskyists have a program to win, based on mobilizing the power of labor in independent class action.

As we marched triumphantly through the streets of the capital that day, the chant rang out: "1,2,3,4—Time to Finish the Civil War! 5,6,7,8—Forward to a Workers State!" ■

# Black Self-Defense in Lancaster County

Christiana, Pennsylvania, 11 September 1851: Armed self-defense routed slave catchers, inspired generation of abolitionist fighters. New York Public Library

# —Battle of Christiana— A Blow Against Slavery

Before dawn on the 11th of September 1851 a horn sounded from an old stone farmhouse near Christiana, Pennsylvania, a village between Philadelphia and Gettysburg. Upstairs seven black people—fugitive slaves—were watching for raiders. When they saw the posse of slave catchers, under the command of a United States marshal, ride into the yard, a black woman sounded the horn to call for defense. Armed black farmers filled the yard to do battle with axes, clubs, corn cutters, guns, anything at hand. In the clash a slaveowner was killed, his son seriously wounded. Taught a good lesson, the U.S. marshal fled.

The "Battle of Christiana" was an important victory for the anti-slavery fighters in the grim decade before the Civil War, when chattel slavery seemed indestructible. As the first nationally publicized, armed struggle against the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, the Christiana resistance proved that blacks determined to defend themselves could win. Its importance was far greater than the few slaves who were able to gain their freedom. For the South, Christiana symbolized Yankee opposition to the slave system. A North Carolina newspaper editorial threatened disunion: "unless the Christiana rioters [sic] are hung...WE LEAVE YOU!... If you fail in this simple act of justice, THE BOND WILL BE DISSOLVED" (quoted in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* [1987]).

But the government was not able to convict anyone for a crime at Christiana, because support for the resisters and hatred for the cruel injustice of the Fugitive Slave Law were so overwhelming. As the great radical abolitionist Frederick Douglass said in his *Life and Times*:

> "...the thing which more than all else destroyed the fugitive slave law was the resistance made to it by the fugitives themselves.... This affair, at Christiana...inflicted fatal wounds on the fugitive slave bill. It became thereafter almost a dead letter, for slaveholders found that not only did it fail to put them in possession of their slaves, but that the attempt to enforce it brought odium upon themselves and weakened the slave system."

### Militant Self-Defense Points the Way

The leader of the Christiana battle was William Parker, who at 17 escaped from bondage in Maryland in 1839. He made his way to Pennsylvania and settled near Christiana, just over the Susquehanna River, "the boundary of the slaveholding empire," beyond which slave-hunters feared to go. A community of black farmers had been established for some time in this area. Quaker farmers lived there, and although they were "nonresistant" (pacifists), they were anti-slavery and helped fugitives escape.

Here Parker married, raised a family and began farming. As he later wrote in his autobiography, *A Freedman's Story*: "I formed a resolution that I would assist in liberating everyone within my reach, at the risk of my own life, and that I would devise some plan for their entire liberation" (Jonathan Katz, *Resistance at Christiana* [1974]). In Lancaster County, just over the border from slaveholding Maryland, this was no idle resolution. A gang of pro-slavery hooligans, known as the "Gap Gang," regularly terrorized and kidnapped blacks to send into bondage. These racist thugs—the Ku Klux Klan of the day—were professional "man-stealers," and they operated with or without the open sanction of the state.

Soon Parker organized a small group of blacks for self-defense, who vowed to resist the kidnappers and make the area safe for their families. People called Parker "the preacher"; his house was a meeting place for anti-slavery people, white and black. His boldness and determination earned him the allegiance of the black people and the hatred of the racist kidnappers. A number of courageous rescues were carried out by Parker's group. One pro-slavery collaborator lost his barn to a fire. But in January 1851 the man-stealers forcibly abducted a young black man, breaking his skull and beating him so badly that his owner refused to pay them for their filthy work. Faced with the increased threat of the new Fugitive Slave Law, Parker and his comrades renewed their vow to risk death to stop the kidnappers.

The passage of the law in 1850 gave blatant federal support for the abduction of black people in any state, free or slave. Blacks were denied any legal recourse to prove their status as freemen, while the government could levy a $1,000 fine on U.S. marshals and

*continued on page 14*

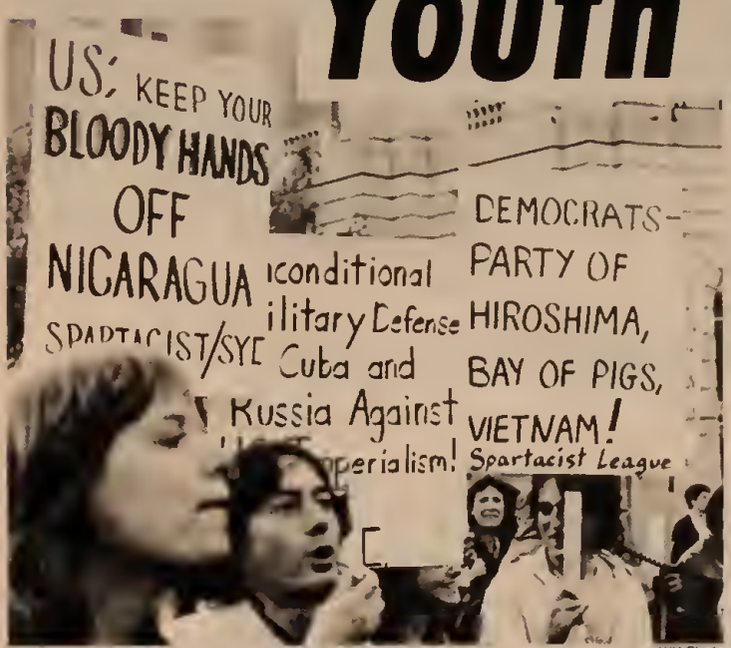
## Finish the Civil War!

Young Spartacus

Columbia University, March 1987: Spartacists honor heroes of anti-slavery struggle at demonstration against racist attacks on campus.

# Young Spartacus

# Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!



WV Photo

Young Spartacus

**Left: S.F. Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club demonstrate against sending U.S. troops to Honduras, March 18. Right: Madison SYC joins protest against racist attacks at University of Wisconsin, April 18.**

*Below we reprint a leaflet issued September 5 by the Spartacus Youth Clubs in Chicago and Madison.*

The Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) is a communist youth organization that intervenes in social struggles with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. The SYC is the youth group of the Spartacist League (SL), U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency. We are fighting to put an end to capitalist exploitation, imperialist war and racial, sexual and national oppression through world socialist revolution. We take as our example the Russian Revolution of October 1917, in which the Bolsheviks led the working class to state power.

**The Democrats and Republicans are partner parties of American capitalism.** Tactical differences aside, they agree on the basics: crush social struggle, roll back "communism" around the world and regiment the U.S. population for anti-Soviet war. But this is an election year, so the Democrats—the party that brought you Hiroshima and Vietnam—have to pose as friends of labor and the oppressed. Jesse Jackson, the ruling class' point man for defusing militant black struggle, says, "Don't fight! Vote Democrat!" But Malcolm X put it well: "A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat." Labor and blacks must break with the Democrats. What's needed is an integrated workers party to lead all the oppressed in a revolutionary struggle for a workers government, a fighting labor leadership that will replace the givebacks and sellouts of the current union misleaders with hard class struggle. Unchain the unions! For sit-down strikes to stop the plant closings and layoffs! Picket lines mean don't cross!

**American capitalist society is racist to the core.** Klan/Nazi scum march through urban black centers like Chicago while their brothers in blue uniforms administer Jim Crow terror in the ghettos. Only mass labor/black mobilizations can stop racist terror. SL-initiated united-front mobilizations of workers, black youth and other anti-racists backed by the power of organized labor have driven the fascists off the streets, from San Francisco to Detroit to Washington, D.C. Last year in Chicago, Spartacist supporters in the transit unions led a successful campaign which mobilized union action to defend black bus driver Cassandra Seay from a racist cop frame-up. Out of this victory, the Labor Black Struggle League was formed in Chicago to provide a basis for further working-class action for social defense.

On campuses across the country, racist and fascistic attacks have been on the rise. The SYC has intervened in anti-racist protests with a class-struggle program to drive the race-terrorists off campus! No reliance on capitalist university administrations—their job is to enforce the racist status quo! Liberal consciousness-raising won't stop the race-terrorists! Nationalist separatism is a dead-end strategy historically born of despair and pushed by demagogues like the sinister Louis Farrakhan. The SYC fights for revolutionary integrationism—black liberation through socialist revolution! Anti-racist students, black and white, must ally with the power of the integrated labor movement to smash the racists. As a Madison SYC leaflet stated: "A one-day strike by students, the TAA, teachers, campus workers and other unionists to *shut down the university* would do more to change the racist climate on campus than a thousand token reforms proposed by the union-busting administration."

**Free university education for all!** In capitalist society, education is not a right but a class privilege, tailored to producing the technicians, administrators and ideologues needed to keep the profit system going. Nationalize the private universities under student/teacher/worker control! For open admissions and free tuition, with a state-paid stipend to cover living expenses, in order to make universal access to education a reality.

**Women's liberation through socialist revolution!** Under the banner of "moral rearmament," the bourgeoisie is attempting to enforce puritanical "traditional values." For women this means "children, kitchen, church." Taking their cue from the White House, screaming mobs terrorize abortion clinics with firebombs. Last spring in Chicago, the SL/SYC and the Labor Black Struggle League joined a united-front demonstration that spiked an attempt by anti-abortion bigots to close down a clinic. For free abortion on demand! Down with reactionary age-of-consent laws! For free birth control! Billions for AIDS research! Labor must defend the rights of gays!

**Free all class-war prisoners!** The SYC fights alongside the Partisan Defense Committee (a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League) on behalf of the victims of this racist state's repression. The rulers of this country want to disappear class-war prisoners like Geronimo Pratt, a former leader of the Black Panther Party who has been in prison for 18 years, victim of an FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. It is our duty to make sure that this generation of militants takes up the fight to free Pratt and the many other victims of capitalist injustice. An injury to one is an injury to all!

**U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!** Democrats and Republicans share the aim of Yankee imperialism: to make the world safe for U.S. capitalist exploitation. That means arming Afghan Islamic fanatics who think it's a "crime" to teach a girl to read and unleashing murderous rapists against the uncompleted Nicaraguan Revolution. In Congress liberals and conservatives vote arms to anti-Communist guerrillas—puppets of apartheid South Africa—who battle the Cuban troops defending black Angola. Even civilian airliners in the Persian Gulf are considered fair game by the Pentagon war criminals! Our anti-imperialism is concrete. SYC members have traveled on

# We Have a World to Win!

# Nightmare of KKK Terror

## From The Autobiography of Malcolm X

Malcolm X in 1960. His autobiography opens with chilling account of Klan terror.

Gordon Parks

"When my mother was pregnant with me, she told me later, a party of hooded Ku Klux Klan riders galloped up to our home in Omaha, Nebraska, one night. Surrounding the house, brandishing their shotguns and rifles, they shouted for my father to come out. My mother went to the front door and opened it. Standing where they could see her pregnant condition, she told them that she was alone with her three small children, and that my father was away, preaching, in Milwaukee. The Klansmen shouted threats and warnings at her that we had better get out of town because "the good Christian white people" were not going to stand for my father's "spreading trouble" among the "good" Negroes of Omaha with the "back to Africa" preachings of Marcus Garvey.

My father, the Reverend Earl Little, was a Baptist Minister, a dedicated organizer for Marcus Aurelius Garvey's U.N.I.A. (Universal Negro Improvement Association). With the help of such disciples as my father, Garvey, from his headquarters in New York City's Harlem, was raising the banner of black-race purity and exhorting the Negro masses to return to their ancestral African homeland—a cause which had made Garvey the most controversial black man on earth.

Still shouting threats, the Klansmen finally spurred their horses and galloped around the house, shattering every window pane with their gun butts. Then they rode off into the night, their torches flaring, as suddenly as they had come....

Among the reasons my father had decided to risk and dedicate his life to help disseminate this philosophy among his people was that he had seen four of his six brothers die by violence, three of them killed by white men, including one by lynching. What my father could not know then was that of the remaining three, including himself, only one, my Uncle Jim, would die in bed, of natural causes. Northern white police were later to shoot my Uncle Oscar. And my father was finally himself to die by the white man's hand.

We went next, for some reason, to Lansing, Michigan.... This time, the get-out-of-town threats came from a local hate society called The Black Legion. They wore black robes instead of white. Soon, nearly everywhere my father went, Black Legionnaires were reviling him as an "uppity nigger" for wanting to own a store, for living outside the Lansing Negro district, for spreading unrest and dissension among "the good niggers."

I remember waking up to the sound of my mother's screaming again. When I scrambled out, I saw the police in the living room; they were trying to calm her down. She had snatched on her clothes to go with them. And all of us children who were staring knew without anyone having to say it that something terrible had happened to our father.

My mother was taken by the police to the hospital, and to a room where a sheet was over my father in a bed, and she wouldn't look, she was afraid to look. Probably it was wise that she didn't. My father's skull, on one side, was crushed in, I was told later. Negroes in Lansing have always whispered that he was attacked, and then laid across some tracks for a streetcar to run over him. His body was cut almost in half.

He lived two and a half hours in that condition. Negroes then were stronger than they are now, especially Georgia Negroes. Negroes born in Georgia had to be strong simply to survive.

It was morning when we children at home got the word that he was dead. I was six. I can remember a vague commotion, the house filled up with people crying, saying bitterly that the white Black Legion had finally gotten him." ■

## Stalinist Wreckers Try to Sabotage Anti-Fascist United Front

# Resignation from the YCL

23 October 1988

To the YCL and others,

When I joined the Young Communist League (the youth wing of the Communist Party USA), I did so on the impression that it was the party of Marx and Lenin, the party of the Russian Revolution. Both academic study and concrete political experience have shown me just how wrong that impression was.

As I see it, the basic ground rules for a Marxist-Leninist party are...

1) To look at the world as it really is, not how we would like it to be.

2) To understand that economics are the basic motive force in history.

3) To understand that class struggle has been the basic motive force of all political struggles since the rise of class society.

4) To take the side of the working class, the only class in modern society which has the interest and power to overthrow the present reactionary system of capitalism and to create a new socialist world.

5) To organize a vanguard party of professional revolutionaries that can be the tribune of the people and to organize this party under the principles of Democratic Centralism.

6) Finally, to intervene in the class struggle by winning over the most militant partisans of the working class to lead the class to victory.

Unfortunately, as far as I can tell, neither the Communist Party USA or the YCL understands these principles. If they did, they would not be calling for a vote for a capitalist candidate like Michael Dukakis. They would not pretend that the interests of the working class within the Soviet bloc countries are the same as those of the bureaucracies. These political problems are extremely grave. However, the YCL has committed yet another political crime.

For the last week and a half, I have been organizing with the Partisan Defense Committee to bring Wesleyan students down to Philadelphia to the united-front demonstration. Unlike the Students and Youth Against Racism group, who I worked with earlier, the PDC clearly stated the united-front demonstration was open to all Anti-Klan groups and individuals. Furthermore, they were relying on the social power of the labor movement to insure that the demonstration would remain disciplined and safe. This seemed to me to be the proper demonstration for a communist to participate in.

On the evening of 10/22, an organizer from the YCL called me and told me that whoever was organizing the demonstration, the RCP or the Spartacists or whoever...whoever they were, they were in the pay of the FBI and the CIA and were violent agent provocateurs and that the YCL and the labor movement wouldn't touch the demonstration with a 10-foot pole. Surprisingly, he did not claim that the Trotskyists were in the pay of the Nazis, the Mikado, British Intelligence and Satan, but then, *Pravda* seems to have somewhat softened its line on Trotsky lately. Furthermore, the YCL has been circulating these slanderous rumors around campus making our work doubly difficult.

Since so many groups are ignoring the Klan, and the YCL is actively seeking to sabotage, real anti-fascists must work harder. Nov. 5th must be made a day that the Klan won't forget. To do this, we must make sure that people know who is working against the Klan and who is not.

Therefore, I wish to publicly announce my resignation from the YCL

**CP calls on racist capitalist government to "outlaw" racism. Real communists mobilize labor/black power to stop fascists.**

and to denounce the organization for this political crime. If the Klan marches in Philadelphia, if the fascists are strengthened by this treachery, then it is the CP that must be held accountable. The whole irony of the situation is that the CP can whine to Mike Dukakis to ban the Klan, but if the fascists ever come to power here, the CP will be the first to go just as in Germany in 1933. Also, they wouldn't be the only ones.

D.H.

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work brigades to Nicaragua. From the campuses to the factory gates we raised over $25,000 which we sent directly to the Sandinistas to help them crush the contra scum. Across the country the SYC has taken the lead in organizing united-front demonstrations to drive CIA recruiters and ROTC off the campuses. Pacifists call for "disarmament"—but the blood-soaked U.S. ruling class will be disarmed only by workers revolution.

**Defend the Soviet Union!** Led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 successfully placed the working class in power for the first time in history. Despite Stalin's bureaucratic counterrevolution, which liquidated soviet democracy and wiped out thousands of revolutionaries including Trotsky, the USSR's collectivized, planned economy remains a historic gain for the world working class. We unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. The conservative ruling bureaucracy undermines Soviet defense with its pipe dream of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Gorbachev's betrayal of social struggles in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua only intensifies the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive. A political revolution led by a Trotskyist party is necessary to oust the bureaucracy, restore workers democracy and return the Soviet state to the path of Lenin and Trotsky, the path of revolutionary internationalism.

**We're looking for a few good communists.** We seek to win young people, whatever their class backgrounds, to a lifetime of partisanship to the struggles of the working class. The Spartacus Youth Club is an action-school for revolutionaries and serves as the student-youth auxiliary to the class-struggle opposition in the trade unions. If you hate the racism and oppression of this rotten capitalist system, if you want to eliminate the threat of nuclear annihilation, then you had better start fighting for a socialist America. The time to fight is now, and the way to start is to join the Spartacus Youth Club. ■

## Heirs of Stalin Revile Leninist Internationalism

# Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification

He was expelled, exiled, and eventually deported from the homeland of the revolution he had been instrumental in leading. Feared and vilified by imperialists and Stalinists alike, Leon Trotsky lived his last years on a "planet without a visa," hounded from one European country to another, hunted across the Atlantic, and finally struck down in Mexico in the vilest political murder of the century. But not even Stalin's assassins could silence the revolutionary internationalism which Leon Trotsky had come to personify. Today, the spectre of Trotsky continues to haunt the political heirs of Joseph Stalin. It is the spectre of the October Revolution.

*PART ONE OF TWO*

In the past year, scarcely a week has gone by without some reference to Trotsky in the Soviet press (see "Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution," *WV* No. 456, 1 July). Most recently the Soviet government announced it will publish unspecified writings by Trotsky in 1989. When the official Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* (9 September) recently devoted a full page to an account of the Stalin-Trotsky struggle acknowledging Trotsky's stature second only to Lenin during the revolution, it made international headlines. A month earlier *Argumenty i Fakty*, a journal directed to party cadre, carried a lengthy article entitled "L. Trotsky: Myths and Reality." And Gorbachev dramatist laureate Mikhail Shatrov's latest play, "Onward, Onward, Onward," depicts Trotsky declaring: "I am a soldier of the World Revolution."

What's going on? Is Leon Trotsky—co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution and the early Soviet state, founder of the Red Army, arch-nemesis of Stalin—finally about to be restored to his rightful place in Soviet history? No. That will not happen until the Soviet working masses return to *their* rightful place in power through a proletarian political revolution which shatters the Stalinist bureaucracy. The current leaders in the Kremlin are the heirs and defenders of a political counterrevolution which in 1924 usurped power from the Soviet proletariat and imposed a system of bureaucratic rule. Today, while neo-Brezhnevite opponents of Gorbachev's *glasnost* continue to traffic in outworn slanders of Trotsky from Stalin's day, the liberal intellectuals around Gorbachev resurrect an iota of the truth—not to praise Trotsky for being "the soldier of the World Revolution" but to more effectively bury him and the internationalist ideals for which he fought.

For years, to so much as utter a positive word about Trotsky was enough to be sent to a forced labor camp, or worse. History books were rewritten time and again, photographs retouched, museum exhibits carefully designed to erase any evidence of the roles played by such historic revolutionary figures as Gregory Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev, Nikolai Bukharin and, above all, Leon Trotsky. When high school history exams were suddenly canceled last spring for lack of credible textbooks, it was a striking admission by the Stalinist apparatus that the past has been buried in lies. This summer the photographs of Lenin's colleagues suddenly began appearing in Soviet museums. Their writings are supposedly being moved to open shelves from the closed archives where they gathered dust for years. And there are reports that *samizdat* versions of Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* are circulating.

Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika*—"restructuring" the Soviet economy along the lines of "market socialism"—mandates a "restructuring" of Soviet history as well, aimed at sweeping away the dross of outworn and shattered lies dating from the Stalin era. Having disowned Stalin, they anoint Stalin's ideological hatchet man Bukharin—purveyor of anti-socialist, anti-Leninist views like "socialism in one country" and "socialism at a snail's pace"—as Lenin's rightful political heir. A recent poll of Moscow residents commissioned by the *New York Times* found Bukharin more popular than any historic Soviet leader except V.I. Lenin himself. More startling was the fact that one out of nine interviewed had a favorable opinion of Trotsky, "The Demon of the Revolution" as *Pravda* called him.

In an unprecedented public call for Trotsky's rehabilitation published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* last June, Dr. Otto Latsis, the deputy editor of the authoritative party theoretical journal *Kommunist*, drew the line at juridical—but not political—rehabilitation: "Trotsky was expelled from the party not in 1937, but in 1927 for his anti-party activities." By his choice of dates, Latsis is saying: Stalin was right against Trotsky, but then he went "too far." In 1937, Stalin's terror consumed even loyal Stalinists; in 1927, the forces of Stalin *and Bukharin* rallied behind the nationalist banner of "socialism in one country," bureaucratically crushing the Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition. This was the "ideological struggle" Gorbachev praised during his speech on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution last year. According to Gorbachev:

> "Trotsky and the Trotskyites negated the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement.
> "In foreign policy they gave priority to export of revolution, and in home policy to tightening the screws on the peasants, to the city exploiting the countryside, and to administrative and military fiat in running society.
> "Trotskyism was... essentially an attack on Leninism all down the line."

The current Soviet regime views even the stodgy Brezhnev as some sort of closet "Trotskyite" for "exporting revolution" by sending troops to Afghanistan. Gorbachev rejects even lip service to the class struggle internationally; his colleagues blame the Soviet Union for the Cold War. And with all the injunctions to "return to Lenin," the Communist International is scarcely mentioned. What is missing on all sides in the debates wracking the Soviet press is precisely that which alone can open the road back to Lenin: *the centrality of an internationalist perspective*. Yet all the participants in the October Revolution knew that it was not simply a *Russian* revolution but the first stage of the *world* revolution. October 1917 was followed by revolutionary upheavals throughout Europe: Germany 1918-19, Hungary 1919, Italy 1920. In the U.S., there was a general strike and short-lived workers council in Seattle in 1919.

L.Y. Leonidov

**V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, co-leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, on its second anniversary, 7 November 1919. Soviet working class will restore Trotsky to his rightful place in history.**

Colonial peoples of the East were inspired to take up arms against their imperialist oppressors.

### "Old Thinking" vs. "New Thinking"

For all their self-styled "new thinking," after decrying the "blank spaces" in Soviet history, the Gorbachevites fill them in with their own selection of lies that were fashioned more than 60 years ago by Stalin/Bukharin. Their contribution to the arsenal of "anti-Trotskyism" is to obscenely dub the man who fought Stalin and Stalinism until his death as "another Stalin." Their purpose in this incredible slander is clear: by denouncing Trotsky they exorcise the internationalism of the October Revolution. As an article by Michal Reiman in the Eurocommunist Italian CP journal *Rinascità* (9 July) observed of the recent Soviet polemics against Trotsky: "By attacking him you can attack, from a nationalist standpoint, a whole revolutionary period of Bolshevism, describe it as foreign to Russian national history and the history of Bolshevism itself."

The question of Stalin vs. Trotsky

has featured prominently in the hyzantine ideological war hetween the Gorhachevites and their conservative opponents centered around the recently demoted Yegor Ligachev. For unreconstructed Brezhnevites, to credit Trotsky with *any* positive role in Soviet history is nothing short of heresy. On the eve of Gorbachev's 70th anniversary speech, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (27 September 1987), the flagship organ of anti-Gorhachev conservatives and of Russian nationalism, puhlished a scurrilous diatribe hy historical sciences professor V. Ivanov under the title "Repainting *Yudushka*." (In an angry note in 1911, Lenin had called Trotsky *Yudushka*, an allusion to a character in Russian literature, but which the Stalinists hahitually translate as "Judas.")

With the old Stalin lie that Trotsky was a lifelong agent of Hitler and the Mikado too discredited to he used, the Ivanov article retailed virtually every other anti-Trotsky vilification under the sun: he left his wife and children in Siberian exile, he joined the Bolsheviks only to subvert them from within, he tried to wreck preparations for the insurrection, he used the revolution to help his father (who "started 1917 with a wealth of nearly 1 million rubles") to set up a "'bread business' in famine-stricken Moscow." Etc., etc. *ad nauseam*. Ivanov tries to deny Trotsky's leading role in the October insurrection hy inanely passing it off as "just one month" spent as head of the Petrograd Soviet, where his "activity basically boiled down to the delivery of speeches."

In 1918 Stalin himself wrote that "All the work of practical organizatinn of the insurrection was carried out under the direct leadership of the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, comrade Trotsky." There is scarcely a page of John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* which does not mention Trotsky, detailing his central role in organizing the insurrection from his position as head of the decisive Petrograd Soviet and its Military Revolutionary Committee. In a personal introduction, Lenin "unreservedly" recommended Reed's book to the workers of the world as "a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution." Under Stalin, *Ten Days* was banned. When it reappeared after Stalin's death, it carried a caveat warning that the book "does not sufficiently reflect the stubborn struggle conducted by Lenin and his closest companions against the capitulators and against the tactical line of Trotsky."

The *Argumenty i Fakty* (20 August) article by historian N. Vasetsky criticizes "former leaders of the party" for "reducing Trotskyism entirely to Menshevism" instead of also attacking its "left-radical and ultraleft lines." For Vasetsky, you see, Stalin's policy of hrute terror and assassination was not enough; by failing "to carry on a full-scale ideological-political struggle against Trotskyism" it allowed a revival of Trotskyism among radicalized youth in the 1960s. But hy "political struggle" Vasetsky means the Big Lie—he even rehukes Stalin for the 1918 statement acknowledging Trotsky's leadership of the insurrection.

Like all Stalinist diatribes, Vasetsky's article is quick to point out that not until 1917 did Trotsky join the Bolsheviks. Before then, Trotsky failed to understand Lenin's unique contribution, that a disciplined, centralized party of the proletarian *vanguard* was key to revolutionary victory. Though Trotsky sided with the Mensheviks in the famous 1903 spht, politically his theory of permanent revolution placed him qualitatively to the left of the Mensheviks (who insisted that the coming revolution was to place the hourgeoisie in power), and prefigured Lenin's *April Theses*. The decisive test came in the crucible of revolution: Trotsky took Lenin's side as co-leader of the October Revolution in opposition to compromisers like Zinoviev and Kamenev, Lenin's erstwhile lieutenants. "From that time on," said Lenin, "there has been no hetter Bolshevik."

V.K. Bulls

**Lenin lays foundation stone for monument to Communist martyrs Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the heroes of the Paris Commune, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Petrograd, July 1920.**

Vasetsky acknowledges that Trotsky was head of the Red Army during the Civil War, yet claims "the Red Army gained victory on the fronts of the civil war not thanks to, but in fact in spite of the interference" of Trotsky. Vasetsky cites Trotsky's *My Life* as evidence that Trotsky intended to abandon Petrograd until Lenin overruled him. As Stalin said in *Marxism on the National Question*, "paper will put up with anything that is written on it." Vasetsky knows that his readers have no access to Trotsky's autobiography. If they did, they would find that it was *Lenin* who raised the question of abandoning Petrograd. Trotsky quickly won Lenin and the rest of the Politbureau over and authored a decree: "To defend Petrograd to the last ounce of blood, to refuse to yield a foot, and to carry the struggle into the streets of the city."

Of course it's hard to maintain the sort of utter falsification practiced by Vasetsky and Co. without simply banning all evidence to the contrary as Stalin did. So *glasnost* leading light Yuri Afanasyev chastises tour guides at the Smolny Institute, headquarters of the revolution, for not pointing out Trotsky's office. Yet Afanasyev promotes a more sophisticated version of *Sovetskaya Rossiya*'s rewriting of the insurrection to "delete" Trotsky's central role in it by listing him among "opponents of the uprising," claiming that "Trotsky and his supporter Stalin believed in legal methods of assuming power through the Congress of Soviets. Hence their attempts to postpone the uprising until the opening of the Congress" (*Moscow News*, 15 November 1987).

As head of the Institute of Historical Archives, Afanasyev is certainly in a position to know the truth. There *were* opponents of an uprising in the party, *but Trotsky stood solidly with Lenin against them*. In the weeks leading up to the insurrection, Lenin expressed extreme impatience with the party's slowness in preparing the uprising. So did Trotsky. As head of the Military Revolutionary Committee Trotsky placed the entire Petrograd garrison—the armed power—under the command of the Bolshevik-controlled Soviet. He successfully used the preparations for the upcoming Congress as a defensive cover for the Bolsheviks' offensive that brought down the Provisional Government. Lenin's "difference" with Trotsky stemmed largely from the fact that, in hiding in Finland, he was cut off from the party's day-to-day tactics. When he arrived in Smolny on the night of October 24, alarmed by rumors of conciliatory negotiations, he found the insurrection already underway.

Lenin had good cause to fear. Back in March, Stalin and Kamenev had given conditional support to the bourgeois Provisional Government. While Kamenev and Zinoviev opposed an insurrectionary seizure of power outright, Stalin played his usual waiting game to see which faction would come out on top. It was *Trotsky* who led the fight against the leadership majority which voted to participate in the Kerenskyite "Pre-Parliament," an action counterposed to the seizure of power. Lenin wrote: "Trotsky was for the hoycott. Bravo, Comrade Trotsky!" When Zinoviev and Kamenev publicly denounced Bolshevik plans for insurrection, Lenin insisted they he expelled as "strikebreakers." Stalin unilaterally decided to run Zinoviev's reply in *Pravda*, and for good measure added a sympathetic editorial comment condemning the "sharp tone of comrade Lenin's article" and covering over the sharp split by asserting that "we are fundamentally in agreement."

When the anti-Trotsky *troika* of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev usurped power upon the death of Lenin they began turning the truth of the revolution on its head, labeling Trotsky a Menshevik while covering over their own opportunist roles. Thus began the Stalinist mythology of "Trotskyism" as anti-Leninism. Those who had flinched in the face of revolution in the first place now set out to malign and eliminate its leaders. The dead Lenin was turned into an icon; the living Trotsky was rendered a demon. Stalin took this process to its logical, bloody conclusion—making the erstwhile Menshevik counter-revolutionary Vishinsky (who signed Kerensky's arrest warrant for Lenin in 1917!) the prosecutor in the slaughter of Lenin's colleagues.

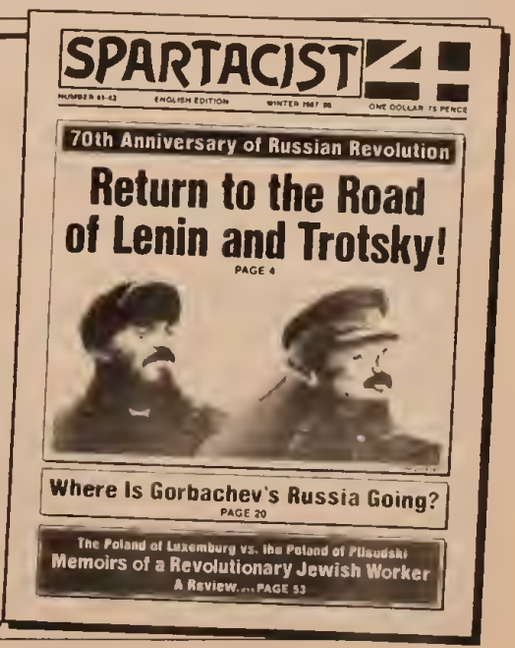
Trotsky exposed the various smears and slanders (which continue to be churned out to this day) *more than 60 years ago* in his "Letter to the Bureau of Party History" (October 1927), reprinted in *The Stalin School of Falsification*. In a 1931 introduction, he explained: "The so-called struggle against 'Trotskyism' grew out of the bureaucratic reaction against the October Revolution and out of the urge for national tranquility. That the past was falsified and altered is not at all due to personal intrigue, nor is it an outgrowth of clique squabhles, as commonly depicted by the banal bourgeois historiographers." And now by the banal Gorbachevite historiographers.

[TO BE CONTINUED]


**Spartacist**
**English Edition**
**No. 41-42**
**Winter 1987-88**
**(64 pages)**
**$1.00**

(*Spartacist* is sent to all *WV* subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to Spartacist Publishing Co Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116



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**Martin Perlich**, Writer/Producer, Los Angeles, CA
**Kelih Phelps**, Business Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1064,* Dearborn, MI
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**Mark von Hagen** Assi Professor of History, Columbia University,* New York, NY
**VVN, Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime**, West Berlin, Germany
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**Ronalte Youmans**, member, Human Rights Committee and House of Representatives of United Teachers of Los Angeles,* Los Angeles, CA
**Richard Ziebell** President, UAW Local 477,* Chicago, IL

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

*We want to make it very clear that endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with written material about the mobilization published by the Partisan Defense Committee in initiating the mobilization or by others.*

# Klan Won't Ride...

*(continued from page 1)*

AFSCME Local 2586, SEIU Local 668, RWDSU Local 1034, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the Philadelphia Area Labor Committee Against Apartheid.

Nationally, more than 100 union locals and officials are supporting the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK. Endorsers include ILA locals in Jacksonville and Norfolk, Machinists locals in the L.A. area and New York City, presidents and locals of the Steelworkers union in Gary, East Chicago and Sudbury, Ontario, bus drivers in San Francisco, two divisions of TWU Local 100 in New York, ILWU officials in California.

Endorsements have also come in from prominent civil rights activists, local and national political figures, student and other groups. Four Philadelphia city councilmen, U.S. representatives Ron Dellums and Charles Hayes and former Congressman Parren Mitchell have endorsed. Also Operation PUSH; Gale Sayers, legendary former Chicago Bears star; former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt); ex-Panther and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal and Civil War historian James McPherson. At Temple University in Philadelphia the black and gay student unions are energetically building the November 5 anti-Klan mobilization. In New York City, student governments and councils at CCNY, Hunter and Columbia have endorsed

In Philadelphia's Hispanic community, state representative Ralph Acosta, leaders of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights and of local community groups are supporting the November 5 Mobilization. Internationally, the Canadian LCUC postal workers as well as officials of the CUPW and UTU in Toronto and the fishermen's union in Vancouver are backing the call. From Mexico, Esteban Volkov, curator of the Leon Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán; from Puerto Rico, the UTIER electrical workers; in Germany the Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime (VVN), the Greens parliamentary fraction and Peter Brandt are among the endorsers.

The breadth and depth of this support has been vital. All over the country, the racists and union-busters have been getting away with everything up to and including murder. Labor has taken a pounding: thousands of PATCO air controllers fired, their leaders dragged away in chains; billions in "giveback" contracts shoved down unions' throats, "two-tier" wage schemes dividing their ranks. The ghettos have been devastated by unemployment, social spending is slashed to the bone to finance the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, millions are homeless and hungry, and now come laws to throw women and children off welfare.

And in Philadelphia, from Rizzo to Goode it's been war on blacks and unions. Both the "mayors of murder" waged a deadly vendetta against MOVE, culminating in the mass murder of 13 May 1985. Small wonder that the KKK and skinheads—whose mutual hero is Adolf Hitler—thought they had a green light to parade their racist filth in Philly! Plenty of people would like to fight back and turn this situation around if they could see a way to do it. Even one major successful strike could unlock the impasse. But what's necessary is militant leadership to mobilize labor/black power in class struggle.

### A Battle for Philly

As soon as we publicized the mobilization call, as soon as it was clear that one way or another the KKK/skinheads would *not* strut unchallenged through the center of this city on November 5, various forces moved into high gear, not to stop the KKK, but to stop the anti-Klan mobilization. The last thing some highly placed bourgeois "city fathers" wanted to see was labor and minorities flexing their muscle.

They tried violence-baiting the anti-fascist mobilization—hoping to make the anti-Klan mobilization off-limits to the people of Philadelphia and to strong-arm its supporters into backing off, or at least to pressure the Park Service into canceling the demonstrations. They tried organizing "ignore the Klan" diversions. They tried everything, but nothing worked. They came up against solid support for a militant anti-Klan demonstration whose backbone was the integrated labor movement.

On October 19, the Fellowship Commission, led by real-estate developer Willard Rouse, III, announced plans to hold an event the day *before* the planned KKK rally. It ended up being canceled. A group around state representative David Richardson began talking of a "get out the vote" rally timed to draw people away from the mobilization—nothing came of it. The efforts to spike the mass anti-Klan event began with an appeal by the mayor just hours after the Mobilization's first press conference. Issue No. 3 of the *November 5 Mobilization Notes* (31 October), regularly distributed to the far-flung endorsers of the mobilization call, recorded the week-long battle:

"**Monday, 24 October**—The November 5 Mobilization held a press conference at the Pennsylvania Social Services Union hall. The time and place (then the third block of the mall) of the demonstration was announced. The conference, chaired by Al Nelson who spoke for the Partisan Defense Committee, received considerable coverage, including news reports on Philadelphia radio stations WCAU, WIP, WHYY and WWDB. Speakers included Gerald Tittermary and Charles Valenta of RWDSU Local 1034, Shannon Duffy of the Temple Lambda Alliance, and Gene Herson and attorney Rachel Wolkenstein of the PDC. A statement was read from Maxine McCleary of AFSCME Local 2586, and a union motion from the PSSU.

"That afternoon, Mayor Wilson Goode responded by calling on the Park Service to deny a permit to all groups seeking to demonstrate on November 5. Goode said the demonstrations would be 'a clear and present danger' which 'can lead to ugly confrontation'."

Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Marjorie Stamberg shot back that after his bombing of the MOVE commune, which burned to death eleven black people, including five children, "Mayor Goode, like former Mayor Frank Rizzo, is a proven, clear and present danger to the well-being of all Philadelphians, especially, but not limited to, black people" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 25 October). The *Mobilization Notes* continued its account:

"**Tuesday, 25 October**—The Mobilization received a call from the Police Department asking if we would call off the demonstration if the Klan backed down. We told them no way....

"**Wednesday, 26 October**—The day of the Park Service/KKK pact. Following weeks and weeks of Park Service public statements that the Klan would get a permit if they applied, and telling us that Judge Lewis Quadrangle was reserved for the Klan [!] the government, citing 'a substantial likelihood of violence from others,' signed an agreement with the KKK (under the alias United States League of White Christian Patriots) 'holding in abeyance any determination' on the Klan's rally permit. Superintendent Hobart Cawood of the Independence National Park, grotesquely praised the Klan race-terrorists as 'straight forward' and seeking 'to conduct an orderly demonstration.' Cawood specifically slandered the PDC as 'violent.'

"Partisan Defense Committee staff members went all out Wednesday night and Thursday morning to counter the government's violence-baiting of the anti-Klan mobilization. At 11 p.m. a press release went out, and an early morning demand for a retraction was sent to superintendent Cawood....

"**Thursday, 27 October**—At 10:30 a.m., PDC representatives met with National Park Service and Philadelphia Police Department officials. The Park Service handed over a copy of their joint statement with the KKK and a written retraction of the previous day's vile slander: 'All the information available to us indicates that your group intends to sponsor a lawful, orderly

*continued on page 12*

## A Victory Against the Klan!

## Partisan Defense Committee Press Release

**11 p.m., October 26**

**In the face of the massive outpouring of opposition to the terroristic KKK from groups and individuals representing tens of thousands of union members, civil rights activists, community groups, students and others, the Klan's threat to invade the city of Philadelphia November 5 has reportedly been "put on hold."**

**This is a victory against the Klan. The All Out to Stop the KKK mobilization will be at Independence Mall at 9 a.m., November 5 with a mass labor-centered demonstration of thousands to honor the working people who built this country, and to guarantee that the Klan does not ride in Philly.**

**An agreement between the National Park Service and the Ku Klux Klan is no assurance that the decent people of Philadelphia are safe from the Klan's racist terror. The Klan has never waited for permits to carry out their lynchings, firebombings and murder. Even when they appear in small numbers they feed upon and into every kind of racial fear—they are poison to any useful integrated action, like winning strikes.**

**We vehemently protest the accusation that violence would be engendered by our demonstration, which will be militant, orderly and democratic. We repeat: the KKK and skinheads are killers. If the labor movement in Germany had stopped the Nazis when they were small, there never would have been the Holocaust. Violence-baiting and red-baiting those who want to stop the Klan only serves to encourage violent attacks by the Klan on the people of Philadelphia. We are determined that the horror perpetrated by Nazi Germany must not happen here.**

**—Statement of the Partisan Defense Committee, initiator of the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia**

Wirtz/Philadelphia Inquirer

**Militant Philadelphia city workers protest Mayor Goode's cutbacks and layoffs, June 1988. Integrated labor movement has the power to beat union-busters and lead social struggles of all the oppressed.**

## It Takes $$$ to Make Sure the Klan Won't Ride in Philly!

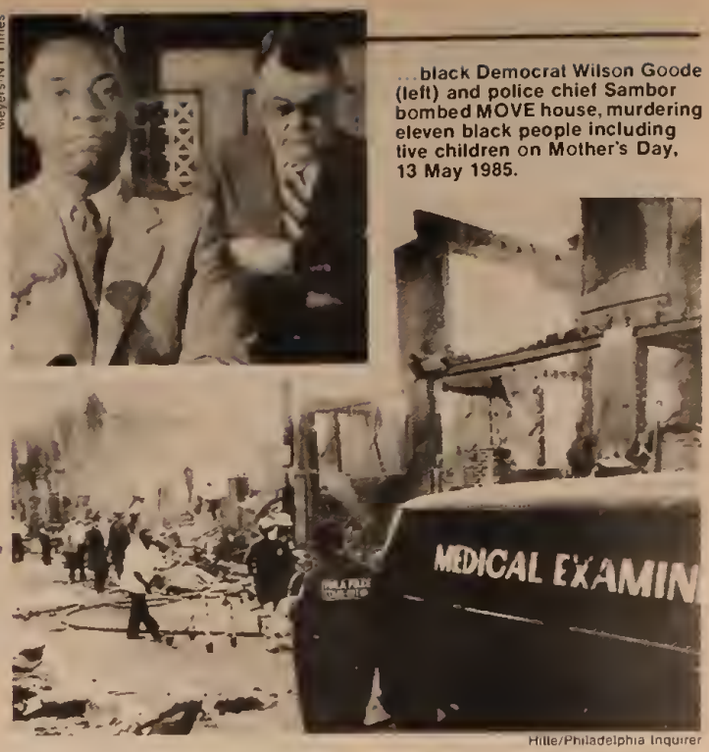
**IT TAKES $$$$ AND PEOPLE TO STOP THE KLAN—dig deep and donate NOW! Get your union, community group to pledge. Expenses are mounting. We expect to print over 350,000 leaflets and thousands of posters. We'll need over $7,500 just for printing costs, and much, much more to get the word out and to get buses in. We need you and your help. Call us at (215) 790-1822 or your Partisan Defense Committee representative. Send your contribution to:**

**November 5 Mobilization**
**c/o Partisan Defense Committee**
**P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station**
**New York, NY 10013**
**or:**
**November 5 Mobilization**
**1530 Locust Street, Suite #92**
**Philadelphia, PA 19102**

Philadelphia Daily News

AP

**Mayors of Murder: Racist pig Frank Rizzo (above) as Philadelphia deputy police commissioner led cop riots against black ghetto in 1964...**



Meyers/NY Times

**...black Democrat Wilson Goode (left) and police chief Sambor bombed MOVE house, murdering eleven black people including five children on Mother's Day, 13 May 1985.**




Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

# Klan Won't Ride...

*(continued from page 11)*

demonstration and I regret that anything I said may have indicated otherwise.'...

"Friday, 28 Octoher—Plans to proceed with the November 5 Mobilization received widespread media coverage, including the *Daily News*, *Tribune*, *Inquirer* and WCAU radio and TV. The *Daily News* captioned a picture of Cawood: 'Was he too nice to the Klan?' On the Friday evening news, WCAU Channel 10—which knew that Cawood [had] had to retract his slanders—broadcast an attack on the anti-Klan mobilization inspired by the Anti-Defamation League. The PDC demanded an immediate retraction.

"A letter by the PDC staff counsel to the ADL protested the remarks of the ADL's Barry Morrison which violence-baited the Mobilization and told people to stay away. The ADL was founded to prevent—not 'ignore'—Klan terror after the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank in Georgia. If the German workers movement had stopped the Nazis when they were small there would never have been a Holocaust! ADL slanders of anti-fascists play into the hands of the worst enemies of Jewish and black people."

These Zionist redbaiters apparently hate communists and blacks more than they do the Nazis who murdered six million Jews. They forget that they are not living in Israel, where the ruling class is Jewish. The ADL deludes itself thinking that by attacking black and red "extremists" they will ingratiate themselves with the centrally *white Christian* American rulers—under an administration endorsed by the anti-Semitic KKK terrorists. Both they and anti-Semitic black nationalist Louis Farrakhan fail to understand that if gas chambers start operating in the U.S. of A. blacks and Jews will be thrust into them *together*.

But this vile baiting of the anti-Klan mobilization didn't work either. The next day a meeting of the Black United Front Coalition, which had earlier floated the "get out the vote" rally idea, voted to support the Novemher 5 Mohilization and to give credit to the PDC for stopping the KKK. And courageous Israeli civil libertarian and concentration camp survivor Israel Shahak sent a message: "As an opponent of racism in any form and in any country, and especially the fight against racism here in Israel and in the Occupied Territories, I support the struggle against the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia and the rally against their march there...."

What's behind the gratuitous redbaiting and violence-haiting is an alignment of *class* forces. On one side, representatives of the bourgeois order who want to keep the lid on social struggle against the reaction; on the other, important sectors of organized labor and oppressed minorities who understand that the Klan/Nazis mean death, and who want to fight. The Mobilization could not be stopped because it had tapped the enthusiastic support of large numbers of people who despise the racist terrorists. The key was a determined leadership.

*We, the working people and minorities, won a battle. On November 5 we should celebrate that victory in Philadelphia, and mobilize our forces to keep the race-haters, redbaiters and union-busters on the run.*

### Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

How to do it, how to fight back and win? Philadelphia gives you a sense of what labor can do when it relies on its numbers, militancy, organization and discipline. If the unions stood shoulder-to-shoulder on the picket lines like this instead of the usual backstahbing, there'd be an end to the cycle of busted unions, broken strikes and givebacks and takeaways. The Kluxers would creep back into their swampwater hideouts while the skinhead filth would slink into the sewers instead of terrorizing the streets. But the unions can't fight because they're shackled to the parties of capitalism, and they play by the bosses' rules.

And any serious class struggle is necessarily a political struggle, against *both* the partner parties of American capitalism. Few workers and minorities today have any illusions in Bush or Dukakis, but many expect more from Jesse Jackson. Jackson is the living disproof of his own hype that if he can make it, any black person can make it in America. He's done everything to convince the racist Democratic bosses that he can be relied on, appealing for anti-drug witch-hunts while dismissing the Klan, saying "we've lost more by dope than by the rope." When 10,000 marched for school integration in Norfolk in 1983, Jackson told them to forget busing, vote Democrat. After Howard Beach, he preached we have to stop dwelling "on that which pulls us apart," obscenely excusing the lynch mob. And what's it gotten him?

Among self-proclaimed socialists it should be axiomatic that the working class can only rely on its own forces to free itself from capitalist exploitation and oppression. In addition to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs and Labor/Black Leagues in New York, Chicago and the Bay Area, who have thrown themselves into the campaign from the beginning, a few other left groups have joined those calling for a mass labor-centered action. The Freedom Socialist Party, Fourth Internationalist Tendency and Radical Women have endorsed, as have the Philadelphia New Alliance Party and the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

But the Communist Party looks to the racist government to "ban the Klan." The CP, which hacks Goode to the hilt and grotesquely whitewashes his role in bombing MOVE, has refused to join the mobilization while (particularly at Wesleyan University) violence-baiting those who would stop the Klan/skinheads. Sam Marcy's Workers World/All-Peoples Congress, which habitually seeks a popular front with the Democratic Party, sought to organize a *show of weakness* against the fascists: its initial press statement talked of bringing only *200 people* rather than a show of strength by thousands. Unable to find any pop-front partners and spurning the PDC call for a principled united front, the Marcyites are trying to organize a sideshow on the fringes of the November 5 mobilization.

The nationalist African Peoples Socialist Party has been blustering about stopping the Klan "by any means necessary," while simultaneously petitioning Mayor Goode to ban the Klan. On a recent radio show in Philly a frenzied APSP spokesman baited a black PDC representative as a "carpet-bagger," using the language of the former slaveowners against those Northern radicals who supported the anti-slavery Reconstruction after the Civil War. Meanwhile the chauvinist fake-Trotskyists of the Workers League have the dubious distinction of having one of their supporters in NYC transit be the only member in his union meeting to vote against endorsing the anti-Klan mobilization. Fortunately, the antics of the fake-left have had little impact.

All these so-called socialists aim their sights no higher than making some friends and winning a bit of influence among "progressive" bourgeois politicians and/or the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy. Without a willingness to challenge the capitalist state and the parties of capitalist reaction there can he no real victories for labor. We of the Spartacist League are fighting to forge a workers party that acts as a tribune of all the people, fighting against the deadly chauvinism that pits one section of the working masses against another. Uniquely on the American left we solidarized with the MOVE family from the beginning. The resurgence of Klan terror today is part of the price that Philadelphia unions are paying for their passivity in the face of that racist massacre.

But now the workers and oppressed have put the Klan on the run. In contrast to the dreary and sterile elections, here is a chance to strike a real blow against oppression. And out of this powerful struggle we seek to win a core of militants that will join with us to smash this rotting capitalist system through workers revolution. All Out to Stop the Klan Novemher 5! ■

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The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

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For a single copy send $1 to:

Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013

# Skinheads...

*(continued from page 3)*

on integrated couples and families. In London, skinheads recently attacked a lesbian bar, slashing women with broken glass, leaving more than 20 battered. The fascists have particularly targeted football, the plebeian sport of Britain, for their recruitment campaigns. "To spend nearly a week with the tough-nut core of English soccer is to start to doubt the location of the boundaries of civilisation," observed a *Sunday Telegraph* magazine reporter.

> "The reason that television broadcasts of international football games never show the English fans while the pre-match national anthem is being played is that the English pens are a solid mass of Nazi salutes.... A chorus of gorilla-like grunts or a barrage of bananas from the English terraces greet opposing black players."

### Skinhead Terror Spreads

The skinhead phenomenon has been spreading its poison through Europe. In Britain, they feed off pervasive depression and despair; on the continent they have appeared together with the mass unemployment of the '80s. As well the "skins" have become fashionable among petty-bourgeois elements who want to get their kicks by kicking the shit out of "foreigners." While Britain reportedly has several tens of thousands of skinheads, there are now some 2,000 in West Germany and several hundred in France as well (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 19 August).

In the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, skinheads and other fascists have also targeted football fan clubs as a prime recruiting ground. Every Saturday shouts of "Sieg Heil!" and "*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*" are bellowed out in the stadiums. The National Socialist Action Front of Michael Kühnen dominates the Hamburg "Lions" club, while the Eagle Front in Frankfurt includes former members of the "Hoffmann Defense Sport Group," the murderous Nazis who set off a bomb at the 1980 Munich Oktoberfest, killing 13 and seriously injuring over 200.

The deadly menace of the Hitler-loving bands in West Germany has been documented in the book *Nazis, Skins und alte Kameraden* (1986), edited by Georg Biemann and Joachim Krischka. In December 1985, Turkish immigrant Ramazan Avci was murdered by a gang of some 30 skins screaming "Turks out!" Then a black man was beaten at night at a subway station by skins who smeared him with swastikas and the slogan "Nigger out—White Power!" Earlier, in July 1983, a woman was stabbed by a skin after replying that she was Turkish.

These deadly racist assaults are not just the work of some deranged fringe elements. While neo-Nazi bands yelling "Heil Hitler!" and sporting SS symbols or the Prussian eagle beat up Turks, the respectable politicians in Bonn, both rightist Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, pass legislation to force out immigrants and set up concentration camps for Sri Lankan Tamils seeking asylum.

But the fascist punks have also met with opposition. In October 1983, when the West German football team played Turkey in the Olympia Stadium in Berlin, neo-Nazi gangs threatened to assault Turks in the heavily immigrant Kreuzberg neighborhood. "Sports" clubs with names like Zyklon-B (the gas used by the Nazis in their death camps) and skinheads with bomber jackets proclaiming "Proud to Be a German" vowed "Kreuzberg must burn." West Berlin unions responded to the planned orgy of racist terror with a 3,000-strong "friendship walk" and attempts to drown out the fascist chants during the game.

**Top: Ligue Trotskyste de France protests Le Pen's racist attacks on immigrants, March 1988. Bottom: German Trotskyists demonstrate against Nazis in Berlin, April 1988.**

More recently, skinheads attacked a dormitory for refugees seeking asylum, in Schriesheim on January 30, the anniversary of Hitler's seizure of power. When Kühnen's ANS thugs called for a pogrom against a Hamburg refugee dormitory on February 20, several hundred leftists countermobilized to stop them. While various reformists called on the West German imperialist state to ban the fascists, a contingent of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, called for mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists.

The skinhead "phenomenon" has now spread to France as well, where Le Pen's National Front fascists won 10 percent at the polls last April. On May Day, squads of shaved-head thugs formed up on the Champs-Elysées in a Le Pen provocation against the international workers day. And recently a homeless man was murdered outside Lille, his head kicked in by a skinhead. Hundreds outraged by this atrocity marched through the city under a banner reading "Skinheads, Nazis, Vermin."

Last May, for the first time the skinheads staged a Europe-wide "action," converging on Normandy for a "Nazi rock concert." In Rouen and Brest this turned into a nightmare of racist violence as they attacked North Africans, Asians and blacks from the Antilles. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France responded with a protest demonstration the next day at Sotteville, near Rouen, where a Moroccan-owned bar was assaulted by the fascists. LTF signs called for "Union/Immigrant Self-Defense Groups" and for "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants."

### Not "A Matter of Taste"

It is only in the absence of a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement that the barbaric skinhead scum can fester and grow. Yet while the British population at large rightly loathes and fears these killers, much of the left denies any identification of the skinheads with fascism, and even invites them into its midst. An article in the anti-fascist journal *Searchlight* (September 1986) exposed a nest of fascists with histories of violent racist attacks *being hired as stewards* by gay pride, CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and anti-apartheid events. Denouncing the "complacency of many progressive organisations towards this nazi infiltration," the article concluded: "By their lack of political and moral sense the labour and gay movements have allowed a very large Trojan horse into their midst which may well turn out to be a tiger that will devour them."

A subsequent article in *Searchlight* (February 1988) explained how the fascists started organizing skinheads around "Oi" music: "The NF saw the huge success of the rock against racism movement of the mid to late 1970s and decided to try and attract young street fighting skins into the NF by offering them gigs that would be heavily racist and anti-Jewish...."

"Rock against Racism" was the youth corollary of the popular-frontist Anti Nazi League (ANL) organized by Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party. The SWP sought to compete with the fascists by *vying for their base of support* among youth with rock concerts. The Cliffites tried to organize skinheads against the Nazis, with explicit appeals to this lowlife scum: "*Skins hate authority and the Nazis represent authority*" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 July 1978). When the National Front staged a mass demonstration in the substantially Asian East End of London in 1978, the ANL *deliberately* diverted tens of thousands of anti-fascist militants *away* from confronting the Nazis with its "Carnival 2" rockfest. These days, the SWP does not even pay lip service to the need to fight fascism. Meanwhile, it has sponsored a rock group called the Red Skins, whose album is entitled "Neither Washington Nor Moscow."

An increasingly dubious group called the Revolutionary Communist Party, which originated in a split from the Cliffites in the 1970s, has gone even further. Specializing in classless appeals to lumpen and petty-bourgeois outrage, emphasizing the "politics of power," vying with Radio Free Europe in the stridency of its anti-Soviet propaganda, disavowing the organized labor movement (even openly organizing scabs during the miners strike), the RCP not only has numerous skinhead toughs in its organization but has even recruited a "former" fascist organizer. It is a telling indictment of the rest of the British left that the Spartacist League was virtually the only organization to raise the alarm over the RCP's invitation for fascist infiltration into the left and labor movement.

The "red skins" phenomenon has meanwhile spread to other European countries, particularly West Germany. An anti-fascist demonstration in West Berlin on August 20 allowed the presence of a contingent of "left" skinheads, who distributed a Maoist pamphlet railing against the "superpowers" of the U.S. and USSR, a chemically pure expression of resurgent German nationalism. Opening the door to these "red" skinheads is playing with fire, as our German comrades warned after the Berlin demo:

> "The TLD had to learn the hard way how the 'new German nationalism' is a transmission belt to punk-fascism. One Uli Sandhaus was expelled from our organization in 1982, after developing an enthusiasm for 'Oi! Oi!' music and exhibiting the swastika in his apartment....
>
> "In 1984, Sandhaus translated these 'proclivities' into direct action and led a bloody attack on our supporter, Gisela Borowski, to whom he had previously sent postcards with 'Oi! Oi!' threats."
>
> —*Spartakist* No. 58, September/October 1988

On August 20 one of the "red skins"

*continued on page 14*

**British fascists instigated deadly riot at Brussels soccer match, May 1985, leaving 38 dead, 250 injured.**

# Skinheads...

*(continued from page 13)*

declared that "Uli is my friend." No douht!

There is nothing surprising about the existence of such "red skins." Fascist gangs are drawn from lumpenized youth who hate established authority. Divorced from the working class and socially nihilistic, they easily swing from the extreme left to the extreme right. Not a few of Hitler's stormtroopers had at one point or another supported the Communists. In West Germany today there is a large lumpenized milieu of the "no future" generation—from squatters and *Autonomen* anarchists to the various skinhead gangs—in which the lines between left and right are totally blurred.

The key is revolutionary leadership—a workers movement which is not afraid to draw clear *class* lines, which is willing to organize a fight for workers *power* to resolve the crisis of bourgeois society. A revolutionary leadership of labor could draw to its side in the anti-capitalist struggle many layers of the most oppressed including desperate youth. But instead, the bankruptcy of the cringing reformists leaves a vacuum which fascists are eager to fill, while others to their left seek to compete with the fascists on the latter's terrain.

In the '20s and '30s the German Stalinists at times appealed to the Nazi ranks on the hasis of "national Bolshevism," i.e., championing imperialist Germany's national cause against Britain and France, and helping fuel the nationalist hysteria which paved the Nazis' way to power. Likewise today it is resurgent German nationalism which links the reformist left with the "red skins" with their "Neither Washington Nor Moscow" slogan—a slogan also claimed hy the outright fascist skinheads since it captures nationalist resentment and anti-Communism.

### The Workers Must Crush the Fascist Rabble

In France, some of the skinhead groups call themselves the "neighborhood SA." The Nazi SA Brownshirts were recruited from the socially pathological, criminal dregs of crisis-racked German society, used to terrorize the labor movement and Jews, and then discarded after Hitler took power. The Nazis rose to power in the service of German capitalism. Once there, they had to discard their plebeian shock troops and the rhetoric of "national socialism." In the "Night of the Long Knives" in June 1934, following an ultimatum hy the German general staff, Hitler carried out a "blood purge" of the lumpen SA Brownshirts. The skinhead rabble must be crushed in the egg *before* they become the shock troops for another triumphant fascist movement.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the nativist fascists of the Ku Klux Klan along with groups like Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) have recently allied with skinheads in staging racist provocations from Orange County in Southern California to Chicago's Marquette Park to Atlanta during the Democratic convention (see "Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs," *WV* No. 462, 7 October). Now the skinhead cutthroats and KKK lynchers are threatening to stage a racist rally in Philadelphia, November 5. In response, the Partisan Defense Committee has initiated a mass labor-centered mobilization to keep the streets safe from the race-terrorists.

The Spartacist League/U.S., whose class-struggle defense strategy the PDC embraces, has a record of interdicting fascist incursions into Northern U.S. cities, including a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped a KKK race-hate provocation in predominantly hlack Washington, D.C. in November 1982. Such a class-struggle strategy is urgently needed today in Britain and throughout Western Europe, necessarily entailing a political struggle within the labor movement against advocates of all persuasions of class collaboration, from the Labour Party to the chauvinist French Communist Party to the Cliffite SWP. At the time of the Brussels massacre, which followed on the heels of the defeat of the bitter 12-month miners strike, we noted:

> "It was the heroic miners whom Thatcher tried to crush in blood who pointed the road out of the harbarism witnessed in Brussels Instead of fences to separate rival gangs competing in bloodthirsty patriotism, we saw French and English miners shoulder-to-shoulder singing the 'Internationale'....
> "Had the miners defeated Thatcher and opened up an intensified working-class offensive against capitalist oppression and unemployment, it would have given the masses of despairing and lumpenised youth something *positive* to look to. But the labour misleaders who in the aftermath of Brussels mutter about unemployment and underlying social causes were the very same gentlemen who stabbed the miners strike in the hack...."
> —*Workers Hammer* No. 70, June 1985

The fascists and their skinhead dogs of war are a deadly danger to minorities, to the workers movement, to all decent people. This human refuse can and will be swept away by the power of the proletariat organized in sharp class struggle against the racist terrorists, on the road to the revolutionary overthrow of the rotting system that spawns this racist filth. ■

# Battle of Christiana...

*(continued from page 5)*

deputies who refused to cooperate with the slave catchers. The law imposed stiff penalties on anyone found to be harboring a fugitive. Most notoriously, federal commissioners who ruled in the slaveowners' favor got $10 for their dirty work, while those who ruled for the freedom of the slave got $5—an open bribe!

Armed with this hideous law slaveowner Edward Gorsuch of Maryland went man-hunting in Pennsylvania. He had been tipped off that four ex-slaves, who had escaped from his plantation some two years previously, were living in the Christiana area. In Philadelphia the federal commissioner gave Gorsuch warrants and a federal marshal to lead a posse. But the man-stealers were being watched hy the Vigilance Committee of the integrated Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, and a messenger sped off to warn the black people of Christiana.

Armed and ready, William Parker, his family and friends and two of Gorsuch's fugitives waited in Christiana. When the posse crept up to the house in the dark of night the warning signal by Parker's wife aroused the neighborhood. The kidnappers launched a volley of bullets to cut her down Safe behind the thick stone walls of the house, she went on blowing the horn. The posse was surrounded by some 15 to 25 armed hlacks and a few whites. A Quaker miller advised Gorsuch to leave. But Gorsuch vowed, "I will have my property, or go to hell." He got his wish.

Washington Post

**Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, Washington, D.C., November 1982. Promise of black freedom was betrayed after Civil War—Emancipate all working people from wage slavery!**

When the smoke cleared, Gorsuch lay dead.

Pro-slavery president Millard Fillmore called out the Marines. Parker and two of his closest associates had fled to Canada, but the slave masters demanded revenge. Anti-slavery whites and black men, women and children were harassed, arrested, thrown in jail. Parker's own mother-in-law—a woman over 50 years old—was seized and sent back to slavery. A grand jury indicted 36 blacks and five whites not merely for breaking the Fugitive Slave Law hut for *treason*, "levying war" against the United States, a crime punishable by death. The government wanted to illegitimize ahalitionism and smear as dangerous *criminals* those who were fighting for black freedom.

Grotesquely, the trial was held in Philadelphia's Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence had been proclaimed 75 years before. But the prosecution was unable to get a conviction. The federal marshal, already proven to be a coward, also proved a liar. The defense included Thaddeus Stevens, later a leader of the Radical Republicans, and made a laughing stock of the government's case. One defense lawyer ironically summed up the charges: "...three harmless nonresisting Quakers and eight-and-thirty wretched, miserable, penniless negroes, armed with corn cutters, clubs, and a few muskets, and headed by a miller, in a felt hat, without arms and mounted on a sorrel nag, levied war against the United States."

While pro-slavery bigots clamored for blood, nationwide meetings in support of the accused passed resolutions and collected money for their defense. Even the "nonresistant, moral suasion" Garrisonian abolitionists hailed the Christiana resisters as "fully justified in what they did by the Declaration of Independence." A jailer arranged the escape of two witnesses faced with reenslavement. The judge, though notorious for his pro-slavery convictions, ruled that an individual act of resistance was not a treasonable conspiracy. After deliberating for 15 minutes the jury pronounced "not guilty."

The battle at Christiana was a great victory for the abolitionist cause. As the black abolitionist William Wells Brown put it, "a slaveholder will never come there again in pursuit of fugitive slaves." Frederick Douglass was more than a defender: he helped Parker and his comrades to escape. Through the Underground Railroad they came to Douglass' house in Rochester, New York and boarded a ship to Toronto. To Douglass "they were heroic defenders of the just rights of man against manstealers and murderers...." Douglass recognized the significance of the Christiana resistance in proving the possibility of victory against slavery. Comparing it to another, failed rescue attempt, when "nonresistant" abolitionists failed to stop armed thugs shooting at a fugitive, Douglass said:

> "Had a few balls there whistled, as at Christiana, about the heads of the slave-catchers, it would have been the end of this slave-catching business there. There is no necessity of permitting it The only way to make the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make a few dead slave-catchers. There is no need to kill them either—shoot them in the legs, and send them to the South living epistles of the free gospel preached here at the North."
> —Frederick Douglass, *Life and Wrnings*, Vol. 2

To Douglass, the battle at Christiana was an example of the "John Brown way" to fight slavery. When John Brown challenged the slavocracy with arms at Harpers Ferry in 1859, he presented the only challenge which could win a revolutionary victory and overturn the entire social system of the plantation South. John Brown lost his battle, but he started the war. It took four bloody years of civil war to defeat slavery, over 600,000 deaths on the way to Appomattox Court House.

William Parker is little known today. Yet as a fighter he stood for the "John Brown way." The second American revolution, known as the Civil War, which defeated the slaveowners was sparked by the William Parkers, the dedicated anti-slavery fighters, black and white. When the reluctant Lincoln finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, setting the slaves "forever free," the Civil War became what Douglass, Brown and Parker knew it would have to be: a war to end slavery. The recruitment of black soldiers into the Union Army helped to tip the military balance for Northern victory.

The Civil War wiped chattel slavery from the U.S. But the promise of black freedom in the Civil War was later betrayed by the Northern capitalists when they turned their backs on the newly liberated freedmen. Today, to complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War and to win the emancipation of all working people from *wage* slavery, we need a third American revolution. This proletarian revolution, led hy a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component, will he inspired by John Brown, Frederick Douglass and William Parker, standard-bearers of the fight against slavery. And once again the horn of resistance will sound the battle cry of freedom. ■


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# Workers Party...

*(continued from page 16)*

skinhead fascist killers threatened to rally for racist terror in Philadelphia three days before the election.

Both campaigns are sending the same message to the working-class populations of the cities, and especially the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios: the "American dream" is off limits to you. And the message has gotten across: a sizable chunk of the black electorate, the most solid voting bloc for the Democratic Party, seems intent on sitting it out; a spokesman for a major Hispanic organization denounced both candidates for pursuing patronizing and empty "taco politics." Frustration within the black community has reached the point that some black Democrats are talking under their breath about a third party, if only as a pressure tactic.

Bourgeois elections have never offered more than an illusion of change for those whom the bourgeoisie exploits and oppresses. Today even the illusion is gone. Both parties support the massive rearmament program and the anti-Soviet war drive; both parties speak for the big-bucks financial swindlers and their leveraged buyouts and destruction of the trade unions; both parties support the genocidal attack on entire layers of the American people enunciated in the new "workfare" legislation.

Heading into the election campaign, the Democrats looked like a shoo-in. In the wake of Contragate, pervasive corruption, the Noriega scandal, the stock market crash, the Reagan/Bush administration was utterly discredited. The labor bureaucrats finally thought they had a chance to get a "friend of labor" into the White House; $40 million of trade unionists' dues which should be going into fighting and winning strikes have been thrown at the Democratic campaign. But as one CWA bureaucrat groaned, they've given up waiting for the spark that would ignite rank-and-file support for Dukakis.

The liberal and reformist "left" who tail the Democrats feel cheated. They were looking forward to an easy time with their Rainbow Coalition version of the New Deal popular front. But the rulers have ruled out a new New Deal, Dukakis' last-ditch "I am a liberal" statement notwithstanding. The rad-lib *Guardian*, social-democratic *In These Times* and liberal *Nation* all moan about how hard it is to hustle votes for the Democrats' Reagan/Bush look-alike ticket. Irwin Silber's *Frontline* (24 October) summed up the Rainbow reformists' lament in an article on "The Campaign That Couldn't Shoot Straight," that began: "Say it ain't so, Duke." (Last August *Frontline* headlined, "Backing Dukakis Comes with the Territory.") And the therapy-cult reformist New Alliance Party, running Lenora Fulani for president in all 50 states, is campaigning as an ersatz Rainbow.

The bottom line for these pathetic pseudo-socialists, to paraphrase Marlon Brando, is "We couldda been contenders." The Communist Party is running a handful of local candidates, like Charlene Mitchell in New York and Angela Davis in California, to placate any party members concerned about maintaining an "independent" stance. But the CP's *People's Daily World* (20 October) leaves no doubt who its presidential candidate is: "Steelworkers work hard for Dukakis," "Pa. labor leaders organize Dukakis 'homestretch blitz'." This blatant class collaboration is not only a far cry from genuine communism, it's downright stupid.

Wyman/Newsweek

**Cold War Cardinal O'Connor, all-purpose bigot, blesses Republicrat presidential hopefuls Bush and Dukakis.**

The Communist International, the world revolutionary party founded by Lenin and Trotsky in 1919, addressed this question in the Manifesto of the Second World Congress (1920), authored by Trotsky:

> "In America the line of demarcation between the Republicans and the Democrats has been completely erased. These two powerful political organizations of the exploiters, adapted to the hitherto narrow circle of American relations, revealed their total hollowness the instant the American bourgeoisie entered the arena of world plunder. "Never before have the intrigues of individual leaders and cliques—in the opposition and in the Ministries alike—been marked by such open cynicism as now."

In the death agony of American capitalism, the rulers of this country ape the French queen Marie-Antoinette, who contemptuously replied to the Parisian masses' demand for bread, "Let them eat cake." Nancy Reagan, who "horrows" a million dollars worth of gowns tax-free, says: Let 'em eat jelly beans. The French Revolution swept away Marie-Antoinette, the American socialist revolution will deal with her latter-day imitators.

While ever greater numbers of the American people suffer a living hell, their rulers plunder the world and gorge themselves as though there were no tomorrow, while preparing to plunge the world into a fiery holocaust. But in the American proletariat they will find their gravedigger. The coming American revolution will avenge the gratuitous viciousness and criminality of American imperialism. Given a good cause around which to rally, the workers and minorities are more than ready to fight. What is required above all is a workers party to galvanize that sentiment. ■

# West Germany...

*(continued from page 16)*

to stop the fascist rally which was to meet only 1,000 meters away at Merianplatz. They called in a leaflet for joining forces with a second anti-fascist protest called by the powerful West German trade-union federation, the DGB. The unions, joined by church, immigrant and Jewish community groups, called attention to the obscenity of Nazis threatening to march through the streets of Frankfurt 50 years after the nightmare of "Kristallnacht," the Nazi pogrom on the night of 9 November 1938 which launched the Holocaust.

But the organizers of the DGB protest declared they had no intention of preventing the Nazi provocations and would turn their rally into a "cultural program." And both demonstrations fostered suicidal illusions in the West German state, self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich, by calling on Günther Sare's killers to ban the fascists. Such "bans" are always turned against leftists, striking workers and anti-fascists.

Many DGB members, including the union federation's immigrant worker membership, wanted to join with anti-fascist youth in driving out the Nazis. So in the face of mounting outrage over the fascist threat, Brück banned both the Nazi events and the Friedberger Platz anti-fascist rally. On Thursday, October 13, a Frankfurt court threw out all the bans. But the following day the NPD held a news conference to announce they were canceling all their events. The thought of encountering organized, anti-fascist trade unionists on the streets of Frankfurt was enough to send the Nazi dreck back into the sewers.

On October 15, the 2,000 young anti-fascists and leftists who took off from Friedberger Platz sought to link up with the social power of the unions. But as they approached the Hauptwache where the DGB-led rally was being held, a massive police chain, four deep, encircled the anti-fascist youth. As the cops closed in further, ready to bust heads and make mass arrests, a majority of the 400 participants in the DGB rally, including a contingent of metal workers carrying the banner of their two-million-strong union, the IG Metall, joined the anti-fascist youth.

An *Autonom* announced his demonstration was "dissolved," and leadership of the joint action was assumed by a representative of the VVN, the Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime (founded by Communist survivors of Hitler's concentration camps), which had supported both protests. Police lines relaxed and the joint demonstration grew to 3,000 as it marched to the intended site of the Nazi rally, where instead an anti-fascist victory celebration took place.

A contingent of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, carried signs demanding: "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants" and "Smash the Nazis Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations." The mere threat of the power of organized labor was enough to send the fascists scurrying this time. But the fact that only a few showed up for the DGB-sponsored event shows that the union bureaucrats merely wanted a symbolic turnout for their "cultural program." A revolutionary leadership must be forged to unleash the social power of organized labor, especially its strategic immigrant component, to finish off the Nazis and the capitalist system that breeds racist genocide and imperialist war ■


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WORKERS VANGUARD

## Millionaires' Elections: Whoever Wins, Labor/Minorities Lose

# We Need a Workers Party!

Once every four years the American people are treated to all the democracy big money can buy. In corporate boardrooms and swank, segregated country clubs, the billionaire masters of this country draw up their short list of which millionaires will vie for the post of Chief Executive Officer of America, Inc. Millions are poured into TV media hype, the press moguls churn out their lies and, come election day, the "common man" gets to pull a lever in the sanctity of the ballot booth for the "lesser evil" of his choice. The presidential election, that paramount expression of American democracy, offers the "choice" between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedledee. Whoever gets inaugurated, the party of property wins and the working people and oppressed minorities get screwed.

The 1988 election campaign is the biggest yawn of the decade. And it's not just because the candidates lack any character, or because they blatantly refuse to address the problems plaguing the American people. More so than usually, the American ruling class is united around the policies with which it intends to oppress and exploit the American people and ride roughshod over the rest of the world. In the ornate coronation ceremonies of the Russian autocracy, when the new ruler was crowned the aristocrats cheered, "The tsar is dead, long live the tsar!" Today the American aristocracy says, "Reagan is going, long live Reaganism!"

What they mean by a "kinder, gentler" America is millions sleeping and dying in the streets and millions more condemned to slow death by starvation and disease. Their "vision of greatness" in the world is a nuclear Armageddon. American capitalism is a dying empire: unbridled greed and rapacity reign supreme in the ruling circles of this country, as they loot the industrial wealth built up by the blood and sweat of the working people. The "debates" have been a mind-numbing farce because the "bad news bores" *have nothing to debate*. And the polls reveal a stark fact: most people find the whole election meaningless, dirty and dishonest. Two out of three voters, regardless of their party preference, want another choice of candidates. A major voice of the American bourgeoisie, *Newsweek* (31 October), wails: "Couldn't we just call the whole thing off and start over?"

The working people of this country, the black and Hispanic poor, the farmers trying to scratch out a living, *can* start over—if they take power into their own hands. The racist, imperialist partner parties of American capitalism will not change their stripes—no matter how many Jesse Jacksons they get to run around mouthing populist rhetoric. *We need a workers party to fight for a workers government, to rip the wealth out of the hands of the master class!*

WV Photo

**Militant workers support Greyhound strikers, New York, November 1983. Labor tops sabotage struggle, shackle workers to capitalist parties. For a class-struggle workers party!**

### Duke and the Dixiecrats: Not the New Deal But the Raw Deal

"The dirty little secret" of this election has been "race," writes pro-Dukakis *New York Times* (20 October) columnist Anthony Lewis. Two weeks before the election, the Democrats finally "realized" that the Bush campaign, which is stalled with Nazi war criminals and has hammered away on the old KKK theme of a black man raping a white woman, appeals to racism. It's not a secret, and it's not just Bush. From the start of the campaign, the Democrats have set their sights on winning white middle-class "Reagan Democrats" by ostentatiously giving the finger to black people—telling Jackson to take a walk, avoiding black inner-city ghettos, making an early appearance before a nearly all-white rally at the Neshoba County fair in Philadelphia, Mississippi, the town where three civil rights activists were murdered in 1964.

Bush charges Dukakis with being "soft on crime"; Dukakis counters that Bush is soft on drug pushers. They're playing the same side of the street—racist "law and order"—and grotesquely competing for the cop vote. Not surprisingly, Bush is coming out ahead with the killers-in-blue who police the ghettos. The Bush campaign came to New York City for the first time in late October, to push the racist death penalty at a cop rally in a white enclave of Queens. And the Ku Klux Klan and

*continued on page 15*

# West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis

*Adapted from* Spartakist *No. 59, November/December 1988, newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.*

FRANKFURT—With racist terror resurgent across West Germany, the Nazi "National Democratic Party" (NPD) thought that by targeting immigrants it could mount a massive fascist provocation here. A march and two rallies, including one in the inner city, were to top off months of race-hate activity under the slogans "Frankfurt Must Remain a German City" and "Deport All Criminal and Illegal Foreigners." For a goon squad they recruited the self-proclaimed successors to Hitler's Brownshirts, Michael Kühnen's "Free Workers Party" (FAP) and their skinhead gangs. But on October 15, despite the menacing presence of 1,000 cops in full riot gear, the streets of Frankfurt belonged to 3,000 youth, trade unionists and leftists chanting, "Nazis out!"

The resurgence of German nationalism and race-terror was inflamed when Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl saluted their anti-Soviet alliance at the graves of the Nazi SS at Bitburg in 1985. Later that year, when 700 unionists and leftists protested an NPD rally in Frankfurt, the cops broke up the protest with deadly violence. A police water cannon ran over a 36-year-old worker, Günther Sare, killing him. Today the financial capital of West Germany has a right-wing Christian Democratic mayor, Wolfrom Brück, who demands that the limited quotas for asylum-seekers be filled by "*Volksdeutsche*," ethnic Germans from the Soviet bloc. At the same time fascists, using incendiary devices obtained from the Bundeswehr, firebomb concentration camps where immigrants and asylum-seekers are locked up pending deportation hearings.

But when the NPD/FAP/skinhead scum announced their October 15 provocation, they encountered mounting outrage and protest. Anti-fascist youth organizations, spearheaded by the anarchist *Autonomen*, mobilized across the country for a protest on the 15th at Friedberger Platz. Their clear intent was

*continued on page 15*

Spartakist

**German Trotskyists demand "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!" at Frankfurt anti-Nazi protest, October 15.**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 465 | 18 November 1988


## Democrats Lose Dirty Race for Racist Vote

# CIA's Man in the White House

### Bust Bipartisan Reaction with Hard Class Struggle

Downing/Newsweek

**Contra-in-chief George Herbert Walker Bush now leads war against workers and blacks on the home front.**

WV Photo

Disgusting. Boring. Dirty. Negative. Stage-managed. Empty. These were the terms commonly used to describe the 1988 presidential elections. A majority of Americans voted against both candidates by staying home. It was the lowest voter turnout in 64 years. Blacks, in particular, were disgusted with the campaign since the Democrats as well as Republicans were so obviously catering to the white racist electorate. Washington, D.C., an overwhelmingly black city, had the lowest turnout in the nation, only 37 percent. Younger people, too, saw no future in either Bush or Dukakis: the percentage of voters under 30 was significantly lower than in previous elections.

Most people didn't want either presidential candidate to win this year, and didn't think it mattered who did. Both parties ran on a platform of more government for the working class, laissez-faire for the rich. There were no promises of reform, just strengthened repression, and "workfare not welfare." What's next—indentured servants and debtors' prisons? But it is not enough to see through the capitalist two-party shell game. Working people and oppressed minorities have to *oppose* the partner parties which rule racist, capitalist America and build their *own* party, a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Despite popular disdain for both candidates, George Herbert Walker Bush is to be president of the United States, commander in chief of its armed forces with his finger on the nuclear button. Bush has been generally viewed as a pampered Ivy League yes man for Reagan...a wimp. In reality, he was the CIA's man in the White House, top boss of the mass-murdering secret police of U.S. imperialism, who was briefed every day by "the Company." His CIA "assets," which included Panama dictator Manuel Noriega, are the biggest drug runners in the world.

*continued on page 13*

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

## Philadelphia, November 5

# Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan!

WV Photo

SEE PAGES 5-12

## Shielding Anti-Semitic Terrorists

# ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith is a Jewish urganization which was founded in 1913 to oppose anti-Semitism. The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are diehard anti-Semitic terrorists. Yet, when thousands of trade unionists, leftists, blacks, Jews, Hispanics, Catholics—all the intended victims of the fascists—joined forces to make sure the KKK/Nazis would not be allowed to terrorize the people of Philadelphia, *the ADL wanted no part of it and tried to destroy it.* In fact, the "Anti"-Defamation League *spearheaded* the bourgeoisie's defaming of those whu came out to keep Philly safe frum fascist terror.

The ADL orchestrated a campaign of hlitzing the Philadelphia media to violence-bait the anti-Klan mobilization. On November 5, regiunal ADL director Barry Morrison went on TV to say that "The Klan has to be fought, yes, hut it has to be fought in legitimate ways." A week earlier he tuld Philadelphians "to pay no attention" and let the Klan "go ahead with what they plan to do." What the fascists *do* is lynch, murder, maim and terrorize. But it was the *anti-fascists* whom Morrisun accused of violence: "In 1982 in Washington where there was a similar mobilization and some 5,000 people assembled to stop the Klan, they did stop the Klan but they also were responsible for bringing about a great amount of violence and damage."

This deadly slander is lifted straight from the sinister ultrarightist Moonie cult's *Washington Times*, which was forced to retract it in print when confronted with a libel suit hy the Spartacist League. The head of the FBI, William Webster, admitted to a Senate committee that the violence charges against the SL were groundless. But Morrison grotesquely equates the genucidal fascist killers with their opponents, claiming that the class-struggle Partisan Defense Committee which initiated the Philadelphia anti-Klan mohilization is "as much a threat to our demoeratic fabric as the Klan" (*Jewish Exponent*, 28 October).

This is shameful, pusitively ohscene. Six million Jews were murdered in Hitler's gas chambers, and here an organization claiming to speak on hehalf of the Jewish people seeks to stop opponents of today's Hitlerites! The ADL should rightly be called a *Defamation* League. For years, the ADL/B'nai B'rith and other Zionist organizations have sought to ingratiate themselves with the centrally white Christian ruling elass in this country, placing themselves in the service of racist American reaction in order tu further the interests of Israeli reaction.

If in America the Zionists turn a blind eye to the threat *and reality* of raeist terrur, in Israel they are the perpetrators. The Zionist overlords of the Occupied Territories emulate the Nazis in their racist harbarity tuward the Arah Palestinian people and adopt the Nazi racist creed of *Lebensraum* in their expansionist drive of conquest. In the past year, as the Palestinians exploded in anger and revolt, the Israelis have gunned down hundreds of unarmed people, many of them women and children, and imprisuned and turtured thuusands mure.

Having strongly come duwn against blacks, partly through class instinct and partly through confusing ghetto anger with the Palestinian "Intifada," the Zionist organizations see integrated, militant lahor action as a big threat to their aspirations to simultaneuusly propagandize lor and fund the Israeli state while acting as privileged bloodhounds for the American ruling class. Hypocritically holding up the inemory of the Holocaust as their credentials to speak for the Jewish people, they act as front men for the worst enemies of Jews and all minorities.

*In trying to knife militant anti-fascist struggle now—when the fascist presence in the urban centers is small and can be crushed in the egg—the Zionist ADL is serving the purposes of those who would unleash another Holocaust.* The reason they choose to target the Spartacist League with their vile defamation is because, unlike practically all the left, with their impressionistic tailing after nationalism, we are the living refutation of their self-serving lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. We defend the Palestinian people against the terror of the Israeli state, which is in the process of working up to trying genocide, *and* we oppose the Arab nationalist calls to "drive the Jews into the sea." The Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution offers a future to the Jewish people; Zionism has never offered anything but a deathtrap.

### Remember Leo Frank, Victim of KKK Terror

It is ironic that the ADL which today shields the KKK was founded in 1913 in direct response to the revival of Klan terror, signaled by the frame-up and subsequent lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish businessman in Georgia falsely accused of the rape/murder of a young white girl. The ADL's parent organization, B'nai B'rith, began in 1843 as a fraternal order for Jews of German origin. Many of its early members were "Red '48ers," radical democrats who fled the repression following the defeat of the German Revolution of 1848 and fought valiantly on the side of the Union in the war against slavery.

But by the turn of the century, people like *New York Times* publisher Adolph Ochs, who served on the ADL's first executive committee, had made it under American capitalism. They despised the millions of Jewish immigrants from East Europe (contemptuously referred to as *Ostjuden*) for their poverty, their plebeian origins and, above all, for the radical socialist and internationalist outlook they brought with them. And in the face of Hitler's rise to power and the genocidal threat posed to European Jewry, the role of B'nai B'rith was nothing short of despicable.

Georgia Department of Archives and History

**Anti-Semitic terror which led to birth of the ADL: lynching of Jewish businessman Leo Frank by KKK in Georgia, 1915.**

In 1933, a spokesman for B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, Max Kohler, testified before a Congressional cummittee *against* the call for opening the borders to refugees from Nazi terror. And following the Hitlerites' Kristallnacht pogrom, *B'nai B'rith*

*continued on page 14*

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Fight Fascism and Anti-Semitism!

*As the shock of Hitler's rise to power in 1933 spread throughout the world, some American Jewish organizations proposed simply ignoring the Nazis, others called for a stillborn and impotent imperialist trade boycott of Germany. Leon Trotsky called instead on Jewish workers to help mobilize the American working class in fighting the fascist threat.*

How, you ask, can the American workers help the struggle of the German proletariat against fascism? The greatest help can and should be to fight fascism in America itself. Germans constitute a significant part of the U.S. populatiun. Hitler would like to convert them into a yeast for American fascism. The working masses of America should follow this process with the greatest attention. Every American worker should say to himself: We won't let the fascists raise their heads! And saying it is not enough—it has to be acted on. Every seat of fascist infection should be surrounded by a ring of defensive combat organizations. Every attempt by the fascists to take over the streets, destroy a newspaper, or break up a meeting should be mercilessly nipped in the bud.

National Socialism is inseparably linked to anti-Semitism and its pogroms. For the Jewish part of the population in the United States the question of the growth of fascism in America is thus of vital importance. To rely on the American "constitution" as a guarantee in itself against fascism would be pure childishness. The example of Italy, and especially Germany, should certainly teach something tu mature people! Only a mass struggle against fascism is capable of checking its growth. In this sense the Jewish working population of America can hupe for an effective defense unly from a mighty growth of the workers' movement in the United States.

—Leon Trotsky, "Answers to Questions From New York" (November 1933)


**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Jorge Ramirez

CIRCULATION MANAGER Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, Jorge Ramirez, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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**No. 465** **18 November 1988**



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Young Spartacus

# Students Build Anti-Klan Mobilization

## Coast to Coast

The Partisan Defense Committee's call "All Out to Stop the KKK!" in Philadelphia on November 5 struck a real chord with students on campuses from coast to coast. A *lot* of students are fed up with the racist crap that's surfaced on the nation's colleges and universities in the last few years. Swastikas carved on the doors of minority students' dorms in the dead of night. Black students terrorized and beaten. Reaganite racists taking sledgehammers to anti-apartheid shanties. Stickers reading "Stop AIDS: Castrate Gays." Hundreds of students have mobilized in protests on their campuses against the bigoted punks and racist ignoramuses. But the PDC's call to stop the Klan was the first real opportunity for a nationwide student protest against racist terror.

Repulsive racist incidents on America's campuses are incitements to deadly violence against minority students, gays and others. They won't be stopped by appeals to the administration or "awareness" sessions. On November 5 students were mobilized behind organized labor—the power that can eliminate the injustice, racism and violence endemic to this decaying capitalist society. As a fact sheet prepared by the New York Spartacus Youth Club, titled "KKK: A Century of Racist Terror," pointed out: "A vital part of education is *action*.... On November 5, an aroused labor movement will feel its own strength mobilized on behalf of all the oppressed in defense against the KKK/Nazi/skinhead spearhead of racist reaction. Getting that taste of labor's real social power can profoundly challenge ideas of

*continued on page 4*

Young Spartacus

**United behind power of labor, students helped stop the KKK in Philadelphia, November 5.**

## Fraternity Stages Racist "Slave Auction"

# Madison: Drive Out Racist Frat Rats!

### It's Time to Finish the Civil War!

Black students are under attack at the University of Wisconsin, and determined action by anti-racist students and the integrated labor movement is urgently needed to drive out frat-rat and Klan-style racists who are on the offensive in this "liberal" mecca. As a first step the Spartacus Youth Club is calling on all student groups, community and labor organizations, particularly the thousands-strong AFSCME locals in Madison, to join us on Friday, November 18 at 12:00 noon at Memorial Union for a united-front demonstration around the call to "Stop the Racist Attacks!"

Outrage has swept the campus in the wake of a racist "slave auction" in blackface and "Afro wigs" staged on October 20 by the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity. The frat rats also staged a degrading "impersonation" of the Jackson Five and a mock beating of black talk-show host Oprah Winfrey. That night, acting out racist stereotypes, members of the frat also harassed women in the residence hall where the "slave auction" was held. Yet on November 14 the student government announced it would take no action against the ZBT racists!

These vile racist provocations are only the latest in a series perpetrated by UW-Madison frats—last April members of the Acacia fraternity invaded and disrupted African studies classes, and the Fiji frat held a "Fiji Islands Party" in blackface which featured a repulsive racist caricature. Another frat held a racist party ridiculing Martin Luther King. Every decent person in Madison has to be revolted by this filth, and it keeps coming back. We say: Drive the racist frat rats off campus!

After the "slave auction" by ZBT, a Jewish fraternity, posters for the November 5 anti-KKK mobilization in Philadelphia were defaced with Nazi swastikas and the slogan "Death to Marxists." A grotesque fascist leaflet appeared on campus bulletin boards featuring a picture of an angry black man on one side and a monkey on the other, captioned "What's the difference?" Posters for "ex"-Klansman David Duke's "presidential campaign" also appeared, and a Nazi skinhead organizer active in Milwaukee is now reportedly organizing in Madison as well. The SYC calls on students to unite with labor to smash these fascist vermin!

Madison students have mobilized in angry protest against these latest racist attacks. On October 24 eight UW students held a protest outside the ZBT frat house, where one freshman chained himself to a bench. The Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout with an open microphone on November 2, and joined a 200-strong demonstration on November 7 called by a coalition of campus groups. While the thrust of the demonstration was an appeal to Chancellor Donna Shalala to oppose racism, our call for "No reliance on the racist administration!" was enthusiastically supported by many of the protesters. Following a sit-in outside Shalala's office the next day, students dispersed to rip down the David Duke-KKK posters and cover racist graffiti with paint.

Young Spartacus

**University of Wisconsin students protest racist fraternity "slave auction," November 7.**

At the November 7 protest some campus politicos as well as members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) attempted to censor discussion of "politics" and "socialism." The ISO insisted that "we're willing to not talk about socialism here because it's not the issue." The claim that racism is an individual moral question and that the struggle against it is "not political" is in fact the line of the administration, which is supporting a diversionary "demonstration" scheduled for November 17 by a student-government-backed group calling itself "Majority Students Against Racism." The ISO's whining anti-communist justification for political censorship is merely a variant of the student government's complaint that the anti-racist protests have been "scaring white people" (*Badger Herald*, 11 November).

We say that the struggle for black equality means a fight for socialist revolution—the promise of black liberation was betrayed by the Northern bourgeoisie after the Civil War and today can only be realized through workers revolution which rips the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of its owners and eliminates the subjugation of black people which is inherent in American capitalism. At the same time we stand ready to unite with all opponents of racism, whatever their particular political viewpoint, to take action against the racists and fascists who are a deadly threat to black people and all minorities in Madison today. Demonstrate November 18! Stop the racist attacks! ■

# Students Build...

*(continued from page 3)*

what is 'possible' and what is necessary to win liberation."

At Temple University in Philadelphia members of the African American Student Union stood with clenched fists raised when they endorsed the November 5 Mobilization. Beaver College in Pennsylvania was covered with posters for the rally by students who put them up in six hours, overnight. When SYC members hit the dorms at Columbia University to organize buses and build for the rally one student came running into the hallway with her checkbook in hand shouting, "They're here! The people who want to stop the Klan are here!" At Hunter College in New York the student government endorsed the rally call and the campus radio on their own initiative began announcing the demonstration hourly. At Hunter and at City College in New York, Spartacus Youth Club members did radio interviews to build for the demonstration and broadcast a stirring message from Mumia Abu-Jamal, an ex-Black Panther and MOVE supporter who voiced his support for the Mobilization from his cell on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison.

More than 2,000 leaflets were distributed at Howard University's homecoming game and another 4,000 at the Norfolk State homecoming. A visiting professor at Oberlin College who had witnessed terror attacks by skinheads in Germany took leaflets to make announcements for the rally in his classes. The Mobilization phone lines were buzzing with calls from campuses—students at Vassar who were organizing a caravan of cars to Philly; the "Paul Robeson" section of a dorm at Rutgers in New Jersey was coming down in a van; gay and lesbian students at Hunter bought a block of bus tickets for their club members.

On the West Coast over 250 students from San Francisco State and UC Berkeley signed a pledge reading, "We the undersigned students stand in solidarity with the working people, unionists, minorities and youth who are right now working to stop the KKK lynchers and their skinhead brethren from staging their deadly provocation at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia on November 5th. As a heartfelt measure of our support we have each donated what we could to this important effort." On October 26, 75 SF State students came out to a Spartacus Youth Club soapbox rally to build support for the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK. The following day at Berkeley, campus members of the California Nurses Association protesting the miserable wages paid by the University Health Center cheered SYC soapboxers who were building for the Philly demo and calling for solidarity with the nurses.

From the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where a despicable fraternity "slave auction" provoked an outpouring of student protest (see page 3), a busload of 41 students made the 19-hour trip to Philly to make sure the Klan wouldn't ride. Haverford, Columbia and Howard students were there with banners. Students came out from Bryn Mawr, Vassar and Cornell. Rob Robinson, head of the Brooklyn NAACP youth, got on board a Hunter College bus and spoke at the rally. Young workers from the powerful New York City Transit Workers Union, Local 100 proudly held a banner calling "For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Terror!"

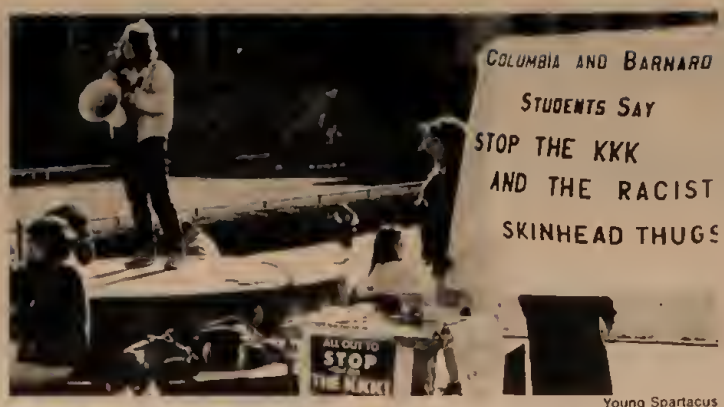
The November 5 Mobilization was also built in struggle against those who worked actively to keep students away. Three days before the rally the *Columbia Spectator* ran a front-page article announcing that the Columbia College Student Council had revoked its endorsement of the November 5 Mobilization *and claiming that the rally had been canceled*. The previous Friday, the *Spectator* had run an article labeling the *anti*-Klan demonstration a "KKK Protest." Some "mistakes"! We suspect there was more at work here than simply the idiocy of the progeny of an inbred ruling class. Under capitalism, the universities are supposed to be the training ground for the new technocrats, administrators and political managers of this decrepit system of poverty, immiseration, racism and war—not for rebellion against it.

Tied by the purse strings of administration funding to the powers that be in this society, student governments and newspapers are supposed to uphold the racist status quo. Yet in New York the Barnard, City College and Hunter College student governments instead helped to build the anti-Klan mobilization. At Columbia too the student council initally went "against the rules" by taking a stand against fascist violence. The main spokesman for getting the Columbia council to revoke its endorsement was a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, student council chair Jared Goldstein, who argued: "We were taking a side politically. That is not in the bounds of the council" (*Spectator*, 2 November). What kind of "socialists" refuse to take a side against the most violent, racist expression of this degenerate system? As Trotsky once commented, social democrats are the junior stockholders in imperialism.

In response to the "*Speculator*" article the Columbia Spartacus Youth Club demanded a front-page correction by the would-be cub reporters who hadn't even bothered to check the facts with rally organizers before going to press. The arrogant editors refused, in the spirit of fatcat Columbia trustee and *New York Times* honcho Arthur "Punch" Sulzberger whose maxim is "All the news the ruling class sees fit to print." The *Spectator* proved more responsive to action than moral suasion. Many Columbia and Barnard student supporters of the November 5 Mobilization phoned the paper. Overnight the campus was leafletted and plastered with posters reading "The *Spectator* Lies! The Rally Is On for November 5!" A lively soapbox rally was held on campus the next day. On November 4, the *Spectator* finally ran an article which got the facts straight: "Anti-KKK protesters garner support for tomorrow's rally." Two buses left the campus gates the next day at 6 a.m.

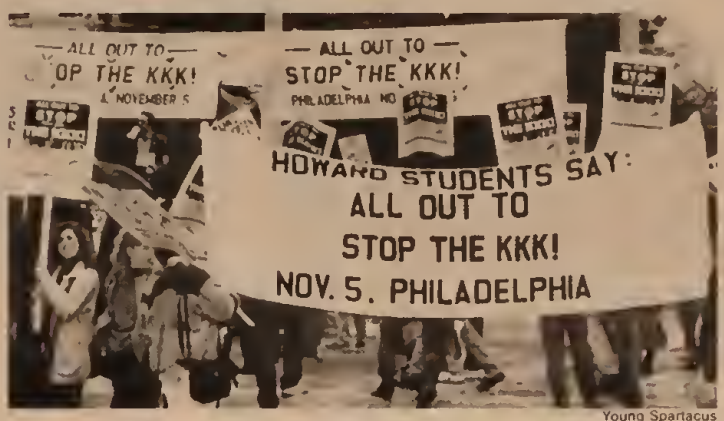
The PDC-initiated mobilization in Philadelphia on November 5 intersected a real polarization on campuses and among youth who recoil in fear and loathing against the culture of nihilism that has produced the wantonly vicious, insanely cruel and violent racist skinheads. A group calling themselves "Skinheads Against Racism" came out to the November 5 rally carrying an American flag and distributing a leaflet asking people not to tar them as fascists. Why then identify themselves in the style and regalia that is identified with the most brutal racist violence in this country? What kind of anti-fascists would show up at an anti-Nazi rally in the '30s in brown shirts and jackboots? As one union marshal suggested, these skins should consider tattooing "anti-racist" on their shaved heads—if they want to avoid "confusion" with their fascist look-alikes.

At the party after the rally where at every table unionists and students, blacks and whites, talked politics and celebrated their victory, the SYC speaker (see page 10) called on students to dedicate their skills, their energy, their education to a lifetime of partisanship with the working people in the struggle for the only future—socialist revolution. ■




Young Spartacus

**Spartacus Youth Club militants counter Columbia Spectator's lies, build support for Philly anti-Klan rally.**




Young Spartacus

**Fed up with racist attacks, campus contingents came to Philly from all over East Coast and Midwest.**

**Charles Barkley, star forward of Philadelphia '76ers, endorses call: "All Out to Stop the KKK!"**


## Spartacist Educationals

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WORKERS VANGUARD
Special Supplement

## Philadelphia, November 5

# Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan!

WV Photos

**Over one thousand trade unionists, black activists, students and leftists united to make sure Klan didn't ride in Philly.**

As the Malcolm X contingent pulled up at Philadelphia's Independence Mall after a 19-hour bus ride from Madison, Wisconsin, they formed up and marched in together with the two Chicago busloads, chanting, "Stop the Klan, this is the hour—Labor and blacks have got the power!" On this rain-soaked day, they joined with over 1,000 determined anti-Klan protesters on the site where the KKK and Nazi skinheads had said they would stage their "white pride" provocation. On November 5 there were no fascist killers in Judge Lewis Quadrangle—only a victorious celebration of black, white, Hispanic working people and students who were there to ensure the Klan won't ride in Philly.

Defending the rally against fascist intrusion was a disciplined and effective workers defense guard of union members, many in union caps and jackets, from the Philadelphia area and up and down the Eastern seaboard. This was a taste of the labor and black power that had forced the Klan and Nazi skinheads to back down. When the KKK lynchers and skinhead thugs threatened to strut into the heart of Philadelphia, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a call for a mass mobilization under the banner, "All Out to Stop the Klan!" In response, hundreds of people from Philly joined 13 busloads from the East Coast and Midwest to be there at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Many came in contingents named for heroes of the struggle against slavery: the Nat Turner Brigade from Norfolk, Frederick Douglass (Baltimore/Washington), John Brown (Cleveland), Harriet Tubman (Toronto/Cornell), General William Tecumseh Sherman (New York) and the Massachusetts 54th from Boston. Other contingents honored slain Chicago Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; Nicaraguan Sandinista Nora Astorga; Jewish Soviet general David Dragunsky, a World War II hero; and Jewish Communist Leopold Trepper, head of the "Red Orchestra" network which operated inside Nazi-occupied Europe. The *November 5 Mobilization Notes* reported that: "Upon learning the driver of their bus belonged to the same union local as Ray Phillips, the Greyhound striker murdered by a scab driver five years ago, Chicago trade unionists named their bus the Ray Phillips Brigade."

Philadelphia was the city where the Reagan White House and its black overseers engraved their racist signature in the blood of black people. On 13 May 1985 the government dropped a bomb on the MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people, including five children, turning a black neighborhood to ashes. On 5 November 1988, this was the city where the KKK was stopped. At the rally, the speakers platform became a tribune for those who have resisted state terror to speak of their pain, their anger and determination. Nelson Johnson, survivor of the Greensboro Massacre, Beverly Africa on behalf of MOVE, leaders of Philadelphia unions, black and gay organizations, socialist groups including the Spartacist League—these were among those who reaffirmed the common goal of this united front to stop the Klan, and presented their own particular points of view.

This victory against the fascists came on the eve of American capitalism's election "contest" to pick which millionaire would head up the ruling-class war on the working people, the poor and minorities. After a decade of Carter/Reagan reaction, and a

*continued on page 6*

# Labor/Black Power...

*(continued from page 5)*

campaign between Republican plutocrats and the Democrats' technocrat/Dixiecrat ticket, many saw in the November 5 Mobilization a way to fight back. Altogether, over 100 union locals and officials, as well as numerous civil rights and gay organizations, student groups, endorsed and contributed their efforts. The appeals from labor (see page 9) are a testimony to the deep chord struck by the mobilization.

There was a real outpouring of community and labor volunteers in Philly. A quarter million leaflets were passed out on the streets, thousands of posters snapped up. Literature depots were set up at a union hall and local universities. Sound trucks cruised the streets. On campuses across the country, where minorities have been under siege, the November 5 Mobilization became an opportunity for the first nationwide protest against racist attacks. While the newspapers and TV tried to black out the anti-Klan protest, following the party line of the Main Line bourgeoisie, radio spots announcing the demonstration were played on black radio, Hispanic radio, sports radio, news radio, campus radio.

The anti-Klan protesters came out on a cold, rainy Saturday morning to make a defiant statement. A week earlier, in a "pact" with the KKK, federal authorities praised the Klan for its "straightforward" negotiations and "orderly" intentions as the fascists backed down in the face of the mounting mobilization. Two-bit KKK "grand dragon" John Weiss whined on Tom Metzger's "WAR" ("White Aryan Resistance") phone tape: "We had to stop and postpone it because of the opposition who are socialists who came out with literature covering from New York to God knows where."

Weiss and Metzger had threatened to bring hundreds of white supremacists into Philly. The November 5 Mobilization stopped a major incursion of the KKK/skinheads into a multiracial Northern city. In the days before the demonstration, there were vicious reminders of the fascist threat. In New York a gang of skinheads assaulted a New Jersey family who objected to their Hitlerite epithets. Temple Sholom in Philadelphia was defaced with swastikas. Skinhead Jon Metzger was invited to spew his filth on the NBC Geraldo Rivera show. Just how fascists "debate" was shown when the skinhead thugs initiated a brawl on national TV, assaulting black reactionary Roy Innis and breaking Rivera's nose. *As we go to press, in Portland, Oregon on November 13 an Ethiopian man, Mulugeta Seraw, was beaten to death with baseball bats by a gang of white supremacist skinheads.*

A handful of skinheads from Baltimore appeared at the rally, not knowing that Weiss had turned tail and canceled out. They sported Confederate flags and Nazi swastikas on their black jackets and gave stiff-arm "Heil Hitler" salutes for the TV cameras. The cops tried to escort five Nazis into the rally in an attempt to provoke trouble. But they were met by black, white and Hispanic workers defense guards lining Market Street in solid formation who quickly closed ranks and repelled the skinhead scum. The squad of trade-union marshals was one of the most impressive parts of the anti-Klan demonstration. They came from AFSCME District Council 33 and a hefty contingent from the Laborers' union in Philly, from black shipyard workers in the Virginia Tidewater area, transit workers from New York and Chicago, phone workers from NYC, and dozens of other unionists who came to insure a safe, orderly and democratic demonstration.

## A Victory Against the Klan!

## Partisan Defense Committee Press Release

**11 p.m., October 26**

**In the face of the massive outpouring of opposition to the terroristic KKK from groups and individuals representing tens of thousands of union members, civil rights activists, community groups, students and others, the Klan's threat to invade the city of Philadelphia November 5 has reportedly been "put on hold."**

**This is a victory against the Klan. The All Out to Stop the KKK mobilization will be at Independence Mall at 9 a.m., November 5 with a mass labor-centered demonstration of thousands to honor the working people who built this country, and to guarantee that the Klan does not ride in Philly.**

**An agreement between the National Park Service and the Ku Klux Klan is no assurance that the decent people of Philadelphia are safe from the Klan's racist terror. The Klan has never waited for permits to carry out their lynchings, firebombings and murder. Even when they appear in small numbers they feed upon and into every kind of racial fear—they are poison to any useful integrated action, like winning strikes.**

**We vehemently protest the accusation that violence would be engendered by our demonstration, which will be militant, orderly and democratic. We repeat: the KKK and skinheads are killers. If the labor movement in Germany had stopped the Nazis when they were small, there never would have been the Holocaust. Violence-baiting and red-baiting those who want to stop the Klan only serves to encourage violent attacks by the Klan on the people of Philadelphia. We are determined that the horror perpetrated by Nazi Germany must not happen here.**

**—Statement of the Partisan Defense Committee, initiator of the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia**

### "Partisan on the Side of the Working Class"

The Partisan Defense Committee, which issued the call for the mass labor-centered mobilization to stop the KKK, is a class-struggle non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Charles Brover, co-chairman of the PDC, told demonstrators that the PDC is based on the heritage of the International Labor Defense, headed by James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. "We're partisan on the side of the working class," he said:

> "The first lesson of common struggle is that an injury to one is an injury to all. That means we are non-sectarian. We defend cases irrespective of people's political views. That means we defend people with whom we disagree, sometimes people who wouldn't defend us if the tables were turned. We rely on the independent power of the working class and not at all on the courts."

The November 5 Mobilization was a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist strategy for combatting fascism with mass united-front action. This revolutionary strategy contrasts sharply with the reformists and nationalists who ended up as irrelevant sideshows to the November 5 Mobilization. The "African People's Socialist Party" postured with stopping the Klan "by any means necessary," but their only real activity was to petition "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode to protect black Philadelphia!

In a grotesque display of the twisted "logic" of black nationalism, the APSP leaflet demanded blacks not rally with the "Ku Klux Kommunists." When a black woman worker getting off the Boston bus was told the leaflet she had been given was for "blacks only," she crumpled it up and threw it back. Across the street from the quad, the All-Peoples Congress front group of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party held a picket line of a couple hundred, then marched to City Hall. The APC never intended to mobilize the social power of labor and were too sectarian to join those who did. They were also cut off from their usual Democratic Party allies, who were too busy vilence-baiting the November 5 Mobilization.

WV Photo

**Mayor Goode's mounted cossacks: hundreds of city, state and federal cops were deployed at November 5 Stop the Klan protest.**

### Battle of Class Forces

From the moment the Partisan Defense Committee issued the call "All Out to Stop the KKK," it touched off a battle of opposing class forces in Philadelphia. Mayor Goode, backed up by anti-communist outfits like the misnamed "Fellowship Commission" and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, immediately went on the warpath, slandering our demonstration as prone to "violence" in order to keep people away. There's something obscene about the black mayor, who ordered the bomb dropped on MOVE, slandering the people who organize to *stop* racist terror as a "danger." There's something shameful about the ADL, which purports to defend Jewish people, slandering those who would prevent another Holocaust as "violent."

Within the labor movement, the union bureaucrats who have rolled over in front of Reagan reaction hardlined it against the November 5 Mobilization. In the face of strong support for the demonstration from key city unions, the Central Labor Council pressured a few endorsers to withdraw as speakers. "Progressive" union tops like Trans-

WV Photo

Smith/Daily News

**Cops protect Nazi skinheads at November 5 rally. National Park Service's Hobart Cawood (right) praised KKK leader John Weiss in joint press conference, October 27.**

WV Photo

**Solid line of union marshals from Philadelphia and East Coast defend November 5 rally from skinhead provocations.**

port Workers local head Roger Tauss and Hospital Workers chief Henry Nicholas refused to endorse, just as they stood silent when Goode bombed MOVE. Instead, they were lining up their union members as voting cattle for Dukakis. The Democrats campaigned desperately in Philly in the final week—in one of their rare joint appearances, Jesse Jackson joined Dukakis and Wilson Goode at a rally in Germantown.

In the interests of the Philly establishment, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* tried to do in the anti-Klan demonstration, first by blacking it out, and then toying with a little yellow journalism redbaiting smear. *Inquirer* staff writer Murray Dubin probed for a "background" job on the Mobilization: instead of listening to the speakers he crawled into the medical tent to ask the doctors if they were out-of-towners! A unionist in Michigan told the PDC that Dubin had called him up, fishing for whether his endorsement was legit, implying he was "duped" by the PDC. The unionist strongly stood by the PDC and its meticulous practices.

The city's campaign of lies and intimidation continued right through the demonstration. On the eve of the rally, Park Service police split the rally site with steel barricades, hoping to fence in the anti-Klan protesters. An 11 p.m. protest by the PDC got them taken down. One New Jersey black family who drove over an hour to attend the demonstration was blocked from entering Independence Mall by Philly cops who told them, "It's not a rally against the Klan, it's a rally against the police." The cops are used to having free rein and were enraged at the integrated labor power protecting the rally.

### Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

Driven inside by the rain after two and a half hours, the rally continued at the Blue Horizon Auditorium in North Philly, where over 600 packed the hall. For many the party was the first integrated social event they had ever attended. White college students from Madison celebrated with black shipyard workers and longshoremen from the South. The mobilization was a living refutation of the old "New Left" program of "sectoralism," in which each oppressed group is supposed to struggle separately for its own liberation. At the close, when the Nat Turner Brigade filed out to the bus for the long trip back home, the auditorium rang with applause and cheers for the black worker militants. As each of the other contingents filed out, the hall was filled with thundering chants of "We Stopped the Klan!"

Our victory came in a reactionary social and political climate where abortion clinic bombers are followed by the "god squads" of the Moral Majority terrorizing women, where racist attacks mount on the campuses and on the streets of white enclaves, where AIDS victims are witchhunted, and homeless people left abandoned on the streets of this vastly rich country. The November 5 Mobilization showed that the working people of America are ready to fight to defend the interests of their class, if given the chance. The key is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist party with the program and determination to lead the coming class battles and champion the defense of all the oppressed.

The Greensboro Massacre by a KKK/Nazi death squad in November 1979 gave the go-ahead to racist terrorists in America. But from Detroit to San Francisco to Chicago and Washington, D.C., labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League successfully interdicted the Klan in the Northern cities of America in the first years of Reagan reaction. The SL, although a relatively small communist organization, provided the leadership, and our revolutionary program expressed the felt desire of thousands who came out to *stop the Klan*. In each case, the mass mobilizations were built *against* the Democratic Party mayors and the so-called leftists who tailed after them. In each case, it was *black and red* together, getting a taste of the social power that the struggle for socialist revolution will unleash.

November 5 was a signal defeat for the Klan and skinheads, and a victory for the working people and minorities across America. The racist terrorists must be stopped from staging their deadly provocations like they did in Chicago's Marquette Park last August. Welding the power of the working class to the oppressed minorities, November 5 shows the way forward against the racists and the capitalist state which breeds them. The integrated union marshals who stood shoulder to shoulder in defense against the KKK represent the promise of the workers party which must be built in this country—a multiracial workers party to lead the fight for workers revolution. ■

WV Photos

**Members of the Committee for Dignity & Justice to the Homeless (inset) joined hundreds in celebrating victory over Klan at the Blue Horizon Auditorium.**

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# Stop the Klan, This Is the Hour—

*We print below excerpts from the speeches at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.*

### Don Andrews

*Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League for Social Defense*

I'd like to welcome everyone to this victory rally over the Ku Klux Klan lynchers and skinhead stormtroopers. Because these fascists have been circling around this area; they made their first big attempt to penetrate Philadelphia, and we stopped them! We're also here to honor the working people who are denied the fruits of their labor in this deeply racist capitalist society. You can't isolate the fight against fascism from the fight against capitalism. It's going to take a workers revolution to sweep these fascists away once and for all!

### Gene Herson

*An organizer of November 5 Mobilization and long-time member of the National Maritime Union*

We are meeting on the very spot and at the same time that the fascist Ku Klux Klan and skinheads wanted to be and rally today. They are not here, and we are! They were defeated by the organized and integrated power of the union movement, leading civil rights organizations and other decent people from across the country. All of the unions and union officials and other organizations and individuals which endorsed this demonstration and especially those who have come here today have written a great page in the history of class struggle, testifying to the power of labor

### Ray Martinez

*Vice President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668*

I must admit that when the item was first brought up at our chapter board meeting, I was kind of middle-of-the-line. I'm one of those who wasn't sure whether we would be giving the Klan, the scum that they are, the attention that we don't want to give them. And I'm very happy to admit that I was wrong. I'm thrilled with what's going on here, and we did succeed. We have to keep this in mind for the future, and rather than keep away, I think we need to do exactly what we've done today. We will continue to keep them away from Philadelphia and wherever they try to march and preach their hatred, their filth

WV Photo

Ray Martinez

### Fred McMullen

*Temple Lambda Alliance*

I look around the square and I see before me an amazing group of people—blacks and Jews, Hispanics, Asians, lesbian women and gay men alongside of labor people. According to the KKK, blacks and Jews, lesbians and gays and other minorities have no right to exist. We will not allow these hatemongers and terrorists to walk unchallenged through the streets of the city in which freedom and liberty were born in this country over 200 years ago. And while you may say that the real world does not afford freedom and equality for everyone, that we are not without hatred and violence, the fact that we are here together today as one shows that we are well on our way to making that a reality for everyone.

### Beverly Africa

*On behalf of MOVE*

On the MOVE! I'm here on behalf of MOVE people to let everybody here know about the injustice that's still going on with MOVE people. Behind the May 13 bombing, the 1978 confrontation with the police, is an ongoing persecution. What really makes us so bitter is that nine innocent MOVE people are in prison for 100 years, each for a murder that nobody saw them commit, a murder that nobody can prove they committed, because they didn't commit it. At the same time, the whole world saw system officials drop their bomb on us, killing eleven innocent MOVE people. And these officials are still walking the streets, still employed by this system. On top of this criminal arrogance, these political thugs ain't got no justification for locking up nobody for murder, like they're against murder, like they're offended by murder, when their hands are drenched with MOVE people's blood.

WV Photo

Beverly Africa

My sister Sue Africa was sentenced to 6 to 12 years, and she's been in prison a total of seven years. My sister Alherta Africa was sentenced to 22 months to 7 years, and she's been imprisoned six and a half years already. When this system's officials come at MOVE people, they are talking of one thing, stopping the MOVE organization, stopping John Africa. But they will never stop John Africa, they will never stop MOVE from moving on this rotten murderous system.

WV Photo

**Co-chairmen Don Andrews and Al Nelson open victory rally: "KKK no way! You ain't gonna march today!"**

### Nelson Johnson

*President of the Theologue Fellowship, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, and a survivor of the Greensboro Massacre*

Nine years and two days ago, in Greensboro, North Carolina, five trade-union and community organizers lay dead or dying in the streets. Nine other persons were wounded and the black community, the Morningside community of that city, was thrown into a state of terror. And this tragic incident resulted in the immediate sense from a savage attack by a joint party of Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

And though I was wounded on that day, I spent November 3, 1979 in a jail cell unavailable for bond. And while in jail that night, my whole being was gripped by the reality that five of the best people in the world, dedicated trade unionists and community organizers, had been slain in the street by Klan and Nazis and I was in jail. One of the persons killed that day was a beautiful black woman from Piedmont, South Carolina. Her name was Sandy Smith. So, with the memory of Sandy Smith, Jim Waller, Cesar Cauce, Bill Sampson and Michael Nathan still fresh in my mind, I am here today to salute you and to stand in solidarity with you.

It's rather ironic that on the day that we were having the trial at which the Klan and Nazis were acquitted, we learned of the tragic bombing of the MOVE headquarters. I commend in particular the Partisan Defense Committee and all of those individuals who in spite of differences have come together to say to each other, and to say to Philadelphia, and to say to the nation, that we will resist with creative determination the spread of racism and racist violence and human degradation wherever we find it.

There has been a massive growth in what the sociologists call the urban underclass. This terminology is just a fancy term to label and to dismiss millions of black people, men, women and children who are living on the edge of existence, and who are locked in permanent cages of poverty. Thousands will freeze to death this winter because they have no homes. And still millions of others live from job to job and are paid nearly nothing for their labor. The problem of which I speak is created by the structure flowing from this system and the policies promoted by the greed and the domination of a few at the expense of the many.

When I speak of statistics, when I talk of people living on the edge, I see faces. I see faces that I grew up with gnarled and marred by many years of suffering and pain. The victims of historical discrimination ought not to be dismissed as the "urban underclass" and put in some category and forgot about. They are God's children and they are my brothers and sisters. And we have to stand today and fight against everything that would deny their existence. This occasion is an opportunity to take charge of America and to remake America.

WV Photo

Nelson Johnson

My courageous brothers and sisters, I bring you greetings once again from the Theologue Fellowship of Virginia Union University, and from the Greensboro Justice Fund of which I am the chairman. God bless you, peace, power and liberation!

### Charles Valenta

*President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034*

As an American trade unionist, we learned a long time ago about division and disunity. The employer would often—and still does—pit one worker against another. He would use differences in nationality, differences in religion, and differences in race. And he all

WV Photo

Charles Valenta

## Telegram from Guadeloupe

*When the French fascist leader Le Pen tried to make an election campaign trip to France's Caribbean colonies last December, militant unionists in Guadeloupe surrounded the plane and refused to let him disembark. Hotel workers in Martinique threatened to go on strike if Le Pen stayed there. This example of workers action against the fascist threat underlines the importance of the following telegram from Ernest Moutoussamy, deputy to the French parliament from Guadeloupe, which was read to the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.*

4 November 1988

I salute your fight against the KKK, racism and injustice. These scourges are terrible dangers for the working class, blacks, the popular masses and for humanity that must be fought with the greatest resolve. In solidarity with your opportune initiative, I stand at the side of the working class of your country and its vanguard in their struggle against capitalism, and its deformities. I wish your demonstration a huge success.

# Labor, Blacks Have Got the Power!

WV Photo

**Workers defense guard in front of speakers platform. The united-front rally served as a tribune of protest against fascist and state terror. Remember Greensboro! Free Ramona Africa! Save Mumia!**

too often succeeded. One worker or another would fall for the divide-and-conquer routine of the boss. A house divided must fall. We cannot allow that to happen. The KKK and the skinheads, the supremacist groups, their success depends upon us being divided. We came here in unity today. We came here in solidarity. Together we will stamp out the KKK and all of the violent supremacist groups. We will do that through unity of action, such as this demonstration today.

### Ed Kartsen

*Spartacist League*

The Klan are sadistic killers, whether they're wearing their white sheets or not. They are not a debating society. They are not just a bunch of kooks who have some backward notions and anti-scientific conceptions about human development. They are murderers. Their idea of freedom of expression is what the government did to MOVE—burning eleven people alive including five small children.

We remember Carole Robertson, Annie May Collins, Denise McNair, Cynthia Wesley—these were children that were attending the 16th Street Baptist Church in 1963 in Birmingham, when 15 sticks of dynamite went off, killing all of them. That was the work of the Klan, according to Gary Rowe, who was an FBI informer who testified that he helped the Klan carry out this hideous act of terror. The Ku Klux Klan and skinheads are organized lynchers, bombers and murderers! We stand for mobilizing all the intended victims of these killers to stop them before they do to the human race what Hitler did.

The rulers of this country have gone flat out to build up a military capacity to destroy the Soviet Union in a nuclear first strike. Both the Democrats and the Republicans have turned their backs on the working people of this country, those who created the wealth of this country. They're depriving the working people of the wealth in order to build this anti-Soviet war machine. The skinheads and the Klan are the shock troops of this policy. Everyone here knows that whether we have four more years of Bush or Dukakis, that this policy will continue, this policy to destroy the working and poor people of this country.

We must start to re-establish the fact that the wealth of this country must be placed in the hands of those who produced it. We need real job training programs, not this fake "workfare," which simply puts welfare mothers in a position of abandoning their children in favor of nonexistent jobs. Welfare mothers should be protected, rather than made scapegoats. Free quality day care should be provided for children, a living income, meaningful education, job skills training.

The courts and prisons are the dumping ground for those the ruling class of this country have turned their backs on. Millions of potentially productive people are being jammed into the prisons. We think it's time to defend all victims of racist terror, all victims of capitalist justice, so-called justice. Free ex-Black Panther Geronimo Pratt! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal from Death Row! Free the Kentucky Miners sentenced to life imprisonment! Abolish the Jim Crow death penalty!

WV Photo

Ed Kartsen

It's time to play hardball. We need to oust the sellout bureaucrats who'd rather see the unions destroyed than fight the bosses and their cops and courts. We need to break with the Democrats and Republicans, who are partners in racist American capitalism.

Workers of this country need a party, the kind of party that Lenin led in making the first successful workers revolution in history. The Black Hundreds were the version of the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads in Russia. These dangerous Russian reactionaries have reemerged under the label of Pamyat. The Soviet revolution succeeded by smashing the Russian fascists. America's Red October can only go forward, a socialist America can only be possible by defeating the skinheads and the KKK.

A workers party can swing millions of workers into action—black, white, Hispanic and Asian—in opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and skinheads. Blacks must be joined with Jews in opposition to Kahane and Farrakhan. The Spartacist League is the core of a workers party of the Bolshevik type. Join us in building a party that will bring about workers power. Join us in the fight to build a socialist future. Stop the skinheads! Stop the Klan! For workers power! For a workers government!

### Chakwi Irving

*All-African People's Revolutionary Party*

Just before I came up, I was looking around, and I saw this particular slogan, and I asked the man that was carrying it if I could bring this up on the stage with me. The reason being, I think that this slogan actually is the essence of the whole struggle, that "Capitalism Breeds Racism" and that we need to struggle and "Fight for Socialism."

As a conscious African born in this racist capitalist society of North America, I have come to understand absolutely and clearly why organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan are allowed and encouraged to exist. We need to drive them into the ground. And never will a disorganized mass put an end to the Ku Klux Klan once and for all. We have to understand the need to be permanently organized and politically conscious to see clearly the purpose that "racism"—"racism" in quotes, national oppression, national chauvinism—serves in a class-divided society. If you're not in an organization on a permanent basis, in an organization that's trying to struggle to do something for the people, you're not serious about smashing the Ku Klux Klan.

### Haskell Berman

*Retired member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and member of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency*

Thank you, brothers and sisters, for coming here on this miserable wet day, to make a statement and to show your real concern about what's going on in this city, in this country, and around the world. The skinheads, the Nazis, the "White Pride" people, the Klan, they're anti-labor, they're racist, they're for segregation, they're for inequality, they're for violence. Their heroes are Hitler and the fascist dictators.

We're here to stop racism in its tracks, and to stop those who will tomorrow transform racist rhetoric into genocide, violence, who will burn books and promote inequality and brutality and murder, and who in the name of patriotism will send our brothers and sisters to war. It is no accident that when this rally was called, that the powers in this city sought to label our protest as "violent" and urged us and the public media not to attend or support the rally. Our rally is in defense of the rights of all of us—blacks and whites, workers and youth, trade unionists, all races, religions and creeds. Can you believe that a black mayor who dropped a bomb on 60 black families portrayed our demonstration as "violence-prone" and urged people not to demonstrate?

The people who hold economic and political power keep the fascists and racists on a leash, like mad dogs. They covertly feed them, and ultimately will unleash them when the working class defends its own interest.

### Irving Jones

*New Alliance Party*

Only through constant struggle can we hope to eradicate the Klan and the neo-Nazi groups that infest the communities in these United States. I'd like for you to join with me and the New

*continued on page 10*

## "Let the KKK Know How Strong We Are"

*We print below excerpts from labor statements of support to the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.*

**AFSCME Local 2586, Philadelphia**

Our Local #2586 are asking all our members to come out on this day and help us let the KKK know that we are against [their] demonstration in Philadelphia. Wear your AFSCME hats, jackets, signs, let them know how strong we are and we don't want them here.

**Maxine McCleary, President**
**AFSCME Local 2586, Philadelphia**

When I hear anything about the KKK I right away think about the Birmingham church bombing and the murder of those children and also the civil rights workers that were murdered. Our union is in support of and endorses the demonstration to stop the KKK on November 5.

**Hugh Tague, Business Manager**
**OPEIU Local 14, Philadelphia**

Union people should not forget the union-busting, strike-breaking role that the Klan has played for many years. When we organized Minute Maid in Florida into the United Farm Workers in 1972, the Klan burnt crosses throughout the state on the night that this first farm labor contract was signed. The American people need to know the danger that the Klan represents to working people in this country.

**Charles Spencer, President**
**ILA Local 1408, Jacksonville**

A powerful union presence will ensure a real victory for the labor movement. Labor must take a stand now, and not allow the treatment of unjust and unhumane to continue against the very principle of our country. We *must* let the elected officials of every level, federal, state, and city, know that we oppose and that *we are all out to stop the Ku Klux Klan* on November 5!

**Alan Perdue, President**
**AFGE Local 1457,**
**San Francisco**

Our union passed a motion against the Klan and the Skinheads, calling on the integrated Bay Area labor movement to use its power to stop the racist attacks of these labor-haters. We urge working people and minorities in Philadelphia on Nov. 5th to rally and stand together against the Klan/Skinheads and make sure that Philly is a safe place for all of the decent hard working people. ■

# November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia

## "We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration in Philadelphia: 'All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan November 5'."

**List of Endorsers, 5 November 1988**

**Mumia Abu-Jamal** Huntingdon, PA
**Ralph Acosta** State Representative, Philadelphia, PA
**Activist Studies Forum**, Hunter College,* New York, NY
**ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power)**, New York, NY
**Russell L. Adams** Associate Professor, Afro-American Studies Department, Howard University,* Washington, D C
**African American Student Union**, Temple University,* Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Council 67**, Baltimore, MD
**AFSCME District Council 33**, Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Highways Local 403**, Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Local 12, University of Iowa Employees Union** Iowa City, IA
**AFSCME Local 444**, Oakland, CA
**AFSCME Local 2019**, Oakland, CA
**AFSCME Local 2412**, Madison, WI
**AFSCME Local 2586**, Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Local 2587**, Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Local 2607**, Philadelphia, PA
**AFSCME Local 3219**, Oakland, CA
**AFSCME Wisconsin State Employees Union Local 1**, Madison, WI
**All African People's Revolutionary Party**
**Naomi Allen** Shop Steward, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY
**Alpha Delta Chapter**, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity,* City College of New York,* New York, NY
**Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241**, Chicago, IL
**Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732**, Atlanta, GA
**American Federation of Government Employees Local 1457**, San Francisco, CA
**American Federation of Teachers Local 1474 Executive Board**, Berkeley, CA
**Gary Andersen**, Vice Chairman, Conductor/Tower Division of TWU Local 100,* Bronx, NY
**Anti-Apartheid Committee**, AFSCME Local 1644,* Atlanta GA
**Anthony Appiah** Associate Professor of Philosophy/Africana Studies, Cornell University,* Ithaca, NY
**Ascension Poetry Reading Series**, Washington, D C
**Asian American Alliance**, Oberlin, OH
**Asian Pacific Coalition, UCLA**, Los Angeles, CA
**Leora Auslander**, Assistant Professor, History Department, University of Chicago,* Chicago, IL
**Martez V Byrd Baker**, President, AFSCME Local 2477,* Washington, D C
**Charles Barkley** Forward Philadelphia 76ers,* Philadelphia, PA
**Barnard Organization of Black Women**, Barnard College,* New York, NY
**Donald L. Barnett**, President, NALC Branch 24,* Los Angeles, CA
**James R. Barratt**, Executive Board and Past President, USWA Local 8751,* Hyde Park MA
**Haskell Barman** retired member, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers,* Philadelphia PA
**Paul Bigman**, International Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers,* Chicago, IL
**Black & White Men Together**, Chicago, IL
**Black & White Men Together**, Philadelphia, PA
**Black Student Alliance** Georgia State University,* Atlanta, GA
**Wanda J. Black** Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgameted Transit Union Local 241, Chicago IL
**Bolshevik Tendency**
**Frank Boone** Vice Chairman, United Motorman Division of TWU Local 100,* New York NY
**Spurgeon L. Boone**, President, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
**Louis J. Brady** Director, Department of Civil Rights, International Union of Operating Engineers,* Washington, D C
**Jackie B. Breckenridge**, International Vice President Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
**Nehemiah M. Brown, Jr.** President, Federal Public Service Employees Local 649,* Norfolk, VA
**Preston Browning** Associate Professor Department of English, University of Illinois,* Chicago, IL
**Cadena de Solidaridad con Chile** Bronx, NY
**Michael L. Callen**, founding member, People with AIDS Coalition,* New York NY
**Campaign Against Apartheid** University of California,* Berkeley, CA
**Sadie Campbell** Business Agent, CWA Local 1150, Bronx NY
**Caribbean Students Association**, City College of New York,* New York, NY
**Caribbean Student Union** Hunter College,* New York NY
**Caribbean Students Union** Brooklyn College,* Brooklyn, NY
**Gerald J. Cavanaugh** Lecturer University of California,* Berkeley, CA
**Chris Carlis** Public Affairs Director, WRTI 90 1 FM,* Philadelphia PA
**Alicia L. Carroll** Secretary Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Philadelphia PA
**Brenda L. Carroll** Steward, Teamsters Local 743,* Chicago IL
**Jerry Carter** Financial Secretary, USWA Local 436,* Atlanta GA
**John H Carter** Council Administrator, AFSCME Council 67 Baltimore MD
**Centro Pedro Clavar** Philadelphia PA
**Centro Presente** Cambridge, MA
**Gail P Chauncey** Special Projects Editor, *The Spartan Echo*, Norfolk State University,* Chesapeake, VA
**Gabi Christov**, member, Women Strike for Peace, Washington Peace Center,* Washington, D C
**State Representative David Clarenbach**, Wisconsin State Assembly,* Madison, WI
**Rev J W. Clemons**, Hampton Road Minister's Conference,* Chesapeake, VA
**Coalition of Black Trade Unionists** Philadelphia, PA
**David Cohen**, Councilmember-at-Large, Philadelphia City Council,* Philadelphia, PA
**Leroy Collier**, Branch President, NALC Branch 2200,* Pasadena, CA
**Victor Collins**, Director, Minority Student Service at Old Dominion University,* Norfolk, VA
**Comité por la No Intervención en Centroamérica** San Francisco, CA
**Thomas Paine Cronin**, President, AFSCME District Council 47,* Philadelphia, PA
**William E. Cross**, Associate Professor, Cornell University,* Ithaca NY
**CWA Local 1150**, New York, NY
**Danny K. Davis**, Alderman, 29th Ward, Chicago, IL
**Richard Davis**, Madison, WI
**Day Session Student Government**, Hunter College,* New York, NY
**Day Student Government**, City College of New York,* New York, NY
**Ronald V Dellums**, Member of Congress,* Oakland, CA
**Tracey T. Devlin**, Tool Lab Shop Steward, TWU Local 100,* New York, NY
**John J. DiPaolo**, Vice President, IAM Local 1018,* Flushing, NY
**Andrew Douglas**, President, Graphic Communications International Union Local 14-M * Philadelphia, PA
**Ernest Downing** Chairperson, East New York Shop, TWU Local 100,* Queens, NY
**Steve Downs**, member TWU Local 100,* New York, NY
**William Easterling** Retired President and Business Agent, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 268,* Cleveland Heights, OH
**Herbert Edwards**, President, ACTWU Local 170,* Philadelphia, PA
**Rev. Graylan Scott Ellis-Hagler**, Minister, Church of the United Community * Roxbury, MA
**Henry English**, President/CEO, Illinois Black United Fund, Inc.,* Chicago, IL
**Bruce Evans**, Advocator and member, Philadelphia Unemployment Project,* Philadelphia, PA
**Jesse S. Everett**, Shop Steward, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta, GA
**15th & York St. Small Businessparson Association**, Philadelphia, PA
**Lesley Finch**, Trustee, UAW Local 2300,* Ithaca, NY
**James C. Finkel**, Recording Secretary, United Motormen Division of TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY
**Stanley Fischer**, Vice President, OCAW District 8 Council,* Brick, NJ
**Eric Foner**, Professor of History, Columbia University,* New York, NY
**Marvin Foreman** Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees No 23,* Norfolk, VA
**Benny Fosler**, Vice Chairmen, Power Division of TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY
**Fourth Internationalist Tendency**
**Sara C Frenco**, President, Confederation of Latin American Students at the University of Illinois,* Chicago, IL
**Richard S. Fraser**, Historic American Trotskyist, Los Angeles, CA
**Freedom Socialist Party**
**Rabbi Allen I Freehling** Los Angelas, CA
**Peter H. Freeman**, Delegate, Social Service Employees Union Local 371,* New York, NY
**Henry Fuqua**, Steward, SEIU Local 73,* Chicago, IL
**A. James Gastaniello** President, IAM Local 1018,* Flushing, NY
**Gay and Lesbian Alliance** San Francisco City College,* San Francisco, CA
**Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Alliance**, University of California,* Berkeley, CA
**Gay Men's Alliance of Hunter College**, New York, NY
**Gay People's Union**, Hunter College,* New York, NY
**Jeremy Genovese**, Executive Board member at large CWA Local 4309,* Cleveland Heights, OH
**Louis Gianneiti** Professor of English and Film, Department of English, Case Western Reserve University * Cleveland, OH
**John Glasel** President, American Federation of Musicians Local 802,* New York, NY
**Neil Gleason** President, AFSCME Local 144 * Madison WI
**Michael Goldfield** Professor of Government, Cornell University * Ithaca NY
**Vaughn Goodwin** President, NAACP Temple Chapter-SCORE * Philadelphia PA
**Gilbert Gordon** Attorney Chicago, IL
**Samuel Green** Executive Board member Amalgamated Transit Union Local 732, Atlanta GA
**James Grimes** New York City transit worker (retired), Rivardale, GA
**Frank Grinnon** Business Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011 * Oakland CA
**Hallian Student Association**, City College of New York * New York NY
**Jerry Hall**, President SEIU Local 535 Los Angeles County Chapter * Los Angeles, CA
**Mark H. Hall**, Zone Representative UAW Local 2300,* Ithaca, NY
**Chris Hanson-Sánchez** President, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Philadelphia Chapter,* Philadelphia PA
**Berkley Harmon III** Vice President, Kappa Alpha Psi,* Temple University * Philadelphia, PA
**Alexander Harrington**, member, Democratic Socialists of America,* New York NY
**Leon Harris** Secretary/Treasurer, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
**Willie F Harris** Staff Representative SEIU Local 25,* Chicago IL
**Harvard-Radcliffe Gay & Lesbian Students Association** Cambridge, MA
**Herbert Harvey** Steward/Delegate, AFSCME District Council 33, Philadelphia, PA
**Charles Hayes** Member of Congress * Chicago, IL
**Calvin Hernton** Professor of Black Studies, Oberlin College * Oberlin, OH
**Mary B. Hester** Secretary CWA Local 4309,* Cleveland, OH
**Gene Hoffman** General Chairman, IAM,* Lynbrook, NY
**John Holmes**, Chairman, Daily Review Chapel, Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21,* Oakland, CA
**Linda Kaye Holmes**, Recording Secretary and Chair of Civil Rights Committee, SEIU Local 82,* Washington, D C
**Hometowns Against Shutdowns** Brick, NJ
**Perry L. Huested** Sergeant at Arms UAW Local 2300,* Ithaca NY
**James Hunter**, President, AFSCME Local 2799,* Detroit, MI
**Linda Hunter** Associate Professor Department of African Languega and Litaralura, University of Wisconsin,* Madison, WI
**IAM Local 1111**, Hawthorne, CA
**IAM Local 1894**, South Ozone Park NY
**ILA Local 1408**, Jacksonville, FL
**ILA Local 1458, Freighthandlers** Norfolk, VA
**ILWU Local 10**, San Francisco, CA
**Yves A Isidor**, Professor, Roxbury Community College,* and Officer of the Committee of Solidarity with Haiti,* Cambridge, MA
**Edgar S Jackson**, Business Agent Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192,* Oakland, CA
**Ronald W Jackson, Sr** President Amalgamated Transit Union Local 268,* Cleveland OH
**Harold L. Jamison**, Journalist, *New York Amsterdam News*,* New York, NY
**Willie Jenkins**, ex-Business Manager, Laborers International Union Local 334,* Detroit, MI
**E. Roy John** Director, Brain Research Laboratory and Professor, Department of Psychiatry, NYU Medical Center,* New York, NY
**Randy Johnase**, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535,* Oakland, CA
**Cynthia Johnson**, Assistant Director, Legislative Office, Woman Strike for Peace * Washington, D C
**Nelson N Johnson** President, Theologus Fellowship, Virginia Union University * Richmond VA
**Roscoe D Johnson**, President, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668, Philadelphia Chapter Philadelphia, PA
**Harliel Jones**, member, Grass Roots Congress * Cleveland, OH
***Journal and Guide***, Norfolk VA
**Michio Kaku** Professor, Physics Department, City College of New York * New York NY
**Rabbi Joanna Katz** Philadelphia PA
**Josephus R. King**, President, AFSCME Council 25 Local 23 * Detroit, MI
**Peter J. Koll** Professor Borough of Manhattan Community College, City University of New York,* New York NY
**Maggie Kuhn** National Convener Gray Panthers,* Philadelphia, PA
**William Kunstler** Attorney, New York NY
**Labor Black League for Social Defense** Oakland, CA
**Labor Black Struggle League** Chicago IL
**George Lach** Executive Board member, AFSCME Local 2203,* Baltimore, MD
**Susan L. Laniz** Director, Labor and Community Affairs, Independant Federation of Flight Attendants,* Forest Hills NY
**Frank Laraque** Associate Professor Black Studies Department City College of New York,* New York NY
**League for the Revolutionary Party**
**James Leehan** Director University Christian Movement, Cleveland State University * Cleveland, OH
**Melvin Leiman** Professor of Economics, State University of New York * Binghamton NY
**Mildred F Leonard** Steward IBEW Local 134 * Chicago IL
**Lesbian/Gay Alliance** San Francisco State University * San Francisco CA
**Lesbians Rising Collective of Hunter College** New York NY
**Isaac Levert** Financial Secretary-Treasurer UAW Local 486,* Cleveland Heights, OH
**Paris Lewis** Organizer, Howard University Progressive Student Movement * Washington D C
**Richard Lewontin** Professor of Zoology Harvard University * Cambridge MA
**Jack Lieblein** Steward CWA Local 1150, Brooklyn NY
**Walter Lippmann** Secretary SEIU Local 535 Los Angeles Social Services Chapter * Los Angeles, CA
**Sheldon B Liss** Professor of Latin American History and Government University of Akron,* Akron, OH
**Conrad Lynn** Mid-Hudson Regional Counsel NAACP * Nanuet NY

# Speeches...

*(continued from page 9)*

Alliance Party in hoping that you will join in a revolutionary struggle to stop the Ku Klux Klan and fascist oppression. On November 8, Lenora B. Fulani will be the first black woman to run on the ballot in all 50 states. Stomp on the Democratic and Republican parties—stomp on the capitalist politicians, and stand up for your freedom! Stop the KKK!

### Al Nelson

*Partisan Defense Committee*

This is a historic day in Philadelphia. The Ku Klux Klan and skinheads said they were going to be here, and they're not here. What this represents is direct action by the labor movement and the decent people of Philadelphia, who came out, organized behind a program to stop the KKK and the skinheads. That basic conception—the labor movement organized behind a program, its revolutionary party—is what is necessary to return the power to the people who built this country.

Some people say, well, ignore the Klan. No! You ignore the Klan and you get violence, you get churches being bombed, you get black people being driven out of integrated neighborhoods, you get interracial couples being beaten up on the street by fascist skinhead punks. You ignore the Klan, they grow. They grow with violence, and they spread their racist poison into the labor movement.

Labor has been taking a beating for a number of years, everyhody knows that. But the labor movement is the strongest social force in this country. So it's important that the racist poison represented by the KKK and its filthy ideology not be permitted to polarize the powerful labor movement along racial lines, thereby weakening their ability to defend themselves against the attack of the rich, the union-busting bosses, the Trumps, the Reagans, the two-party system called the "property party."

### Mary Jo Marino

*New York transit worker*

I want to say something in particular to the brothers and the sisters that are in the unions here, and came out to this. You know, you can't play by the rules that the people we're struggling against have laid down. We can't let them be the dealer, or you find out that they're holding all the aces and slipping us the deuces. They've got power, they've got state power, and they've got a law against everything that we need to do to defend ourselves and protect our interests.

We've got to have some hard class struggle. And the fight to rebuild unionism in this country needs a hard fight for black rights. It was Karl Marx who once said that labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin, while in the black it is branded. And that's true today. What built the unions in this country was not simply militant tactics like factory occupations, sit-down strikes, mass picket lines. No, they also had to tackle and tear down the Jim Crow system in industry.

We can't talk about leading united class struggle against the givebacks in industry unless we talk about fighting also to keep the racists-in-blue off the backs of our brothers. All they want to do is use and abuse black and working people. So we say: enough of these takeback Democrats and giveback bureaucrats. We built this country, we keep this country going, we can run this country. We have no choice, we have to build a workers party. So check out the Spartacist League.

### Mohan Nair

*Spartacus Youth Clubs*

The Spartacus Youth Club is the youth group of the Spartacist League. And since the PDC initiated the call for this demonstration, the SYCs across the country have swung into full gear to throw our full weight behind this effort to mobilize to stop the KKK in Philadelphia. And we stood side by side with these militants, at distributions of leaflets, at the factory gates, and at the bus harns. And the response from the campuses here was tremendous. We've got contingents here today from local campuses like Bryn Mawr and Haverford, and from far away like Wesleyan in Connecticut and Hunter and Columbia in New York and UW-Madison and Cornell.

We're a socialist political organization. We're bright red. We're communists in training. We defend the Soviet Union, the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. And we defend them concretely. When Reagan was trying to target Nicaragua, the partial gains of that revolution, to roll them back on his way to rolling back Cuba and Moscow, we said no way. And we raised money all over this country—$30,000—and gave it right to the Nicaraguan government and said, here, crush those contra scum! That's the way forward too! Youth in this country are not going to have a future without workers revolution. And that's what we fight for! ■

# Mumia Abu-Jamal...

*(continued from page 12)*

sole assignment is to protect the Klan if they were to appear. It is fitting that one agency of the state, the cops, are assigned to protect another agent, the Klan. For make no mistake, the KKK serves the interests of the ruling class who must divide to rule. The Klan gets protection as they are a tool of the system. MOVE gets bombed *by* the system as they are against the system.

So, what weapon can best defeat this hooded menace? The answer lies in defeating their underhanded but clear objective. The answer is unity. Unity across the broadest possible base, not just against the Klan but unity against

William Marshall, Pecolme, CA
Aurelio P. Martinez, Jr., President National Association of Letter Carriers Local 142,' Washington, D C
David Maiza, Professor of Sociology, University of California,* Berkeley, CA
Carlton McBurrows, President, AFSCME Local 2920 Michigan Council 25,* Detroit MI
Dr Phillip McGee, Dean, School of Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University * San Francisco, CA
Fred McMullen Executive Co-Coordinator, Temple Lambda Alliance, the lesbian and gay student union at Temple University, Philadelphia PA
James M McPherson, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University,' Princeton, NJ
Sheila McTighe Assistant Professor, History of Art, Cornell University ' Ithaca, NY
Michael Mazo, President, USWA Local 1010,* East Chicago, IL
Cheri Micheau Teacher, University of Pennsylvania * Philadelphia, PA
Franz Minuty, Host The Caribbean Forum, WZBC Radio,* Mattapan, MA
Harold Mitchell, President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Cleveland Chapter,' and President, AFSCME Local 100, Cleveland City Employees,' Cleveland OH
Parran J. Mitchell, Former Member of Congress," Bellimore, MD
Alicia A. Monies-Malzgei District Council member, ILWU Local 6 * Oakland, CA
Jim Moran, Director, PHILAPOSH," and Executive Board member, Newspaper Guild Local 10,' Philadelphia, PA
Thom J Moss Secretary/Treasurer, OCAW Local 1-547," Lewndale, CA
NAACP Brooklyn Youth and College Division, Brooklyn, NY
Mark Nelson Professor of Afro-American Studies, Fordham University,' Brooklyn, NY
National Association for Chicano Studies, Midwest Region Minneapolis, MN
New Alliance Party Philadelphia PA
Morton Newman Business Agent, ILWU Local 6," San Francisco, CA
New York Labor Black League for Social Defense New York, NY
Clifton Norman Director, AFSCME District Council 88," Weyne, PA
Oakland Education Association Oakleird, CA
Bertell Ollman, Professor, Department of Politics New York University,' New York NY
Operation PUSH
Orange County Central Labor Council, Senta Ana CA
Angel L. Ortiz, Councilmember-at-Large, Philadelphia City Council,' Philadelphia, PA
Louise Pelmer, Coordinator, Amnesty International Wesleyan University Chapter," Middletown, CT
Victor Pamilyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6," Oakland, CA
Pan-Afrikan Student Union University of the District of Columbia,' Washington, D C
Panhellenic Council of Temple University Philadelphia PA
Partisan Defense Committee
Dr William A. Pelz Lecturer, Political Science Department, Roosevelt University," Chicago, IL
Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668, Philadelphia PA
Marlin Perlich, Writer/Producer, Los Angeles, CA
Keith Phelps Business Representative, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1064," Dearborn, MI
Philadelphia Area Labor Committee Against Apartheid, Philadelphia, PA
Pi Alpha Chapter Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Inc * Middletown, CT
Sterling D. Plumpp Professor, Black Studies, University of Illinois,' Chicago, IL
Poder Popular de Chile Bronx NY
Jonas Ponlusson, Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University," Ithaca, NY
Janice Poyal Shop Steward AFSCME District Council 37 Local 1549," Brooklyn, NY
Geronimo ji Jega (Prall) Tamal, CA
("Quack") Magazine Hunter College ' New York, NY
Radical Women
Homer Reed Second Vice President Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241 Chicago, IL
Larry Regan, President, USWA Local 1014 Gary IN
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034 Philadelphia, PA
Dale Maurice Riepe Emeritus Professor and Art Dealer Ars Asiatica * Olympie, WA
Lewis G. Robinson Vice President, Grassroots Political Action Committee," Shaker Heights OH
Efrain Roche Editor, *Enfoque Comunitario*," Philadelphia PA
Harold Rogers National Board member, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists * Chicago, IL
Joel Rogers Associate Professor, School of Law, University of Wisconsin,' Madison WI
Selwyn Rogers Mid-West Regional Chair Black Rank and File Exchange * Detroit, MI
James W Rookerd, Director CWA Local 4309 (Ameritech Companies)," Cleveland, OH
Seth Rosen Director, CWA Local 4309 (Ohio Bell),' Cleveland Heights OH
Jeffrey M Roth Executive Director, Pinai Or Religious Fellowship,' Philadelphia, PA
Richard E. Rubenstein, Professor of Public Affairs, George Mason University ' Fairfax, VA
Beth Rubin Assistant Professor, Cornell University," Ithaca NY
Joseph Rubio Vice President IAM Local 311," Azusa CA
Anthony Russo member U S /Vietnem Friendship Association," Santa Monica CA
Feimin N Ruybalid Business Representative, Painter District Council 33,' San Jose CA
John W Ryan President CWA Local 4309 * Cleveland OH
James W Ryder Business Agent, ILWU Local 6," Oakland, CA
David Sambolin, member, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights," Philadelphia, PA
San Francisco School Bus Drivers Union, United Transportation Union Local 1741, San Francisco, CA
Gale Sayers, United Negro College Fund," Chicago Bears" (retired), Skokie, IL
Elana Schachter Philadelphia Steering Committee member Pinai Or Religious Fellowship," Philadelphia, PA
Rabbi Zalman M. Schachter-Shalomi, President Pinai Or Religious Fellowship," Philadelphia, PA
Morris U. Schappes Editor, *Jewish Currents*," New York, NY
David Schermerhorn, Business Agent ILWU Local 6," San Francisco, CA
Tim Schermerhorn, Shop Steward, TWU Local 100," Brooklyn, NY
School of General Studies Evening Student Government, Hunter College," New York NY
William R Scott, Chairman, Black Studies Department, Oberlin College," Oberlin, OH
David R Shelton, Vice President, San Fiarcisco School Bus Drivers Union, United Transportation Union Local 1741, Richmond, CA
James P Shenton Professor of History, Columbia University," New York, NY
Paul N Siegal Professor Emeritus, Long Island University * New York, NY
Chris Silvera, Steward, Teamsters Local 808," New York, NY
Maichel Smiley President, SEIU Local 722,' Washington, D C
George Smilnak, Treasurer, CWA Local 4309 * Cleveland OH
Donald A Smith, Executive Board member, NALC Branch 2200," Pasadena, CA
Leona Smith, Board member, Committee for Dignity & Fairness for the Homeless,' Philadelphia, PA
Malcolm Smith volunteer/member, Health Care Committee, Philadelphia Unemployment Project," Philadelphia, PA
Spartecist League of the U.S.
Spartacus Youth Club, New York NY
James V Stancil President, Student Government Association, Chicago State University ' Chicago, IL
Steve J Stam, Professor, History Department, University of Wisconsin,' Madison, WI
Albert E. Stewart Organizer Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers," Cambridge, MA
David Stewart, Executive Board member, ILWU Local 19,' Berkeley, CA
John F Street Councilmembor, Philadelphia City Council," Philadelphia, PA
Student Government Association, Hampton University," Hemplon, VA
Student Government Association, Norfolk State University," Norfolk, VA
Student Government of Bamaid College New York, NY
Student Health Society of Hunter College New York, NY
Students for Non-Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean City College of New York," New York NY
*The Subterranean Review*, Harvard College," Cambridge, MA
Hugh Tegue Business Menager, OPEIU Local 14 * Philedelphia PA
William "Bill" Tate Vice President and New York Regional Director, District 65-UAW," New York, NY
Tampia Lambda Alliance, the lesbian and gay student union at Temple University Philadelphia, PA
Ron Teninty President Teamsters Local 315," Martinez, CA
Tidewater Virginia Federal Employees Metal Trades Council, Portsmouth, VA
Gerald Tillermary Vice President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1934, Philadelphia PA
Stanley E Tolliver, Sr. Attorney-at-Law and member, Cleveland Board of Education," Cleveland OH
Zoila Torres, President, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights," Philadelphia PA
Terence S. Turner Professor, Department of Anthropology University of Chicago," Chicago, IL
Jean Y Tussey, Delegate to Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor," and member CTU No 53 CWA Local 1452," Cleveland Heights, OH
Ronald A Tytee Vice President CWA Local 1150, Mount Vernon NY
UAW Chicago Civil Rights Council, Chicago, IL
Ummi's Strategic Plan for Conscientious Survival, Philadelphia, PA
USWA Local 1014 Gary IN
Lloyd K Vandever President UE Local 1412," Oakland CA
Anna C. Verna Councilmember, Philadelphia City Council," Philadelphia PA
Edward Vezza President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1210," Runnemede, NJ
Benjamin Visnick Executive Board member Oakland Education Association/ CTA/NEA ' Kensington CA
Mark von Hagen, Asst Professor of History Columbia University * New York, NY
The Washington Sisters Columbus, OH
Arthur Watson Secretary/Treasurer American Federation of Government Employees Local 1457 San Francisco CA
Edward A. Wall, Executive Board member, TWU Local 100," Brooklyn, NY
Jerome Waits President ILA Local 1429 ' Baltimore MD
Alfonso Wells Former Chair of Trustees of UAW 1776 ' Detroit MI
Wesleyan Socialists Wesleyan University ' Middletown, CT
Philip E Wheaton Director Ecumenicel Program for Interamerican Communication and Action,' Washington, D C
Donald Wheeldin Vice President, Pasadena Resource Allocation Commission," Pasadena CA
Elois Williams President Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations * Philadelphia, PA
Ila L. Williams, Vice President Social Service Employees Union Local 371 * New York NY
Jena R Williams, President, African American Student Union, Temple University * Philadelphia, PA
Lois A Williamson Executive Director Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE) ' Philadelphia PA
Arthur Willis Chairman, People United for Justice," Philadelphia, PA
Edward Wolkenstein Former President, Erie #1 Co-op Teachers Assoc NYSUT, AFT ' Buffalo, NY
Terez E. Woods Executive Board member and Assistant Chief Steward, CWA Local 4309," Cleveland, OH
Evelyn M. Wyatt Steward, CWA Local 9410," San Francisco, CA
James Yates author and veteran of Abraham Lincoln Brigade," New York, NY
Richard I. Yates Clinical Counselor, Cleveland State University * Cleveland Heights, OH
Ronalie Youmans member, Human Rights Committee and House of Representatives of United Teachers of Los Angeles * Los Angeles, CA
Richard Ziebell President UAW Local 477," Chicago, IL

## International

Stefano Allievi CISL (Italian Workers Union Confederation)," Milan, Italy
ANPI, National Association of Italian Partisans, Milen, Italy
Anti-Fascist Organization Coburg West Germeny
The Black Community Council of Quebec, Inc., Montreal, Quebec
Gianni Bombacci Secretary CGIL (General Confederation of Italian Labor)," Milan, Italy
Dr Peter Brandt, Historian, West Berlin, Germany
Giovanni Campari, Deputy Editor *Interstampa* * Milan, Italy
Françoise Corbin Secretary, SGPEN-CGT (General Union of National Education Personnel-General Confederation of Workers)," Elbeuf France
Democrazia Proletaria Italy
Byron Dickens Vice President, Canadian Auto Workers Local 1459 * Etobicoke, Ontario
FIM-CISL, Italian Metallurgical Federation-Italian Workers Union Confederation Milen, Italy
Die Grünen (Greens) Parliamentary Fraction West Germeny
Baruch Hirson Editor *Searchlight South Africa*," London, England
Stewart Istvanily, Secretary of the Board, La Ligue des Droits et Libertés," Montreal, Quebec
Lewis Kent, Member of Parliament * Springvale, Victoria Australia
André Kolompai President, Canadian Union of Postel Workers Toronto Local * Toronto, Ontario
Jack Layton, City Councillor, Toronto, Ontario
Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1 Toronto Ontario
L. Lukkarinen 2nd Vice President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local," Toronto, Ontario
Carolyn Lynch Coordinator, The African and Caribbean Students Association," Toronto Ontario
Giuseppe Maltei FIM-CISL (Italian Metallurgical Federation-Italian Workers Union Confederation), Milan Italy
Reverend John McKnight Anglican Church Kings Cross * Darlinghurst New South Wales, Australia
Meat Industry Union Victoria Blanch, Victorra Australia
Jean-Claude Parrot, President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers," Ottawe, Ontario
David Pearce Shop Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local * Toronto, Ontario
Marion Pollack President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Vancouver Local," Vencouver, B C
Kai Rellim Chairman, VVN Allona Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime * Hemburg West Germany
Verena S. Rollmann Lawyer, Hamburg West Germeny
Israel Shahak civil rights advocate Jerusalem, Israel
C. Shone Shop Steward Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1 Ajax Ontario
Socialist Challenge (Toronto)
Sozialistischai Schulzbund/Kreuzberg, Socialist Defense League West Berlin, Germeny
Russ Stallberg Shop Steward, Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local," Toronto, Ontario
Homer Stevens Board of Trustees member, United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union,' Vancouver B C
William J Storring Vice Local Chairman United Transportation Union Local 483,' Toronto Ontario
Jacky Touzain Secretary CGT (General Confederation of Workers) Renault-Cléon Local ' Cléon, France
Waldeck Trautel Secretary SDEN-CGT (State Union of National Education-General Confederation of Workers)," Rouen France
Trotskyist League of Canada
Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD)
UIL/M-UIL, Italian Union of Metal Workers-Italian Union of Workers Milen, Italy
Unión de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica y Riego de Puerto Rico (UTIER) Santurce, Puerto Rico
Douglas A Uren President TWU Local 30," North Vancouver B C
USWA Local 6500 Sudbury Ontario
Charlie van Gelderan Socialist Outlook * Cambridge England
Esteban Volkov Curator, Leon Trotsky Museum * Coyoecán, Mexico
VVN, Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime West Berlin, Germany
Glenroy B Watson Organizer Southern Africa and Apartheid Information, National Union of Railwaymen,' London, England

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

*We want to make it very clear that endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with written material about the mobilization published by the Partisan Defense Committee in initiating the mobilization or by others*

their master for whom they are fronting, the ruling class. The racist message drooling out of the mouth of the coneheads of the Klan offers no solution to the state of crisis gripping America. It's but a shell game to buy time for a system enmired in ecological and social disaster.

If America could face tomorrow morning with no Africans, Jews, Spanish, Vietnamese and other so-called foreigners on the horizon, would the seas be free of toxic wastes? Would the ozone layer renew itself? Would the so-called greenhouse effect, which threatens to transform vast grain fields into shifting dust bowls, erase itself? In truth the Klan is but a diversion. For far more deadly racists sit in black robes, send blacks, Hispanics and poor into prisons where the state plays slavemaster. These are the courts' solutions to the problems facing the people. John Africa teaches, "The courts are the tools of industrial plague granting big business privilege to poison our earth."

Meanwhile, millionaire politicians mutter inanities about saluting the flag while the poor rummage in garbage cans for a meal and sleep in the streets of the richest nation on earth. Downtown Philadelphia, its towers of green, glittering opulence are a stark contrast to the dispirited denizens who inhabit the streets by night—hungry, homeless, hopeless. City streets take on the gritty, grimy sheen of a Calcutta while Bush rambles on about a thousand points of light.

The Klan can be stopped. The prisoners can be freed. The hungry can be fed and the homeless housed. But it will take the energies of the many; for the few, the rich ruling class, simply don't give a damn. Above all it takes unity, to confront and defeat the Klansmen—not just those at the Liberty Bell—but those in City Hall, those in Harrisburg and those in Washington, D.C. It takes committed people's unity to stop the Klansmen, not just those wearing white robes and hoods, but those in black robes, those in uniform, those with three-piece suits. It takes determination to acknowledge and resist the ruling class, the super-rich who back the Klan in its objective of division. It's high time folks looked around themselves—there at Independence Mall—and for once, forever, declare themselves truly independent of the system that steals their labor, steals their tomorrows, only to produce a legacy of a world choking in poison, in hatred, in division, in death.

Down with the Klan! And down with this rotten system! Freedom for MOVE! Freedom for Mona Africa! Freedom for Sue, Consuewella, Carlos and Moe Africa! Freedom for all political prisoners!

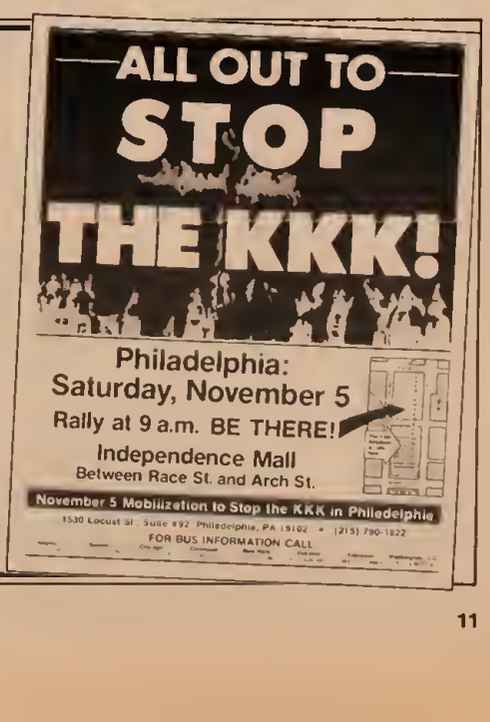
From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal. ■

## Support the November 5 Mobilization

**It took a lot of $$$ to make sure the Klan didn't ride in Philly. We couldn't have done it without active help and generous financial support from organizations and individuals in Philadelphia and across the country. But more is needed to pay the bills. The November 5 Mobilization printed over 420,000 leaflets in English and Spanish to get the word out. We printed thousands of posters, placed ads, sent out press releases and photos, organized buses. We still have big bills to pay for telephones, xeroxing, rally equipment rental, and much more. If you couldn't be there on November 5, if you or your organization hasn't already made a financial contribution, show your support for stopping the Klan by sending a contribution now to:**

November 5 Mobilization, c/o Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013

Want a souvenir from November 5? Receive a copy of the November 5 Mobilization poster (20" x 26") by sending $5 (or more) for each poster (includes packaging and mailing cost) to address above.



## Message to the November 5 Mobilization

# Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row

*This taped message from Mumia Abu-Jamal, a political prisoner on death row in Huntingdon, Pa., was sent to the November 5 anti-Klan rally. As a Philadelphia black radio journalist, Jamal was well known as the voice of the voiceless and downtrodden. A former Black Panther, Jamal courageously defended MOVE from state repression, and himself became a target of the Philly cops' vendetta. Pennsylvania governor Casey refused the demand of the Partisan Defense Committee to release Jamal on parole to speak at the November 5 Mobilization. The PDC has launched a nationwide campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from the racist death penalty.*

no credit

**Black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, "voice of the voiceless."**

Folk singer Richie Havens' frenetic strumming and his ragged rippling tenor immortalized the KKK in a moving, mournful dark ballad in which Havens intones: "He who rides with the Klan is a devil and not a man." But much as his music touches psychic chords, he is wrong. They are men. Men with an unholy objective: to pit white against black, Anglo against Hispanic, Christian against Jew, and indeed Protestant against Catholic in the ruling class interests. Despite the Klan's hooded image, blacks just hours out of slavery knew well that they were not demons from some sulfuric underworld, just vile, vicious men who hid their identities merely to mask and further the Southern states' political objective to strangle the babe of black political gains of Reconstruction. It would not have been fitting for the agents of the Southern white ruling class—the lawyer, the judge, or the sheriff, all supportive of the landed aristocracy—to raid black shacks, to lynch and assail black life in the light of day. Thus nightriders and hoods came into play: the origins of the KKK.

The Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1866 in Tennessee, was born hot on the heels of the Emancipation Proclamation. A century later hooded goons assemble at the Liberty Bell in the name of the KKK calling for white Christian men to join them in a crusade of hatred against "niggers, spics and kikes." How ironic that the ideological sons of slavers heap abuse on sons of Africa who alone among America's people were brought here enchained against their will. How cruel that the racists can attempt to slander the Spanish peoples as "un-American" when America was molded in large part by theft of ancestral lands that were once Mexico, and where Spanish and Indian languages were used for centuries. How silly that the KKK's hatred of Jews is "justified," so-called, by a faith founded by a Jew.

It's time folk de-hood the Klan and take a close look at what's beneath. In its historical role, the Klan's vicious wave of violence against blacks was driven not so much by hatred as by fear. Fear that black numbers of freedmen in the Black Belt South would dominate political life via the vote. Also a target of Klan terror, the Southern populist movement, where black and white poor in the 1800s attempted to unite against the common foe: the nation's true minority, the ruling class. That is the Klan's primary role and function: to use racial hatred to divide the many peoples who make up this country so that the few, the ruling class, can more easily exploit the many.

No doubt, by now, you will have heard leading Philadelphia citizens proclaim that the Constitution protects all Americans, yea, even the Klan. Don't buy it! Where were these same leading citizens when other agents of the state rained fiery death on MOVE, May 13, 1985? What of the Constitutional protection for urban holocaust survivor Ramona Africa, who at this very hour sits in a cell at Muncy Women's Prison well past her minimum sentence only because she refuses to renounce her religion, the teachings of John Africa, and refuses to abide by a draconian condition of parole that demands she pledge to stay away from her very family and not speak out on her family's behalf to media, nor attend any court session involving any Africa.

Around the Klan demonstration no doubt stand the squadron of cops whose

*continued on page 10*

# In Memory of the Greensboro Martyrs

## Partisan Defense Committee Statement

*On 3 November 1979, a death squad of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi killers gunned down five leftist union organizers and civil rights activists in Greensboro, North Carolina. At the Philadelphia anti-Klan mobilization this November 5, the following greetings by the Partisan Defense Committee to a graveside memorial meeting for the Greensboro martyrs were read:*

From the labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK in Philadelphia to Greensboro, North Carolina: Thousands strong are with you as you commemorate the ninth anniversary of the bloodiest fascist attack of our generation—the Greensboro Massacre.

You will be heartened to know that the KKK and their skinhead allies called off their planned provocation here when they glimpsed the power of labor and blacks mobilizing on the streets. Today in Philadelphia we do not see their white hoods, burning crosses, Nazi regalia and racist terror; instead, unionists, blacks, civil rights activists, leftists, gays and minorities have won the day. It is your day too.

We remember Greensboro and share your outrage. "Greensboro!" The very name cries out for justice, for vengeance. In more than a century of racist lynchings, Greensboro stands out as the contemporary signature of the fascist killers. We remember Greensboro where the murderers, abetted by government agents, shot down five union organizers and anti-Klan activists in broad daylight before a stunned TV audience. We remember Greensboro where government cover-up and acquittal of the cold-blooded racist murderers by an all-white jury showed that we faced not only the fringe groups of crazed killers, but also the capitalist state which backs them up, clears the way, directs traffic, and maintains a culture where the Klan and Nazis can grow and prosper, where they have a license to kill. When the fascists say they just want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro. When the apologists and the naive tell us to just ignore the fascists, we remember Greensboro. Today as we celebrate a defeat for the Klan and their skinheads, we remember Greensboro—and we remember that we are here to prevent racist murder.

Greensboro Daily News

**Nelson Johnson with comrade murdered by KKK/Nazis, November 1979.**

It is a simple but necessary thing we do today. In Philadelphia: to respond to the immediate threat of racist terror; in Greensboro: to honor fallen comrades and rededicate the fight against fascism for which they died. These things are political instinct, a reflex action that is part of the heritage of class struggle and decency. Yet these days, it is too often the simple things which are left undone. What are we if we don't remember our dead? What are we if we don't respond to deadly fascist threat? So when the Nazis said they were coming to black Detroit in 1979 to celebrate the Greensboro Massacre and Hitler's birthday, we responded with a labor/black mobilization to stop them. The success of this strategy led to a series of such mobilizations of labor and black power in San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and today in Philadelphia.

It is our heritage to organize even as we mourn. Labor's martyrs call upon us to carry on the struggle. That is how we remember. And even memory must be organized. That too is part of the struggle. Thus today our gatherings are linked. The fascist guns which took the lives of your comrades were aimed at all of us; and just as an injury to one is an injury to all, this victory today belongs to us all. In the name of all our class martyrs: **WE WILL NOT FORGET GREENSBORO—ALL OUT TO STOP THE KKK!**

# CIA's Man...

*(continued from page 1)*

Bush personally directed the contra terror war against the Nicaraguan Revolution.

When the financing of this operation blew up with the Iran/Contragate scandal, Bush pretended he was deaf, dumb and blind. With the Reagan regime discredited, the Democrats saw an excellent opportunity to regain the White House. In 1984 Walter Mondale had suffered a resounding defeat with only blacks voting for him in bloc. This time around the Democratic Party bosses were determined to win back the "Reagan Democrats" (read white racists) by cutting the party's ties to "special interests" (read labor and blacks).

So this year they selected a yuppie technocrat from Massachusetts, Michael Dukakis, who acted like he was running for CEO of a computer company. Dukakis picked as his running mate a wealthy Texas Dixiecrat, Lloyd Bentsen, an ardent contra supporter with a voting record in Congress indistinguishable from Reaganite Republicans. Dukakis/Bentsen campaigned as more efficient managers for corporate America. They shunned labor and blacks. Jesse Jackson, the leading black Democrat, was turned into the invisible man of the campaign except for the last couple of weeks when Dukakis became desperate for votes.

While Dukakis acted like blacks simply didn't exist, Bush ran a slicker version of a KKK campaign, attacking the Massachusetts Democrat as a shamefaced liberal who was "soft on crime." A key figure in the Bush campaign became one Willie Horton, a black man convicted of murder in Massachusetts, who escaped prison while on furlough and later raped a white woman. Racist and dirty, and it served Bush's purpose well. He won almost two-thirds of the white male vote.

The elections were marked by an outpouring of reactionary bigotry on all fronts. Three states passed anti-abortion referendums. Arizona, Colorado and Florida, all with large Hispanic populations, passed chauvinist propositions declaring English their *only* official language. Maryland upheld a ban on cheap handguns ("Saturday night specials"). The rich can go armed but not the poor, like Europe under feudalism.

### The Democrats' Morning After

The overall election results were by no means a disaster for the Democratic Party. It retained and even slightly increased its majority in Congress. Bush and his Houston country club pal James Baker have indicated willingness to cooperate with Democratic Congressional leaders such as fellow Texans Bentsen in the Senate and House Speaker Jim Wright. Rather than a Republican administration, we may be now governed by a bipartisan millionaire Texas mafia.

From 1932 to 1968 the Democrats controlled the White House for all but eight years. Since 1968 the Republicans have taken the presidency in every election save one. In 1984 Mondale tried to put back together the old New Deal coalition of labor, the minorities and liberal intellectuals. Black Democratic politicos, like Jesse Jackson, effectively brought out the ghetto vote, but the labor bureaucracy could not deliver its ranks. Pandering to racism, flag-waving anti-Communism and protectionism while forcing giveback contracts down their members' throats, the AFL-CIO officialdom no longer commands the political loyalty of anyone.

UPI

**Black Democratic frontmen Jesse Jackson and Wilson "Mayor of Murder" Goode rally for Dukakis, who campaigned to regain white racist vote.**

In 1988 Dukakis and Bentsen ran after the "Reagan Democrats," and they still lost. Losing the presidential race yet again will certainly intensify the divisions within the Democratic Party, possibly even leading to splits. Washington-based political analyst Linda Williams predicts: "Truly, the Democrats and blacks are heading for a collision." The Jackson people are blaming the defeat on Dukakis being too little and too late in taking up a "populist message." Meanwhile, even before election day right-wing Democrats, especially Dixiecrats, were blaming the anticipated loss on the supposed influence and prominence of the Jackson people. Alabama Democratic chairman John Baker asserted: "The Rev. Jackson has an agenda of his own that is far too liberal and will not be accepted by the American people" (*Wall Street Journal*, 27 October).

The party's right wing insists that if the Democrats are to regain the White House they must decisively shed any identification with black interests and welfare-state liberalism. A major step in that direction was the Democrats' active support for the "workfare" bill, which is to throw poor black and Hispanic women and their children off the welfare rolls, letting them die of starvation, cold and disease in the inner-city hellholes (see "Genocide U.S.A.," *WV* No. 463, 21 October).

But mounting bipartisan attacks on the poor is not a winning electoralist recipe for the Democrats either. If the Democratic leadership moves even further to the right, collaborating closely with the Bush White House, we may well see black Democratic politicos flirting with independent "rainbow coalition" movements, especially on the local level.

However, black anger cannot be easily contained in an electoralist framework. The killing cutbacks could well produce a social explosion in the ghettos. And we may also see a revolt in the trade unions against giveback contracts, two-tier wage systems and the sellout bureaucrats. On a small scale the potential for labor/black action, *independent* of the Democratic Party, was demonstrated by the November 5 Mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads from rallying in Philadelphia.

### No New "New Deal," But a Fighting Workers Party!

For years liberal Democrats have talked about rebuilding the old New Deal coalition of labor, blacks and other minorities with Southern Dixiecrat racists. Jesse Jackson and his hangers-on call it the "Rainbow Coalition." However, the Rooseveltian coalition of the 1930s was not the result of some slick public relations operation. The New Deal was an effective effort to *head off* the mass radicalization of the American working class, channeling it into capitalist "reform" politics.

The impact of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism in Europe produced a genuine leftward motion within the American working class. In 1934 there were three citywide general strikes in this country, all led by left-wing parties—in Minneapolis by the Trotskyists, in Toledo, Ohio by A.J. Muste's American Workers Party and in San Francisco by the Stalinist Communist Party. The next few years saw the giant class battles which built the CIO industrial unions.

Key to the formation of militant industrial unionism was overcoming the deep racial and other ethnic divisions within the American working class. The CIO unions were built by young black and white workers who had fought together against the cops and company goons in the Flint sitdown, the Little Steel strikes and countless other organizing battles.

No less important, the more radical workers and also intellectuals, both black and white, flocked into the left-wing parties, especially the Communist Party, which was falsely identified with Russian Bolshevism and red revolution. But by the '30s, the international Communist movement had become a tool of the Soviet bureaucracy. On orders from Joseph Stalin to build a "popular front," the American Communist Party became the most ardent supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The Stalinists provided much of the glue binding together militant, left-wing trade unionists and black activists with the racist Dixiecrats and Ku Klux Klan.

Today, another deep economic crisis is looming and conditions in this country are ripe—indeed, overripe—for a new wave of working-class and black radicalization. Over the past decade and a half the United States has seen its industrial capacity gutted, its infrastructure crumble and its social services cut to the bone. Workers have faced a union-busting, giveback offensive by the bosses, while the black and Hispanic poor face starvation and disease in the inner-city ghettos.

Under Reagan, the U.S. government cut taxes for the rich while paying for the massive military buildup against the Soviet Union by borrowing from Japanese and German bankers. Within just a few years the U.S. went from the world's biggest creditor nation to the *world's biggest debtor*. Conditions are set for a financial collapse dwarfing last year's stock market crash. In fact, Bush's election was greeted by a fall of the dollar to a near-record low against the Japanese yen and a sharp downward slide in stock prices. One Wall Street trader quipped: "This was briefest Presidential honeymoon ever. The guy isn't even in office yet." Bourgeois radical writer Gore Vidal predicts for Bush the fate of Herbert Hoover.

This time around, a labor-centered radicalization must not again be channeled into the Democratic Party of "liberal" American imperialism. Roosevelt's New Deal led the United States into the second imperialist world war, ending with the A-bombing of Japan ordered by liberal Democrat Harry Truman. Ever since, the American ruling class, Democrats and Republicans alike, have been preparing for nuclear war against the Soviet Union. A few years ago Bush told liberal journalist Robert Scheer that a nuclear war was winnable. During the election campaign Dukakis came out for a first-strike strategy, letting slip what has always been the real war program of U.S. imperialism.

At the same time, the insane drive of the U.S. rulers to destroy the remaining achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution has bankrupted the American economy! Thus the struggle of workers against union-busting and of blacks against cutback racism is directly linked to the struggle against a nuclear Third World War. To be victorious these struggles demand a multiracial revolutionary workers party which alone can bring down this rotting, war-driven capitalist system and establish in its place a global socialist order of peace, prosperity and equality. ■


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
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# ADL...

*(continued from page 2)*

*Magazine* "had nothing whatever to say" about a limp 1938 Congressional bill for temporarily raising immigration quotas from East Europe. Jewish bourgeois organizations claimed that large-scale Jewish immigration at a time of mass unemployment would inflame anti-Semitism (Abraham Karp, ed., *The Jewish Experience in America* [1969]).

Moreover, B'nai B'rith explicitly *opposed* mass protests in the U.S. against the Nazi Kristallnacht, arguing "that there should be no parades, public demonstrations, or protests by Jews" (*Kristallnacht 1938-1988*, Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York, 1988). Nor did they do anything to sound the alarm even when the mass extermination began. In fact, when they finally appealed to Roosevelt in late 1942, Rabbi Stephen Wise wrote of the reports of the Nazis' mass slaughter that he and other Jewish leaders had "succeed[ed]" in "keeping them out of the press" (quoted in Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* [1983]).

They shared FDR and Churchill's desire to keep European Jews out of America and England. What turned these upper-crust Jewish leaders into Zionists at the end of the war was the desire that the survivors of the Holocaust should go *somewhere else*: "Zionism resolved the dilemma of American Jewry; it provided a home for the remnants of European Jewry without incurring an immigrant exodus to the United States" (*The Jewish Experience in America*). Over the years, the ADL and its fellow "mainstream" Jewish organizations increasingly came to act as American branch offices of the tol around *Commentary* subsequently became the vanguard of Reaganite "neo-conservatism." In his autohiographical *Making It* (1967), Podhoretz explained that one of the reasons *Commentary* began publishing virulently anti-Communist and anti-Soviet material in the 1950s was as "part of a secret program to demonstrate that not all Jews were Communists—even though, as all the world knew but as *Commentary* would have folded before admitting, Jews were disproportionately represented in the American Communist Party." So who are the "self-haters"?

## The Broken Alliance

This trajectory was to push the traditionally liberal Jewish organizations increasingly to the right. The 1967 Arab-Israeli war demonstrated that Israel had become the Goliath of the Near East. As Israeli tanks rolled into the Sinai, West Bank and Golan Heights, a wave of virulent Zionist chauvinism inundated American Jewry. The American ruling class didn't give a damn about a "Jewish homeland," but it now saw in Israel a capable regional gendarme against "Soviet surrogates" like Nasser's Egypt and Ba'athist Syria. Washington became chief quartermaster for the Israeli war machine.

The American Zionists became the leading edge for anti-Soviet hawks in the Democratic Party. Podhoretz and his gang organized outfits like the Committee on the Present Danger to argue for a nuclear first strike against the Russians. On the domestic front, Podhoretz prefigured the virulent anti-black racism which spread through the Jewish community. In his 1963 *Commentary* essay, "My Negro Problem—and Ours," he denounces "all the white liberals who permit Negroes to blackmail

WV Photo

**Spartacists join with Jewish protesters, many of them concentration camp survivors, in driving Nazis out of Evanston, Illinois in 1980.**

viciously racist, expansionist Israeli state.

But this outlook was far from unanimous. Many ADL members in the early '50s were disturbed by arguments "that anyone who is anti-Israel is also anti-Jewish." Those Jews, particularly socialists, who chose not to identify with Israel were denounced as "self-haters." The ADL leadership had to beat back arguments that it was becoming "an adjunct of the Israeli embassy, an agency of a foreign power" by arguing that American and Israeli interests could never conflict (Deborah Dash Moore, *B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership* [1981]).

Over the years, the key to equating support to Israel with American interests has been anti-Sovietism. At the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, as Jewish leftists in particular were being crucified and the Rosenbergs were electrocuted amid an anti-Communist and anti-Semitic frenzy, the ADL ostentatiously volunteered its files and cooperation to McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee (Arthur Liebman, *Jews and the Left* [1979]).

Anti-Communist social-democrats like Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol them into adopting a double standard of moral judgement," and sneers about "cunning and contemptuous exploitation by Negroes they employ or try to befriend."

The traditional liberal alignment of Jews and blacks broke down with the crisis of the civil rights movement. In the early '60s many of the young white activists who went South to fight against Jim Crow segregation were Jewish. But when the civil rights movement moved North, liberalism hit a brick wall. While the leaders of the NAACP and other black establishment organizations were pro-Israel, young black activists who raised the call for "black power" identified with the Third World, particularly the Palestinian people, against the Zionist state and, too often, against Jews in general.

In the ghetto upheavals, the immediate targets of black anger were often Jewish slumlords and even mom-and-pop store owners. With the struggle limited to getting a larger slice of the capitalist pie, those who were one step up from the ghetto were most fearful. By and large these were the lower middle-class Jews who lived in the next neighborhood over. With calls for affirmative action and open admissions, blacks demanded their place in the public colleges which had provided the avenue for Jewish "upward mobility." Not coincidentally one of the first strongholds of the racist Jewish Defense League was at Brooklyn College.

Many American Jews began to think, as the title of Podhoretz' book had it, that they were now "making it" in white racist America. We explained the dangerous character of such illusions more than a decade ago:

> "Given the intense black-white polarization in late-1960's America, many Jews believed that they were now part of the dominant majority, safe in the U.S. from reactionary anti-Semitism. This was a major factor in the American Jewish community's rightward political motion in the past decade. However, the notion of a 'white community' was always a fiction. Anti-Jewish prejudice remains significant in American society. For the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant section of the ruling class, Jews are a good deal less than white. The attitude toward Jews in the dormitories of West Point (the training ground for the trigger-men of the American ruling class) is not much more liberal than it was in the military academies of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany."
>
> —"How Jewish Backlash Aided U.S. Neo-Nazis," *WV* No. 210, 30 June 1978

Indeed, available evidence argues that a case can be made that pre-World War I Germany was in crucial ways *less* anti-Semitic than the current social outlook of sectors of the American ruling class. Bismarckian Germany had a strong bias toward secularization; national unification required an attack on the entrenched status of the church which was a holdover from medieval society. It is no accident that German Jews were the most assimilationist in Europe. In contrast, a significant wing of American rulers favor "fundamentalist Christianity," which leaves little room for other Christians and apparently none for non-Christians.

While churning out reams of diatribes against *black* anti-Semites like Farrakhan, the Zionists work hand in glove with the far more dangerous anti-Semites who wield state power. Podhoretz and his ilk may gloat that the likes of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell are strongly pro-Israel. But when Robertson rants that Christians feel more strongly about "patriotism" and "love of country" than other Americans, he's making it clear that in his America there will be no place even for reactionary, anti-Communist, Zionist Jews. The Bush campaign harbored a nest of Nazis; Nixon, who called his own secretary of state Henry Kissinger a "Jew-boy," ran an anti-Semitic witchhunt in his administration against a "Jewish cabal." Yet ADL spokesman Arthur H. Foxman dismisses this all as a 17-year-old peccadillo!

The ADL devotes its energies to acting as American thought police for the Israeli regime's war on "PLO terrorists," hypocritically seizing on the fake-left's adulation of Arab nationalism and its amnesty of nationalist anti-Semitism as evidence to equate all anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. But they run into a big problem with the Spartacist League, because we denounce the "left" cheerleaders for nationalism *and* the apologists for Israeli state terror, from the standpoint of *internationalism*. The SL is pretty much the only left organization that hasn't caved in to some kind of Arab nationalism under the guise of "anti-imperialism."

The Zionists hate our guts because we have their number: they do nothing to defend Jews against racist terror here and they cheer on racist terror against Palestinians in Israel. The Trotskyists' simultaneous opposition to the destruction of the Jews in Israel and to Zionism is a greater crime in their eyes than pan-Arab nationalism or anti-Semitism.

The Israeli garrison-state, erected on the corpse of the Palestinian people, increasingly dominated by religious fundamentalism, offers no future for the Jewish people. As long as the Near East is riven by nationalist fratricide, three million Jews cannot ultimately prevail against 100 million Arabs. We have always defended the right to self-determination of *both* the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples in the Near East, which can only be achieved by transcending their respective bourgeois nationalist leaderships in a struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East which will be able to accommodate just national needs. We forthrightly combat all manifestations of anti-Semitism while defending victims of Israeli state repression like Mordechai Vanunu.

## Judenrat for Reagan

Tragically, post-World War II history and the successive military victories of the state of Israel have given Zionists a virtually absolute monopoly as the voice of American Jewry. *But these Zionists do not represent the interests of the Jewish people.* The ADL certainly does not speak for the 2,500 Jews, many of them Holocaust survivors, who drove Nazis off the streets of Evanston, Illinois in October 1980. B'nai B'rith *opposed* this demonstration while the Spartacist League played a prominent and active role in stopping the fascist terrorists.

In 1982 when the SL initiated a mass mobilization against a threatened Nazi provocation in Chicago, the Janusz Korczak chapter of B'nai B'rith sent out a notice to its members: "We as Holocaust Survivors have a moral obligation to protest any Nazi rally." Many of these survivors remember with undying hatred that in the ghettos of Nazi-occupied East Europe there were those who chose to betray their people and collaborate with the Hitlerites, agreeing to serve as Nazi tools in the *Judenräte* ("Councils of Jewish Elders") and in the ghetto police which dragged Jews off to the cattle cars. Today Podhoretz, the ADL and the rest of this wretched Zionist lot are striving to be *Judenräte* for Reagan.

These defamation experts seek to be the "authoritative" intelligence source against the left. In pretrial discovery proceedings in the trial of a Spartacist campus activist in California, we obtained a copy of a 12 February 1985 letter from an ADL official to the university cops stating: "I hope we will be able to continue working on the Sparticus [sic] Youth League's activities on San Francisco State University's campus."

What was true on the eve of the Holocaust—that ultimate grotesque expression of nationalist racism—is equally true today: the only salvation for the Jewish people lies in international socialist revolution. In the '30s it was the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party who agitated for opening American borders to refugees from Nazi terror. While Yitzhak Shamir hailed Mussolini and tried to cut a deal with Hitler, while "Labor" Zionist Rudolph Kasztner collaborated with Eichmann in sending 800,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, *hundreds of thousands* of Jews did fight to the death against the Nazi terror—in ghetto uprisings, in concentration camp revolts, in partisan units and above all in the Soviet Red Army—and they fought and died under the banner of socialism.

The future for American Jews lies not in ignoring virulently anti-black and also anti-Semitic white Christian racists but in forging an alliance with black people and all minorities behind the social power of the integrated labor movement. Only by making common cause with the exploited and all the oppressed in this America which is a new prison house of peoples, rigidly ranked by color and religion and firmly locked into class positions, can Jews and other minorities find a common and successful outcome amid the dangers and vicissitudes of this imperialist capitalist system in decline. The Zionists stand as an obstacle squarely in the middle of this road. ■

# Kristallnacht...

*(continued from page 16)*

crushed the Nazi terror. Hitler's genocide was the supreme expression of nationalist chauvinism, directed against all those who were defined by the Nazis as being outside the "people's community." It is well known that Hitler's first act after seizing power in January 1933 was to smash the trade unions and atomize the working class. But "learning lessons from history" means fighting for the program to mobilize the proletariat, including its powerful immigrant component, against German capital's economic "*Drang nach Osten*" (drive to the East), which is part and parcel of NATO's anti-Soviet war drive. What was needed to crush fascism before it wreaked its havoc on the earth was a program of *internationalism*, the program of world socialist revolution.

### Pogrom Against the Jews: Hitler Mobilizes

On 28 October 1938, the Gestapo began rounding up the 18,000 Polish Jews living in the Third Reich. Expelled penniless to the Polish border, they were barred from entering Poland and virtually imprisoned, many to die a miserable death, in a no man's land between the two countries. On November 6, a young man living in Paris, Herschl Grynszpan, distraught over the deportation of his family which had lived in Hannover since 1911, took a pistol and shot Ernst vom Rath, a minor Nazi official at the German Embassy. When vom Rath died three days later, the Nazis had made extensive preparations to exploit the incident to the hilt.

November 9 was a propitious date for the fascists' purposes. It was the anniversary of the abortive 1923 Munich putsch (coup). It was also the day the Nazis vowed to avenge, when in 1918 insurrectionary workers and soldiers forced the Kaiser to abdicate and the Weimar Republic was proclaimed. The head of the Gestapo, Müller, telegraphed detailed instructions for the pogrom, which was to begin that evening, to all police stations.

For 24 hours terror reigned. SA thugs dragged hundreds out into the streets or shot them in cold blood in their homes. They were beaten to death, stabbed, drowned. The population was intimidated and incited by the uniformed pogromists to take part. In many cases onlookers were forced to jeer and spit on the victims. Bonfires consumed the contents of synagogues and libraries all over Germany: 191 synagogues were destroyed; those that could not be burned without danger to "non-Jewish" buildings were smashed to rubble.

The 30,000 Jews who were arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen, Dachau and Buchenwald got a foretaste of what the Nazis' Holocaust was to mean with its gas chambers and ovens. The London *News Chronicle* reported on November 23 what happened at Sachsenhausen:

> "The arrested men had reached the camp gates under police escort from Berlin. At the gates, the police were made to hand them over to an SS unit. The sixty-two Jews were then forced to run a gauntlet of spades, clubs and whips. According to an eye-witness, the police, 'unable to bear their cries, turned their backs.' As the Jews were beaten, they fell. As they fell they were beaten further. This 'orgy' of beating lasted half an hour. When it was over, 'twelve of the sixty-two were dead, their skulls smashed. The others were all unconscious. The eyes of some had been knocked out, their faces flattened and shapeless'."
>
> —quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986)

Hundreds died, 244 in the first month alone in Buchenwald.

The aim of the Kristallnacht pogrom was to whip up the German masses for war. Hitler told the Nazi press on November 10 he intended to "strengthen the self-confidence of the German people, step by step." For as William Shirer, then a correspondent in Berlin, noted, the population had openly displayed its unwillingness to go to war over the Sudetenland in September 1938. As Trotsky wrote in "What Is National Socialism?" (June 1933), for the fascists "The pogrom becomes the supreme evidence of racial superiority."

After the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin Hitler drew up his "Four Year Plan" to mobilize the German economy for war and to finance rearmament through the "Aryanization" of Jewish property. Göring was put in charge of the plan. Two days after the Kristallnacht pogrom, Hitler's economic czar convened a meeting of the Nazi leadership to draw up a balance sheet. Regretting the damage to property (which he intended to seize) Göring fulminated that it would have been better to kill 200 Jews. Indeed, by referring to the pogrom as "Kristallnacht," the Nazis reduce it to the broken glass their thugs smashed that night—equivalent to an entire year of German glass production. As "compensation," this meeting decided that the state would seize the insurance payments due Jews for the destruction of their property. In addition, a collective fine of one billion marks would be imposed on Jews. And that afternoon Göring issued the decree "Eliminating the Jews From Economic Life."

Pathfinder Press

**November 1938—American Trotskyists protest Kristallnacht and demand "Unrestricted Entry to Nazi Victims."**

But it wasn't just the Nazi rabble. The German bourgeoisie as a whole had united around exploiting anti-Semitism to revive Germany from its defeat in World War I. General Werner von Fritsch, a reactionary of the old school whom Hitler replaced as commander in chief of the army in 1938, wrote:

> "Soon after the war I came to the conclusion that we should have to be victorious in three battles if Germany were to become powerful again:
> "1. The battle against the working class—Hitler has won this.
> "2. Against the Catholic Church....
> "3. Against the Jews."
>
> —quoted in William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1959)

Nazism, as German ultranationalism, had always gone after Jews, Catholics and Communists, because their history and ties extend beyond national borders, and, in the case of the Communists, they were open *internationalists*.

Anti-Semitism was not a specifically German phenomenon. It was far more pervasive in France, as demonstrated by the Dreyfus affair. It was used in both countries to deflect petty-bourgeois economic discontent against highly visible Jewish capitalists like the Rothschilds and Walter Rathenau. But in Central Europe it was integral to bourgeois reaction. This was due to the leading role that Jews played in everything progressive, particularly the workers movement. Two of the three founding fathers of the German workers movement were Jewish, Marx and Lassalle—as was the founding leader of the Austrian workers movement, Viktor Adler. Rosa Luxemburg—alongside Karl Liebkneeht the greatest leader of the German workers movement—was not only Jewish, but a woman and a Pole. Beginning with Bismarck's empire, and with far more virulence in Franz Josef's Austria (where Hitler was politically schooled), political anti-Semitism was used by bourgeois reaction to mobilize the petty-bourgeois masses against the revolutionary workers movement, culminating in the Nazi victory in 1933.

The destruction of the workers movement by the totalitarian Nazi regime was in turn the *precondition* for the genocide of the Jews. Even so, atomized and terrorized, German workers continued to resist the pogroms and Holocaust. After the Kristallnacht pogrom, among the Hamburg proletariat:

> "Condemnation and curses were to be heard, especially among the dock and shipyard workers. In some companies, collections were taken up for the dispossessed and hard-hit Jews. In Eimsbüttel, workers in one factory took the stolen goods away from the Nazi plunderers and returned them to their owners."
>
> —Harald Focke and Uwe Reimer, eds., *Alltag der Entrechteten*

Once-red Berlin, home of half the Jews who remained in the Reich after the November pogrom, became the center for courageous defiance against the Nazis' hunt for the Jews. Several thousand went underground in the capital and during the war 1,400 successfully escaped deportation to the death camps. As Leonard Gross writes in *The Last Jews in Berlin* (1982), this was often due to their own ingenuity and intelligence. But they "were sequestered in rooms, apartments, homes, shacks, offices and even stores—most often by the grace of Gentile friends and even strangers."

### The Fight Against Fascism

The German workers movement was powerful enough and willing in its great majority to prevent Hitler from taking power, if necessary by civil war. But it was the criminal capitulation of its leadership, Stalinist (KPD) as well as Social Democratic (SPD), which permitted the triumph of Nazism. As Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Program* (1938): "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." In the end it was the Soviet workers and the Red Army who *despite Stalin* crushed the Nazi regime and freed Europe from the nightmare of fascism.

The blindness of the SPD tops was but the continuation of their counterrevolutionary policies since 1914. Indeed, the Nazis were the successors of the Freikorps that Scheidemann and Noske had used to drown the German Revolution in blood in 1919. But the responsibility of the KPD was greater to the extent that they misled the revolutionary-minded workers. They went from competing with the Nazis in nationalist rhetoric to calling the SPD "social fascists" and demanding that the SPD ranks simply come over to the Communists in a "united front from below." Their boast, "After Hitler, us" reflected their actual defeatism—they had despaired of barring the path to a fascist seizure of power.

In the face of Hitler's victory, defeatism was turned into social patriotism. Under the rubric of the "people's front," Stalin's Third International adopted the class-collaborationist policies of the Second. It played a no less counterrevolutionary role in the Spanish Civil War than the party of Noske and Scheidemann played in 1919. Franco's victory in turn emboldened Hitler's war preparations, including the anti-Semitic terror of 9 November 1938.

In contrast, the Trotskyists fought for a program to smash the Nazis before they took power. Trotsky called for a "workers united front": "March separately, strike together." This was to be no parliamentary bloc, no political nonaggression pact (as advocated by Heinrich Brandler's KPO and the centrist SAP). And it was no "popular front" with the mythical "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie, as later advocated by the Stalinists. Instead, it meant organizing the working class against the bourgeoisie, achieving *unity in struggle* between the Communist and Social Democratic workers in order to defend the workers organizations against the stormtroopers while at the same time exposing in action the hesitations, vacillation and abhorrence of social revolution on the part of the Social Democratic leaders. Examples show what could have been achieved if the Trotskyists had won leadership of the Communist workers: thus a workers self-defense group under Trotskyist leadership in Oranienburg opened fire on and routed the Brownshirts when they entered a working-class neighborhood on 30 January 1933.

Today, as Bonn together with its NATO allies rearm and train for a new thermonuclear, anti-Soviet "Operation Barharossa" (Hitler's June 1941 invasion of the USSR); as skinhead terror, protected by the state, strikes at leftists, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and other minorities; and as skinhead gangs are now obscenely appearing in East Germany, the *lessons of history* are embodied in the *program* of proletarian internationalism which alone can save humanity from a new holocaust.

The anti-NPD protest in Frankfurt recently showed that even a hint of the power of the organized workers movement was sufficient to drive these vermin from the streets (see "West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis," *WV* No. 464, 4 November). To unchain the enormous social power of the West German working class with its decisive component of immigrant workers so that it can fight for its historic class interests, the key is building a revolutionary party. Our model is the party of Lenin and Trotsky, which, acting as a tribune of the people, unites all the oppressed under the banner of the proletariat.

Germany plays a leading role in deciding Europe's road—toward socialism or barbarism. As we wrote in the declaration of the international Spartacist tendency on Reagan's 1982 European tour:

> "Today, as in the 1920s, Germany is the key to Europe. The division of Germany into two states of counterposed class character symbolizes the inextricably linked tasks facing the European proletariat. Any attempt to deny the unity and centrality of the German proletariat...represents an attack on the socialist future of Europe. For revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution in East Europe!"
>
> —"The Main Enemy Is At Home!" *WV* No. 307, 11 June 1982■

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Workers Revolution Will Avenge the Victims of the Holocaust!

# Kristallnacht: Reign of Nazi Terror

*The following article was adapted from* Spartakist *No. 59, November/December 1988, the newspaper of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands.*

November 9, 1988 is the 50th anniversary of the Nazis' *Kristallnacht*, the anti-Semitic pogrom which was the first bloody *state massacre* against the Jewish people, in every city, town and village in the German Reich. This date lives in infamy as the decisive turning point, when Hitler's Third Reich initiated the Holocaust. There followed six and a half years of sadism and mass slaughter unprecedented in human history, in which six million European Jews were exterminated: eleven million members of minorities, Gypsies, Communists, homosexuals, the mentally and physically handicapped, old people, children, countless others. And 20 million Soviet citizens were killed in the war. In 1935 the Nazis had passed the "Nuremberg race laws" which robbed Jews of all civil rights. But Hitler's 1938 *Reichspogromnacht*, as it is known in Germany today, was the open declaration to the world that the genocidal program of *Mein Kampf* was to be carried out. It would not just be discrimination under the Nuremberg laws, but terror and mass murder.

Der Spiegel

LBI News

**10 November 1938—Nazis turn Baden-Baden synagogue into flaming inferno. Throughout Germany over 30,000 Jews were rounded up and sent to concentration camps.**

Today the Kohl gang orchestrates hypocritical commemorations of the victims of the Kristallnacht pogrom, even issuing a postage stamp bearing a picture of the burning synagogue in Baden-Baden. But the West German state is, and even proclaims itself to be, the successor state to the Third Reich. This state is the "executive committee" for the Deutsche Bank, the Daimler military-industrial complex, the Bayer, Hoechst and BASF chemical companies. They are today swimming in profits made from the exploitation of Turkish and other immigrant *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers"). Led by the likes of convicted war criminal Abs, the Krupps and Thyssens, 50 years ago the same banks were raking in millions squeezed out of forced labor in the Nazis' concentration camps. And just as IG Farben in the Third Reich made Zyklon B to gas the Jews, today their successor companies in the Fourth Reich sell the same stuff to Iraqi colonels to gas the Kurds.

Hitler vowed to wipe out "Jew Bolshevism," which he equated with the organized proletariat, international Communism and the Soviet degenerated workers state. In 1948 the imperialist Allies created the West German state, largely with the same human material that had administered the Third Reich, as an anti-Communist bulwark in Central Europe. When Kohl and Reagan saluted Hitler's SS killer elite in Bitburg on 5 May 1985, they renewed their pledge to continue the Nazi drive to crush the workers movement and the USSR.

Caught up in the resurgent nationalism generated by the growing military and economic strength of West German imperialism, *the entire West German left refused to protest Bitburg*. Together with the Greens they decided to divert attention and demonstrated against the economic summit in Bonn. The protests were left to a few aging survivors of the Holocaust, their children and grandchildren. But the West German cops made sure Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen were "*judenrein*" (cleansed of Jews) for the imperialist warmongers, dragging off Jewish protesters as the Jews had been dragged out of their homes on 9 November 1938.

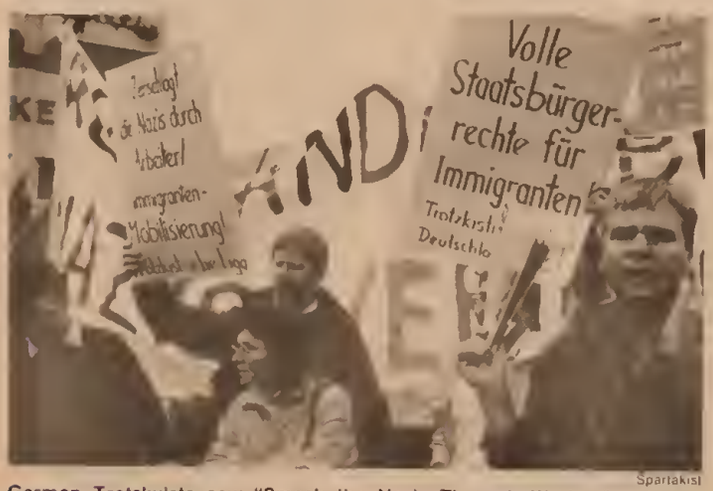
This ruling class has whipped up fascist activity across the country, from skinhead gangs beating up Turkish youth in Hannover to Nazi Republikaner rallies in West Berlin and NPD (German National Party) threats to march through Frankfurt. As shown by the anti-fascist high school student movement in West Berlin and other cities, a new political generation not only looks to the past to know what happened. They want to know *why*, and what can be done to stop today's would-be Hitlers.

The VVN (Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime), founded by survivors of Hitler's concentration camps, reflected this clamor in its declaration on the 50th anniversary of the Kristallnacht pogrom. But to "Draw Lessons From Our History" does not mean calling on the West German capitalist state—which acquitted the murderer of Communist Party leader Ernst Thälmann and killed anti-fascist demonstrator Gunter Sare—to "ban" the fascists it solicitously protects.

As Abram Leon, the Belgian Trotskyist leader who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1942, wrote in his incisive analysis, *The Jewish Question*, "Racism is... the ideological disguise of modern imperialism. The 'race struggling for its living space' [*Lebensraum*] is nothing but the reflection of the permanent necessity for expansion which characterizes finance or monopoly capitalism." Nazism was the German bourgeoisie's last desperate recourse to rescue its own class rule before the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat.

The German proletariat was the enemy and the first victim of Nazism. The proletariat, and it alone, could have

*continued on page 15*




Spartakist

**German Trotskyists say: "Smash the Nazis Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!" "Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"**

# WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 466

2 December 1988


## Israeli Garrison State Under Pressure

# Palestinian Uprising— A Year of Defiance

Twelve months of indiscriminate murder, of vicious beatings, of mass roundups—and still the Palestinian Arab people of the Occupied Territories continue to resist and defy the Israeli "Iron Fist" of terror. *Al-Intifada*—"the Uprising." It has shaken Israeli society and startled the world by its determination. It has driven a wedge into the seemingly uncritical front of American and European Jewry with the Zionist state, sharpened the polarization within the Hebrew-speaking population of Israel and thrown a spotlight on the hideous brutality of the Israeli rulers' drive to carve out a "Greater Israel" from the living body of the Palestinian people.

Above all, it has highlighted that there can be no lasting resolution to the nationalist conflict, which has beset the Near East for over four decades, short of genocide or socialist revolution. Even as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bends over backwards to conciliate the U.S. imperialist quartermasters of the Israeli garrison state in the futile hope of arriving at a *modus vivendi*, the Zionist rulers speak ever more openly of a "Final Solution" to the Palestinian question. And Washington responded to the PLO's recognition of Israel with a supreme gesture of imperialist arrogance, denying Yasir Arafat a visa to speak at the United Nations. We say: let Arafat go to the UN if he wants to!

The striking outcome of the Israeli elections last month, held in the shadow of the Palestinian uprising, was to register the sharp growth of the parties of religious fundamentalism and racist fanaticism. Half of all Israeli Jews now favor the total expulsion ("transfer") of the Arab people living in the territories conquered by Israel during the 1967 war as the only way to maintain the "democratic and Jewish" character of Israel, while something less than a third are for "relinquishing" territory. The fascist Kach party of Brooklyn-born Meir Kahane was expected to take several seats in the Knesset (parliament) had it not been barred from running at the last minute. Kach was banned as racist. But the man chosen as acting speaker for the opening session of the Knesset is from the Molodet party whose sole platform is "cleansing" Greater Israel of Arabs. The Knesset erupted in turmoil as a dozen members from various parties shouted protests against "transferism" and refused to swear the oath of allegiance before this racist pig.

Bakhshandagi/Black Star

**Palestinian protesters in Gaza defy Israeli "Iron Fist" of terror.**

The Orthodox religious parties may well control the balance of power in the new government, hoping to impose on this overwhelmingly secular society a Jewish version of Khomeiniism and to dictate to Jews around the world who is and is not acknowledged by the "Jewish state." One American Jew declared angrily: "In Auschwitz, it was already determined who is a Jew." The rise of nationalist and religious fanaticism and Israel's openly bloody course in the Occupied Territories has shocked Jews around the world. Filmmaker Woody Allen spoke for many when he expressed his disgust at the Israeli army's wanton killings: "I am appalled beyond measure by the treatment of the rioting Palestinians by the Jews."

Dispossessed by decades of Israeli expansionism and terror, forsaken and trampled upon by their supposed patrons among the neighboring Arab rulers, the Palestinian people finally erupted in a revolt of despair. The PLO's recent declaration of independence for a Palestinian mini-state, recognized by some 50 countries, is seen by the Palestinian masses as an act of defiance. Yet this diplomatic ploy, appealing to the imperialists and seeking an accommodation with the "Labor" Party of Shimon Peres and butcher Yitzhak Rabin, is a palpable dead end. In their frustration, increasing numbers of Palestinians are being driven into the arms of Muslim fundamentalists who match the extreme Zionists in the stridency of their irredentist rhetoric but lack the military wherewithal to carry it through.

And when extreme Arab nationalists rant about driving the Jews into the sea, they fuel the genocidal arguments of the Zionist ultras. The Hebrew-speaking nation has a right to exist, regardless of how they got there, as does the Palestinian Arab nation and the other peoples of the region. But so long as they compete over every square inch of land, for who gets to divert the waters of the Jordan, the result will be war, forced population transfers and ultimately genocide. Never has this deadly logic of conflicting nationalisms, which imprisons the people of the Near East in a hell of terror and tyranny, been more evident.

The resources of the region *can* be equitably shared, but that requires international socialist cooperation and planning. The conflicting democratic rights for the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples can be resolved, but not within the framework of capitalist nation-states. Against the nationalists on both sides, the international Spartacist tendency has always defended the national rights of *both* the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian peoples, insisting that a genuinely democratic solution must transcend capitalism, which necessarily pits nation against nation:

> "Recognizing the right of self-determination for both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews, we point out that this can only be accomplished on both sides of the Jordan, including all of what now constitutes Israel and Jordan. These national claims, however, are directly counterposed, the product of historical interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory....
>
> "An equitable and genuinely democratic solution to the competing national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews can only come about through the formation of a bi-national Arab/Hebrew workers state, part of a socialist federation of the Near East, born of the common class struggle of Arab and Jewish workers against their ruling classes."
>
> —"From 'People's War' to the 'Mini-State'," *WV* No. 58, 6 December 1974

As they work themselves up on the road to genocide, the Israeli rulers sound ever more like the Nazis: *Blitzkrieg* wars for *Lebensraum*; *Einsatzgruppen* of Lebanese commandos to massacre defenseless refugees at Sabra and Shatila; concentration camps for Palestinians like Ansar III in the Gaza

*continued on page 8*

**Heirs of Stalin Revile Leninist Internationalism**

**Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification**

SEE PAGE SIX

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

# Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

The Partisan Defense Committee thanks all those people who made real the fight against the KKK on the streets of Philadelphia November 5. In response to the PDC's call, over 1,000 trade unionists, blacks, students and civil rights activists who rallied at Independence Mall came away with the satisfaction of stopping fascist terror—and with a firsthand experience of what class-struggle defense is about. Hearing PDC speakers and coming over to our literature table, they learned of our heritage including the need to fight for those victims of state terror who fought racist capitalist injustice.

Following that tradition, the PDC is initiating its third Holiday Appeal to raise funds for monthly stipends and holiday gifts for 21 class-war prisoners, their wives and children. As James P. Cannon, the founder and first secretary of the International Labor Defense, wrote:

> "The men in prison are still a part of the living class movement. The Christmas Fund drive of the International Labor Defense is a means of informing them that the workers of America have not forgotten their duty toward the men to whom we are all linked by bonds of solidarity."
>
> —"A Christmas Fund of Our Own," *Daily Worker*, 17 December 1927

As another year passes the class-war prisoners are still separated from family and friends by prison's cold bars—Geronimo Pratt's appeal thrown out; Ramona Africa denied parole; Mumia Abu-Jamal fighting for his life on Pennsylvania's death row; British miners Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland denied parole. Many of the prisoners have spent more than a decade of Christmases behind bars! The PDC has brought the defense of 21 international class-war prisoners to trade unionists and trade-union locals. At the November 5 anti-Klan mobilization we provided a rare platform for the oppressed, including MOVE, survivors of the Greensboro Massacre and for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who sent a tape-recorded message to the rally, also distributed to radio stations around the country.

Partisan Defense Committee literature table at November 5 victory party in Philadelphia.

Support to the class-war prisoners is not an act of charity but the duty of those on the outside to those inside prison walls for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. With publicity and protest we seek to galvanize support for their struggles against the racist frame-up system. On the same June day that a panel of judges tossed Geronimo Pratt's appeal out of court we held a demonstration in San Francisco demanding Pratt's freedom. Our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, with information on their cases, is sent to over 200 newspapers including the national black press, as well as more than 200 civil liberties, defense and political organizations and 300 trade unions throughout the country.

We proudly stand with these 21 class-war prisoners on three continents—their fight is our fight:

**Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt**, 38 years old. Ex-Panther, Vietnam veteran and victim of COINTELPRO frame-up. He has served over 18 years for a crime the government knew he could not have committed. (B40319, San Quentin Prison, Tamal, CA 94964)

**Mordechai Vanunu**, 36 years old, Israeli nuclear technician who exposed the extent of Israel's huge nuclear arsenal. Convicted of treason, he was sentenced to 18 years in Ashkelon Prison, Israel. His act was a service to all of humanity. (Ashkelon Prison, P.O. Box 17, Ashkelon, Israel)

**Mumia Abu-Jamal**, 32 years old, under sentence of death. MOVE supporter, ex-Panther, well-known radio journalist—"the voice of the voiceless." (#8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652)

**Hugo Pinell**, 43 years old. One of the San Quentin Six, courageous anti-racist prison rights activist. Serving a life term. (#1V B 6-C203, P.O. Box 1902B, Tehachapi, CA 93561)

**Ed Poindexter**, 44 years old. (Lino Lake Facility, 7525 4th Avenue, Lino Lake, MN 55017) and **David Rice**, 41 years old (#27718, Nebraska State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68502). Former Panther leaders in Nebraska, victims of racist COINTELPRO frame-up. Both are serving life sentences.

**Russell Shankland** (#A83752) and **Dean Hancock** (#A99410), both 25 years old. British miners railroaded to jail for eight years for defending their union picket line during bitter 1984-85 coal strike. (HM Prison Channing Wood, Denbury Newton Abbot, Devon, England TQ126DW)

**Ruchell Magee**, 49 years old. Victim of government conspiracy to murder Black

*continued on page 3*

### Marxism vs. Nationalism

TROTSKY

LENIN

*In the epoch of imperialism, nationalism loses the progressive role it played in the great bourgeois revolutions. As capitalism decays, the fight against all national privilege and oppression, in the Near East and elsewhere, can only be carried forward through the internationalist leadership of the working class. Struggling against Great Russian chauvinism—the nationalism of the oppressor—in the tsarist prison house of peoples, Lenin and the Bolsheviks counterposed to the Ukrainian and Jewish Bund "national" social democrats the revolutionary Marxist program of uniting the working people of all nations.*

Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of *all* nationalities in *all* working-class organisations—trade union, co-operative, consumers', educational and all others—in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism. Only this type of unity and amalgamation can uphold democracy and defend the interests of the workers against capital—which is already international and is becoming more so—and promote the development of mankind towards a new way of life that is alien to all privileges and all exploitation....

Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just", "purest", most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity, a unity that is growing before our eyes with every mile of railway line that is built, with every international trust, and every workers' association that is formed (an association that is international in its economic activities as well as in its ideas and aims)....

To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question. But to go *beyond* these strictly limited and definite historical limits in helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie.

—V.I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question" (December 1913)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial); 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to: *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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**No. 466** **2 December 1988**

**Spartacist Educationals**

# The Fight for a Workers' America

**Class, Race and American Capitalism: The Struggle for a Workers Party**

**Black and Red: The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom**

**The Spectre of Trotsky Haunts Gorbachev's Russia**

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Video of the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated November 5 Mobilization "All Out to Stop the KKK!"

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# Dick Fraser

WV Photo

## 1913-1988

Richard S. Fraser, a veteran Trotskyist and tenacious fighter for black freedom, died in his sleep on November 27 at the age of 75. For the last several years Dick fought to overcome many painful and debilitating illnesses, mustering the courage to face endless operations, so that he could continue his research and literary work on the question of the revolutionary struggle for black liberation in America. Comrade Fraser was not only a cherished friend but a theoretical mentor of the Spartacist League. SL National Chairman Jim Robertson has acknowledged his considerable personal political debt to comrade Fraser.

Dick Fraser was a co-reporter on the black question at our founding conference in 1966. His work was published as part of our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism," and he was a close collaborator in our work to establish organizations of labor/black defense. As the Labor Black League for Social Defense in the Bay Area wrote in memoriam, "Richard Fraser was our teacher, the author of 'For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle' that lights the road to black freedom through the program of revolutionary integration, the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society."

Fraser joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934, recruited on a cross-country Greyhound bus trip by a member of the newly formed Workers Party—the product of a fusion between the Trotskyist Communist League of America and A.J. Muste's American Workers Party. For close to 30 years he was an organizer of the Socialist Workers Party on the West Coast in Los Angeles and Seattle and a full member of the SWP's National Committee. In the Pacific Northwest Fraser won several members of the Communist Party in Seattle to Trotskyism following the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Khrushchev revelations. That Seattle was the place where the SWP had its most significant success in cracking the Stalinists is a testament to the persistence and political capabilities of Richard Fraser.

Through his involvement in black freedom struggles and experience in the recruitment and subsequent loss of hundreds of black workers from the SWP following World War II, Dick came to believe that the American communist movement had failed to come to grips with the question of black liberation in this country. Although lacking much formal education, he dedicated himself to the study of the black question. Criticizing the SWP for underestimating the revolutionary challenge to American capitalism posed by the integrationist struggles for black equality, in 1955 he submitted his document "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle." Here Fraser counterposed revolutionary integrationism to the SWP's turn toward a separatist "self-determination" ideology (associated particularly with George Breitman), which would become a theoretical cover for its *abstention* from the mass civil rights movement in the early 1960s and subsequent full-blown capitulation to black nationalism.

Dick came into disfavor with the SWP leadership when he opposed the party's adoption of the call for federal troops to protect Southern blacks. In his "Resolution on the Little Rock Crisis" Fraser tore apart the SWP's support to Eisenhower's introduction of federal troops in Little Rock in 1957, powerfully pointing out that the end result had been the crushing of local black self-defense efforts. In the 1960s Fraser along with other SWP spokesmen was propelled out of the party as it plunged from centrism to reformism. As he wrote in a letter to his son: "It was I who initiated the split from the SWP by publicly attacking its Personal Representative, my old friend Asher Harer, whom I had recruited in 1935, for the SWP stand on the Vietnam War, and proclaiming that the way to 'BRING THE TROOPS HOME' was for the Viet Cong to drive them into the South China Sea."

Fraser went on to found the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party. Cut off by a split in the FSP, Dick went into the New American Movement hoping that he could influence and educate some of these young New Leftists in the old Leninist school. With the fusion of NAM and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee Fraser was subsequently carried into the Democratic Socialists of America.

Over the years we had our disagreements with Dick. Neither of us tried to hide these, but we were always happy to bend the stick in favor of the areas of profound political agreement between us. In his later years Fraser was handicapped by the loss of his Marxist library, which the SL sought to replenish, and of his personal working papers. In turn Dick's collaboration was invaluable in elaborating a perspective for rooting the SL among militant black workers and youth. Fraser's formal membership in other organizations obviously stood in contradiction to his fervent political beliefs, a contradiction which was resolved in his last years. Sharing our outrage over the U.S. bombing of Libya, he distanced himself from the DSA.

Addressing the SL/U.S. Seventh National Conference (1983) on the question of the organization of labor/black leagues, Dick spoke movingly:

> "I've had some discussions with many comrades, which have been very gratifying, and I am humbled by the knowledge that things that I wrote 30 years ago, which were so scorned by the old party, have had some important impact, finally."

Dick's last political act before his death was his endorsement of the November 5 Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Philadelphia. That satisfying mobilization of the power of integrated labor was a testament to our comrade Richard Fraser who in endorsing identified himself as a "historic American Trotskyist." That he was, and his loss will be keenly felt.

# PDC Notes...

*(continued from page 2)*

Panther George Jackson. Serving a life sentence, in solitary confinement for the last ten years. (#A92051, California State Prison, P.O. Box 29, Represa, CA 95671)

**Ramona Johnson Africa**, 33 years old. Sole adult survivor of the hideous 13 May 1985 bombing of MOVE. Currently serving seven-year sentence (#7564, P.O. Box 180, Muncy, PA 17756). We send stipends to eleven other Africa family members scattered in prisons throughout Pennsylvania. Also at Muncy prison are **Janet Holloway Africa** (#6308), **Consuewella Dotson Africa** (#6434), **Debbie Sims Africa** (#6307), **Janine Phillips Africa** (#6309), **Merle Austin Africa** (#6306) and **Susan Leon Africa** (#6325). **Delbert Orr Africa** (#M4985), **Carlos Africa** (#7400) and **Charles Sims Africa** (#M4975) are at State Correctional Facility, Dallas, PA 18612. **William Phillips Africa** (#M4984) is at P.O. Box 200, Camp Hill, PA 17011 and **Michael Davis Africa** (#M4973) is at State Correctional Facility, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Once again we are holding fundraisers in New York, Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area. Last year's Holiday Appeal was a big success. In all we raised more than $7,500 for gifts and stipends to the class-war prisoners fund and raised an additional $3,500 during the Appeal from our monthly sustainers and old and new contributors. Your financial support enabled us to send holiday gifts worth more than $1,600 to the prisoners and their families, and has given us a firm financial foundation to continue our stipends and work on the prisoners' behalf throughout this year.

In the three years since we issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors, we now have 116 sustainers, accounting for a monthly pledge of about $2,100. During the past year nearly 1,100 people and organizations contributed $5 or more, becoming subscribers to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. And with the November 5 mobilization the PDC's name is known to many of the most militant workers on the East Coast and in the Midwest. But we need more—thousands of trade unionists supporting our work, organized in militant labor action demanding freedom for the class-war prisoners.

Help build our program of monthly stipends and holiday gifts to these imprisoned victims of racist capitalist injustice. Write to them with your holiday greetings and messages of solidarity. Join our fight for their freedom. Send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. ■


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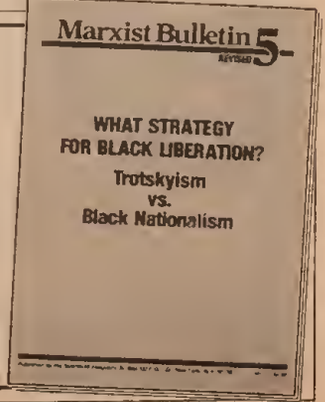


## Hormel Strike: Where Were You When It Counted?

# Socialist Action Strikes Out

The strike by meatpackers against Hormel three years ago was one of the most bitter class battles of the Reagan years. The strikers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, fought courageously, reviving the militant labor tactic of roving picket lines to spread the strike. But it ended in defeat—knifed in the back by the AFL-CIO labor traitors, and led into the dead end of a consumer boycott and reliance on the capitalist courts and labor boards by the local union leadership and their Corporate Campaign Inc. consultants.

Some fake-leftists who at the time cheered on the disastrous strategy of Corporate Campaign con artist Ray Rogers (whose consumer boycott tactics recently contributed to the defeat of the strike against International Paper) must think that the working class has a *very* short memory. Socialist Action, a group which has a justly earned reputation as "socialist" waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy, has issued a pamphlet on the strike. Entitled "Lessons of the P-9 Strike," the pamphlet was written by Jake Cooper, who served as chairman of the food committee of the P-9 strike support committee in the Twin Cities.

Cooper is a veteran of the great Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamster strike of 1934. During World War II he was imprisoned along with James P. Cannon and 16 other leaders and members of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters local. Cooper evidently remembers a thing or two about how to win a strike, and "Lessons of the P-9 Strike" contains some home truths of the class struggle. But the P-9 strikers never heard them from Socialist Action when it counted.

*While Socialist Action helped to derail the strike into impotent "pressure" tactics on Hormel, the Spartacist League told the truth to P-9ers: to win required the mobilization of union power—on the picket line and with political strike action against the National Guard. The Hormel strike was a test of leadership—and Socialist Action flunked.*

The Hormel strike began as a local struggle against concessions, when in August 1985 UFCW Local P-9 shut down Hormel's flagship meatpacking plant. The strike was led by P-9 president Jim Guyette and Corporate Campaigner Rogers, whose no-strike policy consisted of pressuring Minnesota bank directors to pressure Hormel. Arrayed against the strikers was an unholy alliance that included the liberal Democratic governor of Minnesota, the company cops of the UFCW International and their "leftist" flunkeys of the Communist Party. In January '86 the company moved to reopen the Austin packinghouse with scabs. A local judge dutifully issued an injunction banning mass picketing and Governor Rudy Perpich sent in the National Guard to enforce capitalist "order."

P-9 hit back with roving pickets, and soon the strikers had succeeded in shutting down several Hormel facilities around the Midwest. This act of militant labor solidarity could have ignited a nationwide working-class offensive. The urgent task facing every leftist and union activist was to fight for union *action* to shut down Hormel and ensure P-9's victory. But Rogers was *diverting* the strikers' militancy into a useless consumer boycott—just as the AFL-CIO hackstabbers called for a boycott during the PATCO strike to cover the fact that they ordered union members to cross the air controllers' picket lines. At this crucial point in the Hormel strike, we wrote that:

> "The call for a consumer boycott against Spam and Dinty Moore Stew is a diversion from the crucial struggle to *shut down Hormel*. Twin Cities auto workers, Iowa meatpackers, Chicago newspaper strikers—labor organizations from all over the Upper Midwest must mobilize to flood Austin with thousands of unionists who can send the scabs scurrying! There must be political strike action to beat back the National Guard strikebreaking!"
>
> —"Shut Down Hormel!"
> *Workers Vanguard* No. 396,
> 31 January 1986

Instead of pleading with consumers to "Cram Your Spam," *WV* called for unionists to "hot cargo" scab products so they would never reach the market.

Now, *two years later*, Jake Cooper correctly labels Rogers' program of consumer boycott and civil disobedience a "mistaken defeatist policy" which absurdly banked on the cooperation of the strikebreaking cops and National Guard. Accurately observing that "the workers almost begged to be turned loose to shut down the plant," Cooper states that "beefing up the picketline to keep the plant closed was a dire and irreplaceable necessity." Moreover, Hormel could only be backed down by "the threat of a localized strike struggle triggering a generalized labor upsurge."

True enough. As we wrote at the time:

> "*Hormel workers don't need pressure, they need power.* Public opinion won't sway Hormel; mass labor action that shuts down the company and cuts off its profits will. Right now the pacifism of the strike leadership is a roadblock to the strike's success."
>
> —"Hormel: Mobilize Labor—
> Drive Out National Guard!"
> *WV* No. 397, 14 February 1986

But Cooper's Johnny-come-lately criticisms stand in sharp contrast to Socialist Action's slavish tailism during the strike. Before Local P-9 was smashed, when there was still a chance to win the strike, *not once* did this reformist outfit criticize the P-9 leadership or Rogers. In fact, at the crucial moment of the strike, when it was clear that Guyette and Rogers had no intention of organizing a fight to stop scab production in Austin, *Socialist Action* (February 1986) opined, "The union has met every challenge from Hormel head on"! Socialist Action was equally careful not to embarrass the "progressive" union leaders who claimed to support the strike, particularly the short-lived National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRFAC). As we noted then:

> "NRFAC leaders head some of the most powerful union locals in Minnesota, including iron miners, auto workers and steel workers. A political strike by any one of these locals demanding removal of the National Guard would electrify the labor movement and shift the scales dramatically to P-9's side."

In contrast, Socialist Action teamed up with the NRFAC fakers to issue a call for a demonstration outside the governor's mansion to "demand that the National Guard stop being used to break the P-9 strike"—not even demanding its removal from Austin! Socialist Action's advice to those desiring further action was to pass a resolution and send a copy to the guv. As for building mass picket lines in Austin, *Socialist Action* (February 1986) recommended that union locals send "unemployed sisters and brothers, as well as those able to take a day off from work." Far from threatening the bosses with Cooper's "generalized labor upsurge," this "call" on individuals to skip work was a capitulation to the union tops, who feared political strike action against the Democratic governor and his troops like the plague.

On March 16, after scabs had been manning the Austin plant for almost two months, P-9 held a decisive meeting. Despite considerable sentiment in the membership for action to take back the packinghouse from the strikebreakers, Rogers' program won out: henceforth P-9 would concentrate on civil disobedience, a nationwide consumer boycott and a lawsuit against the UFCW International. *Socialist Action*'s (April 1986) verdict: "P-9's course is in sharp opposition to the strategy of the top leadership of the labor movement"! In reality the course adopted at this meeting was precisely the defeatist strategy of the AFL-CIO piecards, from decisively rejecting labor struggle to inviting the capitalist state to intervene in the union movement. This course betrayed those hundreds of UFCW members who were fired for honoring P-9 roving picket lines. Yet Socialist Action and other opportunist "left" groups lied to the P-9 ranks by attempting to conceal this defeat—and continued to do so for months to come.

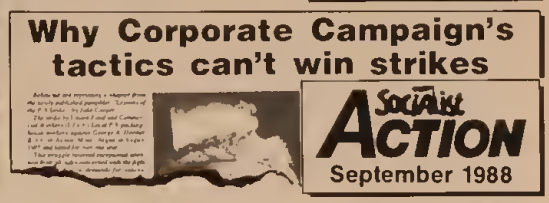
Reformist outfits like Socialist Action are always ready to crank up their verbal militancy when and where it can't possibly have any real effect on the class struggle. Despite the occasional "mass picket line" rhetoric, however, these social democrats share the outlook of the liberal union bureaucrats in every essential. By May 1986 *Socialist Action* was calling on "class-struggle union fighters" to make "the boycott of Hormel products as effective as possible." The utter hypocrisy of these "defenders" of P-9 was graphically shown when in the same issue of *Socialist Action* they *opposed letting a P-9 striker speak at the 19 April 1986 peace crawl in San Francisco, on the grounds it would be a "provocation" against the AFL-CIO tops who knifed the strike!*

Socialist Action flew its true colors in its first independent act as an organization, after its founding members were expelled from the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party in late 1983. At a union rally in San Francisco to support the important Greyhound hus strike, Socialist Action members acted as goons for the bureaucratic sellouts attempting to prevent angry workers from shutting down the Greyhound terminal (see "Ex-SWPers Goon for S.F. Labor Fakers," *WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984)! As we said then:

> "In less than a month of existence as a public tendency these little Noskes of "Socialist Action" have made it perfectly clear where they stand—with the bureaucrats, the bosses, the cops, and the company *against* the workers' struggle."

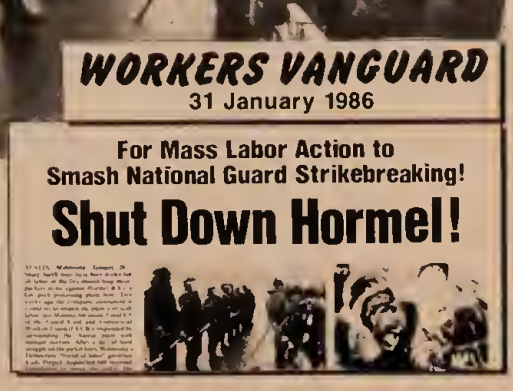
But what else can you expect from an outfit that has adopted for their masthead the logo of CIA-financed Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loves. ■

Baer/Socialist Action




**Militant Hormel strike derailed into losing "Corporate Campaign" consumer boycott (1986), which was tailed by Socialist Action at the time. Now pseudo-socialists "discover" class struggle.**

Levison/Minneapolis Standard Tribune




**Workers Vanguard told the truth: class-struggle mobilization could have won Hormel strike.**

# Stop the Klan Through Class Struggle!

*The following are edited excerpts from the speech by Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.*

We had a lot of rain out there today. But we had no white sheets. You may know that the original Klan wore those white sheets because they wanted to claim that they were the ghosts of the Confederate soldiers. Indeed, they wanted to reverse the verdict of the Civil War on slavery. They're still trying to do it today. They are the ghost of the Confederacy. And you know what we are? We're KKK ghosthusters!

So they called it off. And they hoped you wouldn't come. But you came. Coming here today for this demonstration is an act of political importance. The Klan didn't bother with a permit for race-terror. They didn't apply for a permit at Greensboro, although the government might have given them one if they had. They merely unloaded their automatic weapons and blasted the lives out of five anti-fascist activists. In Chattanooga they marched, then took out shotguns and shot four women. Because *you* are here, the Klan does not ride in Philadelphia today.

This truly is the silliest season of American politics. In only three days, a dwindling number of Americans will trudge out and vote, amid all the talk of bitterness and negativity. Then the following day, you know what happens? They get together, the candidates, smiling, shaking hands, the party leaders joking in their country clubs, ready to do business as usual, squabbling over the fine points of how best to exploit and oppress working people and minorities at home and abroad.

Now most Americans look at this, and they look at the racist ads, and the so-called great debates. They hear someone say that Michael Dukakis is a flaming red radical, outside the mainstream! What kind of fish are in that mainstream, anyway? They hear that Bush wants a kindlier, gentler America as he sticks it to black people with a thousand points of pain.

WV Photo

**Philadelphia, November 5: Labor/black power stopped the KKK and skinheads. "Because you are here, the Klan does not ride."**

So you can't blame Americans if they think that none of this makes much sense. In fact, many Americans think it isn't real, and they're right. It isn't real. Because what passes for American politics neither influences nor reflects the social reality, the deep and abiding division of classes in this country.

One advertising agency wins and another one loses. So when a desperate loser, Dukakis, tried his last appeal to his Democratic constituency with a little talk about rich folks and working people, George Bush cried foul. He waved his arms, and sounding for all the world like Jimmy Stewart in a Frank Capra movie, says, "Hold on there, bub. This sounds like classes and things you're talking about. Like they have over there in Europe. We don't do the class thing here."

The social class conflict is the real stuff of America. What we get here today is real politics. Because it grows out of the actual fabric of American political life. The danger of the Klan and Nazis is real—even in small numbers they are deadly. And we really stopped them today by mobilizing a fraction of labor's power independently on behalf of its own interest and the interest of all the oppressed.

For some of you, this may be your first demonstration. I hope it isn't your last. But now you can say, I've seen real politics and it works. It had better work. Because the fascists are not TV politicians. The struggle against fascism will not be a TV debate between [ACLU professor] Alan Dershowitz and some new American Hitler on the Morton Downey show followed by an ABC-*Washington Post* poll, sponsored by the League of Women Voters. The fight against fascism is real, and to the finish.

It ought to be obvious that such protest means that people and organizations with different political views come together for their mutual defense. This is what the great revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky argued for to stop the Nazis in Germany. We fight for democratic rights and favor all possible legal proceedings. But we have no faith whatsoever in the capitalist courts. The state is not neutral. It is the organization of class rule. That means we do not call upon the state to legislate against the Klan, to ban the Klan.

We know that it was the FBI that rode with the nightriders that shot Viola Liuzzo. We know that when the Klan says they're going to march into black neighborhoods and stage their provocation in communities of Jewish concentration camp survivors, the cops become suddenly very solicitous of their First Amendment rights. We know that anytime there's legislation passed against those fascists, even if they say it's aimed there, it will strike and wound the left. We remember the Smith Act, which was passed as an anti-Nazi bill, but became a weapon of choice for the McCarthy witchhunt of the 1950s.

Labor and blacks have the power—that is the big secret. That is why gatherings like this one are so important. Because if you let that particular cat out of the bag, unlike the fantasy world of capitalist electoral politics, here you begin to see. We see each other first of all. We learn that we can talk and argue freely about our political differences and varied visions of future reality, even as we act together to defend ourselves in the interest of our class. We begin to see that militant determination can work. We begin to feel our own strength. We learn that this great power can and must be unleashed, that on a grand scale it could have stopped the Nazis in Germany and the Holocaust. That in struggle we gain confidence, leadership for the upcoming battles upon which our future reality and our children's future depends. Let this be a beginning. ■

## Black Press Covers November 5 Mobilization

# Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification

*Part One of this article was published in* WV *No. 464, 4 November.*

In the most literal sense, Trotsky and his supporters represented the continuity of Leninism. Lenin's last works were devoted to waging a fight *in a bloc with Trotsky, against* the ascending nationalist-bureaucratic tendency represented by Stalin, on three central issues: defense of the state monopoly over foreign trade; opposition to Great Russian chauvinism manifested over the Georgian dispute; opposition to bureaucratism in the party and state apparatus, manifested most sharply in Stalin's creature, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The conclusion Lenin drew, added as a postscript to his *Testament*, was that Stalin must go as general secretary of the party. He also

*PART TWO OF TWO*

called Trotsky "personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C." Unfortunately, with Lenin's death, Trotsky pulled back from the sharp struggle which Lenin urged (see "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!" *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88).

Stalin used the "struggle against Trotskyism" as a club to smash all opposition within the Communist Party. Thus the particular sins of Trotsky kept changing. when Stalin was with Zinoviev and Kamenev, Trotsky was labeled a "social democrat," to cover their own conciliation of Menshevism; when Stalin blocked with Bukharin, suddenly Trotsky "underestimated the peasantry"; as Stalin looked for an alliance with the Western "democracies," Trotsky was rendered an agent of Hitler; and when Stalin himself made a pact with Hitler, Trotsky was supposedly in league with British and French imperialism. Now Gorbachev & Co. are waging the "struggle against Trotskyism" to justify their pro-market economic policies and appeasement of imperialism: by dismissing Trotsky's "ultraleftism," they denounce the program of the October Revolution and the early Communist International.

L.Y. Leonidov

**Leon Trotsky with Lenin in Moscow, 5 May 1920. The Bolshevik leaders fought for world socialist revolution.**

The 9 September *Pravda* article on Trotsky, the "demon of the revolution," is an excerpt from a new biography of Stalin by Col.-Gen. Dmitry Volkogonov. He acknowledges that "During the years of revolution and Civil War, in the popularity of leaders Trotsky stood right behind Lenin."

AP

**Stalin and Bukharin, 1929. Their program of "socialism in one country" was repudiation of the program of the October Revolution.**

*Pravda*'s preface concedes that "Trotsky did play a certain role in the October armed uprising and then in the years of the Civil War, when he was People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs." Volkogonov says he must "give Trotsky his due: he did not break, as many did, under Stalin's dictatorship." And he makes it clear that Stalin ordered Trotsky's assassination. But Volkogonov depicts the dispute between Trotsky and Stalin as essentially a war of intrigue between two aspiring dictators. Trotsky's call for socialist democracy is dismissed as "alien" to this "failed dictator" who was "closer to bonapartism, Caesarism, military dictatorship."

The brunt of Volkogonov's attack on Trotsky centers on his call for the militarization of labor during the 1920 trade-union dispute. This dispute had an episodic character in the period of transition from War Communism to the New Economic Policy. The question which plagued Soviet leaders was how to revive an economy decimated by years of imperialist and civil war. Trotsky had already anticipated the future NEP with a proposal for a "tax in kind" to replace forcible requisitioning of grain from the peasantry. His proposal was rejected at that point, whereupon Trotsky argued for more effective and extensive methods of War Communism to revitalize economic life. It was particularly Trotsky's call for subordinating the trade unions to the workers state that Lenin was referring to in his *Testament* when he criticized Trotsky's overly administrative approach.

Accepting Lenin's criticism, Trotsky later pointed out in his letter on party history, "The tendency to stress the administrative side grew out of the entire practice of War Communism and affected innumerable Old Bolsheviks." Within the framework of War Communism, maintaining effective labor discipline was axiomatic among all the Bolshevik leaders. The formation of "labor armies," for which Volkogonov takes Trotsky to task, was *not* a point of disagreement. As Lenin and Trotsky emphasized at the Tenth Congress, they were in complete unity against the semi-syndicalist Workers Opposition of Kollontai and Shlyapnikov. Indeed, at the time of the trade-union dispute, Lenin sponsored a resolution which, among other things, called for "sound forms of the militarisation of labour" ("The Party Crisis," January 1921).

Trotsky is now presented as the brain truster of Stalin's "barracks socialism" because he argued early on for a policy of balanced industrialization and *voluntary* collectivization. Those who seek to indict Trotsky as the inspiration behind Stalin's irrational and brutal policies have a big problem. Trotsky scathingly denounced the destructive brutality of forced collectivization; the terrible depression of living standards and police-state oppression of the workers; the enormous waste caused by economic adventurism, constant zigzags and national autarky. Above all, Trotsky emphasized the *international* character of the Left Opposition's program. A few years later he wrote:

> "The Left Opposition began with the struggle for the industrialization and agrarian collectivization of the Soviet Union. *This* fight it won in a certain sense, namely, in that, beginning with 1928, the whole policy of the Soviet government represents a bureaucratically distorted application of the principles of the Left Opposition. Without this the Soviet Union would not be in existence any longer. But the economic questions of the USSR formed only one part, and a subordinate one at that, of our program, whose center of gravity rested in the sphere of international revolution."
>
> —"The Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender" (March 1934)

Among the Opposition, it was the *capitulators* to Stalin's "socialism in one country" who became enthusiastic supporters of Stalinist industrialization. They were precisely the ones who, like Preobrazhensky and Radek, *rejected* the internationalism represented by Trotsky's permanent revolution.

But beyond the distortions, the "new thinking" critics of Trotsky are ideologically more counterposed to the program of the Left Opposition than even Stalin was, as they identify with the Bukharinite *Right* Opposition's appeasement of pro-capitalist forces and its opposition to Stalin's industrialization/collectivization in 1928-29. In his book *On Stalin and Stalinism* (1979), historian Roy Medvedev, today a semi-official mouthpiece of neo-Bukharinism among the Soviet intelligentsia and one

who actually has read Trotsky's writings, praises Bukharin for extending the NEP through the '20s, while denouncing Trotsky for "proclaiming the slogan of 'permanent revolution'" in the face of an "utterly exhausted" working class and peasantry. Medvedev flatly asserts that "capitalism in Europe had defeated the revolutionary movement," while falsely arguing that Lenin's advocacy of NEP was premised on a turn away from international revolution:

> "... it was assumed that this policy would continue during a prolonged period of coexistence with the surrounding capitalist world, i.e. it was a policy of building socialism in one country, and however much Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev may have scoffed at this 'theory', it was not invented by Stalin and Bukharin. Lenin's last works had all pointed the way."

Medvedev's analysis is, to say the least, fatuous. In the first place Lenin did not—nor did Bukharin at the time—assume the NEP would continue for a "prolonged" period of "coexistence" (see "The Bukharin Dossier," *WV* No. 455, 17 June, reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet *"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe*). In fact, Lenin's last article, "Better Fewer, But Better" (March 1923), unambiguously reasserted his internationalist perspective: "the whole world is now passing to a movement that must give rise to a world socialist revolution." Setting as the goal "to ensure our existence until the next military conflict between the counter-revolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East," he insisted: "We, too, lack enough civilisation to enable us to pass straight on to socialism, although we do have the political requisites for it."

Lenin specified the *political* requisite: state power in the hands of the working class. To "save ourselves" until the expected military conflict with imperialism, Lenin stressed "that the workers retain the leadership of the peasants" and the need to "develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification." This is in essence the program pursued by Trotsky. The Left Opposition sought to optimize the situation in Russia through a process of planned industrialization which would lay the basis for voluntary collectivization of agriculture, while seeking world revolution. Stalin, however, thought he could build socialism in one country with the threadbare resources of Soviet Russia. So he really had to strain in terms of industrialization and collectivization.

The Bukharinite Right Opposition wanted to continue conciliating the wealthy kulaks and Nepmen, even as the kulaks were organizing grain strikes to hold the cities ransom and counterrevolutionary agitation was spreading in the countryside. And that was a program for disaster. As Trotsky had pointed out when he raised the alarm over the "scissors crisis" in the early 1920s, the peasants' support to the proletarian state depended, in the final analysis, on providing the countryside with manufactured goods to exchange for produce. Bukharin's program of "socialism at a snail's pace" in reality meant the growth of counterrevolution at a gallop.

Dietz Verlag Berlin

**Berlin, 6 January 1919: Demonstration of armed workers and soldiers during the "Spartacus uprising." Russian workers eagerly hoped for German workers revolution to end isolation of the Soviet republic.**

Caught in the rut of "socialism in one country," the Gorbachevite intellectuals see only two choices, both for the '20s and today: either Stalinist "commandism" or Bukharinite encouragement of a capitalist sector and "market socialism." As *Moscow News* (23 October) headlined: "Administrative Diktat or Socialist Market: There Is No Other Way." *But there is, and was, another road, of soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism, the road of Lenin and Trotsky.*

## Soviet Power and International Revolution

The necessity of extending the revolution internationally was not some stick with which the Left Opposition beat and badgered an exhausted proletariat. Revolutionary internationalism was the lifeblood of Lenin's Bolsheviks. When Lenin proclaimed the birth of the soviet power on 7 November 1917, he concluded "Long live the world socialist revolution!" And the road to October lay through Lenin's fight against the chauvinist betrayal of the Second International in World War I. This was capped by the founding of the Communist Third International in 1919, whose manifesto to the workers of the world was written by Trotsky.

One of the first acts of the new Soviet government was the allocation of two million rubles in state funds "for the needs of the revolutionary international movement." The 26 December 1917 decree explained that "the Soviet Government is based on the principles of the international solidarity of the proletariat and on the brotherhood of the toilers of all countries; that the struggle against war and imperialism can be brought to a completely successful conclusion only if waged on an international scale" (reprinted in Jane Degras, ed., *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy*). Nobody in the Bolshevik Party, nobody in the advanced layers of the proletariat thought otherwise at the time: the fate of the Russian Revolution hinged on the outcome of the international revolution.

When a revolutionary upsurge broke out in Berlin a year later, the Russian workers followed the events with bated breath. The last session of the Sixth Congress of Soviets, meeting on November 10, was interrupted twice to hear the latest telegrams from Berlin. Lenin addressed the crowds who poured toward the Kremlin. Radek described the scene:

> "Tens of thousands of workers burst into wild cheering. Never have I seen anything like it again. Until late in the evening workers and Red Army soldiers were filing past. The world revolution had come. The mass of the people heard its iron tramp. Our isolation was over."
>
> —quoted in E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, Vol. 3

The Soviet government immediately and unilaterally *annulled the Brest-Litovsk treaty*, the humiliating terms imposed by imperialist Germany earlier in the year. Even before the workers of Berlin had taken to the streets, Lenin was insisting that the Red Army had to be built up to three million "by the spring" to "help the international workers' revolution." Unfortunately the German Revolution of 1918-19 failed, victim of the treachery of the Social Democrats and the inexperience of the German Communists. Spartacist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. But the eyes of the Russian workers remained fixed on Germany, living on the fervent hope that soon their isolation would be over.

Following an ebb in the revolutionary upheaval in Western Europe in 1920-21, by 1923 revolutionary opportunities arose in Poland, Bulgaria and Germany. The renewed possibility of revolution in Germany sent tremors of expectation throughout Soviet Russia. One observer described how Red Army soldiers were eager "to march with arms in their hands to the aid of the German and Polish proletariat." Soviet trade missions in Europe were instructed to build up "a reserve of gold and grain to help the German proletariat" against a counterrevolutionary blockade in the event of victory. But the German CP leadership dawdled as the masses approached a revolutionary pitch, and the Comintern under Zinoviev refused Trotsky's entreaties to push the German party. Stalin outright denied there was any revolutionary possibility.

In *The Lessons of October* (1924) Trotsky drew a parallel between the fatal passivity in 1923 and the line advocated by the conciliationists Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1917. It was over this biting polemic that the troika launched a war against "Trotskyism" and "permanent revolution." Meanwhile, the defeat in Germany sapped the revolutionary energies of the Russian proletariat, strengthening the hand of the conservative bureaucratic apparatus which seized political power from the proletarian vanguard. Stalin's proclamation of "socialism in one country" in late 1924 was the banner of the now ascendant bureaucratic caste. It stood in

*continued on page 10*

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# Palestinian Uprising...

*(continued from page 1)*

Strip. They speak ever more openly of "cleansing" the "Jewish state" of Palestinians. Yet there are only four million Jews in a sea of 100 million Arabs. Israel's rulers are driving the Hebrew-speaking people toward suicide.

*Israel is a deathtrap for the Jewish people.* And Jewish workers had better come to recognize that, before they find themselves blown to kingdom come along with the rest of the world by the nuclear madmen in Jerusalem, who would sooner trigger a nuclear Armageddon than surrender their expansionist drive. The world—and not least the Israeli people—owes a debt to Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician who has been thrown in a Mossad dungeon for couragcously exposing the deadly scale of the Zionists' nuclear arsenal.

There can he a place—a full place—for Jews, Arahs, Druze, Bedouins, Kurds, for all the various peoples who make up the national and religious patchwork of the Near East. But to bring this about, the property-holding classes must be smashed. Then the working peoples can with renewed confidence impose their dominance on a new egalitarian society, deeply respecting the different national components.

Sipa

**"Labor" Party's Shimon Peres (left), Likud's Yitzhak Shamir: Zionist enemies of Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking workers.**

## Intifada—Against the "Iron Fist" of Terror

In the past year of revolt and repression, hundreds of unarmed Palestinian men, women and children have been gunned down by Israeli troops, fascistic "settlers" and now death squads. Thousands of young protesters have been sadistically beaten, their arms or legs deliberately broken as a "lesson," or literally buried alive. Deadly plastic bullets are fired at pointblank range while Labor war minister Yitzhak Rabin crows: "The growing number of casualties reflects the improved ability of the Israeli defence forces to deal with rioters" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 October).

Yet despite the self-described "Iron Fist" of Israeli repression, the *Intifada* continues into its twelfth month. To a large extent popular Palestinian committees now direct the economic, social and political life of the West Bank villages and cities and the Gaza camps. They run their own schools and health clinics, organize guard duties and oversee the harvesting of crops. The despised collaborators with the Zionist state have been swept away and, in the face of mass outrage, the Palestinians who worked as police for the Israeli occupiers resigned en masse.

In its first months, the explosion of mass defiance produced a triumphalist mood in Palestinian nationalist circles. For example, Salim Tamari, a sociology professor at Bir Zeit University, a center of Palestinian radicalism and nationalism in the West Bank, exclaimed that "the greatest military power in the Mediterranean can no longer subdue the spontaneous defiance of a civilian population whose only armament is street stones and lack of fear." But however admirable and heroic, this one-sided war has taken a deadly toll on the Palestinians.

There is an understandable urge by militant Palestinians to fight back with weapons in kind. But if Palestinian youth have not replaced their stones with bullets, it is not just because they have limited access to arms; these can be smuggled in. It's obvious to all that any attempt to transform the *Intifada* into guerrilla warfare would be answered with a mass bloodbath by the Israelis. During the election campaign Likud prime minister Yitzhak Shamir ranted. "If the Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will start to fight against Israeli security forces with live ammunition, no remnant will remain of them, and then the uprising will come to an end" (*New York Times*, 18 October).

The *Intifada* is *not* an armed insurrection against the occupying Israeli forces. To a large extent the uprising has employed the weapons of *economic* warfare. Over the years the Israelis turned the occupation into a most profitable operation for them. The West Bank became a captive market for *one-quarter* of Israel's total exports, much of the rest coming from its flourishing arms trade with various Third World despots. West Bank villagers marketed most of their agricultural produce in Jordan, thus acquiring the funds to buy Israeli-made consumer goods. The West Bank has also been a conduit by which Israeli products slipped through the Arab states' trade boycott. At the same time, over 100,000 Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank commuted daily across the Green Line (the pre-1967 border) to provide superexploited cheap labor for Israeli agriculture, sweatshops, construction and service industries.

Bar-Am/NY Times

**Israeli bosses rely on superexploited Palestinian workers bused from Occupied Territories.**

A major goal of the *Intifada* is severing these economic ties. A commercial boycott has aimed, with some success, at replacing Israeli-made goods with Palestinian products. The flow of Palestinian labor has been disrupted both by a series of strikes and protests and by the army's repressive measures—curfews, roadblocks, mass terror. Added to these economic costs is the enormous increase in direct military expenditure, further weakening the already fragile Israeli economy. Faced with massive budget and foreign-trade deficits, last spring the Likud/Labor "national unity" government imposed a severe austerity program with big cuts in all social programs, including medical services. Massive layoffs are threatened in the wake of the elections. This has already provoked a number of long, bitter strikes by hospital workers.

But if the *Intifada* has adversely affected the Israeli economy, the Palestinians remain *far more vulnerable* to Israeli economic warfare. And, in fact, economic strangulation is Israel's principal means of subduing rebellious West Bank villages. Their food, fuel and water are cut off; military blockades prevent them from taking their crops to market.

## Seeking a New "Pax Americana"

The sight of deeply oppressed Palestinians defying and fighting back against the Zionist state has certainly evoked worldwide sympathy and support. Impressionistic leftists in the U.S. and Europe vicariously cheer on the Palestinian uprising as the road to victory over Zionist Israel just as they hailed the black township revolts in South Africa as the end of apartheid. South African black militants did for a time achieve dual power *within* the segregated townships like Soweto. However, the white-supremacist state and its armed force remained intact, capable of drowning the rebellious masses in a bloodbath, and eventually strangled and exhausted the black revolt. The same danger faces the Palestinian *Intifada*.

For all their triumphal public rhetoric, the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO or African National Congress hardly believe they can defeat their oppressors in a direct military struggle. The ANC was seeking to pressure "enlightened" South African capitalists (like the mine bosses!) and Western imperialism to put the squeeze on the apartheid state. And in recent years, the PLO has sought to pressure particularly the European imperialist powers to in turn pressure their American NATO ally to force the Israelis into a compromise.

For years the PLO sought to pressure the Arab bourgeois regimes into a war of redemption against Israel. But the Arab rulers are no less hostile to the interests of the Palestinian people than are their Zionist counterparts. In the infamous "Black September" 1970, Jordan's Hussein massacred 10,000 Palestinian militants. Currently, the PLO leadership seeks to turn the mass uprising in the Occupied Territories into a vehicle for securing imperialist support for its mini-state proposal, which has now become Arafat's maximum program.

For years, the imperialist "democracies" have insisted that a precondition for any discussion he the PLO's recognition of Israel. They never call on the Zionists to recognize a Palestinian state. So now the PLO has done it, endorsing United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 which guarantee "secure horders" for Israel. After the Palestine National Council formally recognized Israel in mid-November, Arafat personally appealed to contra terrorist-in-chief George Bush to inaugurate a "season of peace" in the Near East. But the American ruling class is not ready to play the Palestinian card right now.

Palestinian and hlack South African nationalists share the profoundly dangerous illusion that Western, centrally U.S., imperialism can he made to play a progressive role in their parts of the world. There are, to be sure, differences between American ruling circles and the Zionists and Afrikaner Nationalists. U.S. policy makers might prefer some "power-sharing" in South Africa and "autonomy" for the West Bank/Gaza. That is, Washington would like to *co-opt* a section of the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships into something like a neocolonial setup.

## Allah Meets Jehovah?

It is certainly not out of the question that U.S. imperialism could do a turnaround in the Near East if it saw that as a road to achieving a more stable anti-Soviet consensus with the bourgeois Arab regimes. The denial of a visa to Arafat has led to an uproar not only from the West Europeans, but from New York's influential Archbishop O'Connor and such journalists as Flora Lewis, who has an ear to the thoughts of the CIA. Lewis saw behind the question of Arafat's visa the "ominous issue of whether a Democratic Congress and a Republican White House are becoming hell-bent on an all-American cold war" (*New York Times*, 27 November).

But what would it mean for Israeli policy toward the Palestinian people if Washington decides to play the Palestinian card? Israel is not a puppet of U.S. imperialism, but a very junior ally. Any Israeli government which moved toward withdrawal from the Occupied Territories would face armed resistance and provocations by the fascistic Gush Emunim and other settler groups, which could easily ignite a full-scale civil war in Israel. Witness the crazed violent hostility of Israeli rightists toward perceived "doves." The well-known Israeli liberal Meron Benvenisti reports that recently a taxi driver screamed at him: "We'll burn the Arabs and their friends!" When Benvenisti ignored the man, he continued, "No. First we burn Arab lovers."

To increasing numbers of Israelis, the Occupied Territories are de facto part of Israel. The Golan Heights, captured from Syria in 1967 and populated largely by Druze, has already been formally annexed, as has Arab East Jerusalem. And since 1967, the Israelis have expropriated more and more Arab land on the West Bank.

For Zionist fanatics, giving up one inch of the West Bank is tantamount to evacuating Haifa or Tel Aviv. The logic of the Zionist national project—carving out a Jewish-only state in the Arab East—has always been expansionist. When the mainstream Zionist parties dismiss the sentiment for "transfer" as isolated, Moledet chief Rechavam Ze'evi, a former "Labor" Party leader, retorts that "population transfer" of Palestinian Arabs is "Zionism by definition." "This idea did not originate with me," says Ze'evi, citing "teachers and leaders in the Zionist movement"

# Racist Cops Burn Over Larry Davis Verdict

Two years ago, the New York City police came gunning for 20-year-old Larry Davis. The cops had him surrounded in his sister's apartment and burst in with a shotgun blast and pistols blazing. Davis defended himself and somehow managed to escape. For the next 17 days he made fools of the NYPD, hiding out in plain sight, in a Bronx housing project. He became a folk hero, known as "the dude that elude." Every morning people tuned in to WINS to see if he was still "at large." So popular was Davis that hundreds came out to watch his surrender, cheering "Lar-ry, Lar-ry," and preventing him from being blown away "while trying to escape."

Earlier this year Davis was acquitted of the original charges against him for the murder of four drug dealers. But because six cops were wounded in the 19 November 1986 shoot-out, probably in the police crossfire, Davis was charged with "attempted murder." Last week, Larry Davis was again acquitted, by a Bronx jury of ten blacks and two Hispanics. Now the latest dance in the South Bronx is "the Larry Davis," and the *New York Times* (21 November) reported the mass sentiment that "Mr. Davis was no angel but had rightly defended himself against police who too often think black life is cheap and expendable."

"They came in to wipe him out," said jury foreman Cecilia Thompson. "They wanted him dead so he couldn't squeal on them," she explained, referring to Davis' intimate knowledge of drug corruption among the cops. As Davis said in a TV interview after the verdict: "Some people, they're seeing me as one out of a million who hasn't died of police brutality or police assassination, too, like Eleanor Bumpurs or Michael Stewart." Larry Davis' defense was straightforward, and a jury of his peers agreed: if you're black and the NYPD comes looking for you, it's an open-and-shut case of self-defense.

The cops are livid. They want free rein to kill as they please. Racist pig mayor Ed Koch egged them on, and the day after the Larry Davis verdict, an all-white crowd of 3,500 armed cops demonstrated outside the 113th Precinct in Jamaica, Queens. They were protesting slap-on-the-wrist transfers of cops over the rampant racism in the notorious precinct. PBA chief Phil Caruso denounced the Davis acquittal and called to "get these radicals" and "shove them aside and let us do our job."

After the verdict, the haughty *New York Times* (25 November) wrote a hand-wringing editorial about "The Message of the Davis Case," worrying that you can't get a jury to convict because of mass "perceptions of the police." Koch's police commissioner Ben Ward said out loud what New York rulers are thinking: that the outcome would have been very different if it had been tried by a judge without a jury. They're taking aim at any democratic restraints on police power, like a jury of your peers, especially if they're black or Hispanic.

They've still got a conviction of Davis for gun possession, and Bronx D.A. Paul Gentile called for a maximum sentence (10-20 years) to "help" the cops "accept the verdict." This is a not-too-subtle hint that the police may carry out their own verdict. As Davis' attorney William Kunstler pointed out, the judge "can't give [Davis] any more than [Bernhard] Goetz got," referring to the "subway gunman" who thought his life was in danger and who got six months for the same "offense." Larry Davis *knew* he was going to be killed—and the cops are still out for his blood.

Krulwich/NY Times

**Larry Davis**

On November 25, another man fell victim to the police in the Bronx. A harmless beggar was repeatedly prodded by a transit cop, then pushed to the ground and choked to death by a nightstick applied to his neck—a scene reminiscent of the TA cops' murder of Michael Stewart. As far as the NYPD and their masters are concerned, the entire city is a killing zone. ■

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like Israeli founding father David Ben-Gurion.

"Transfer" means war. It did in 1947-48 and again in 1967. Today, powerful forces in the Israeli ruling class would like to provoke another war with the Arab states, beginning with Syria. And many would like to use such a war as a cover for the expulsion/massacre of the Palestinians. For the Zionists, "Greater Israel" does not stop on the west bank of the Jordan river—Hussein's Jordan itself is overwhelmingly Palestinian—but extends from "the Euphrates to the Nile."

Landau/Jerusalem Post

**Zionist rulers gagged and imprisoned Mordechai Vanunu for courageously exposing Israel's nuclear arsenal.**

In the face of the seemingly unstoppable Israeli Goliath and the evident futility of the PLO's appeals to imperialist "good will," frustration among the Palestinian masses has been reflected in the growth of fundamentalist forces, particularly in the squalid concentration camps of Gaza but also in the West Bank. Salim Tamari, a mainstream Palestinian nationalist, laments, "the Palestinians have always prided themselves on being a secular society and a secular movement, and today they are being infested by Khomeinism" (*Middle East Report*, May-June 1988).

In recent months the pro-PLO Unified Leadership of the Uprising has been challenged by Islamic fundamentalists who proclaim that the only solution is *jihad*, a "holy war." Graffiti in West Bank villages promises "The end of Israel is a Koranic inevitability," and "We will tell the sons of Zion that we will not forget Haifa and Jaffa. We are coming." In August and September, the Muslim fundamentalists called general strikes which were honored not only in Gaza but also in much of the West Bank. The *Washington Post National Weekly* (26 September) notes that they are "feeding upon a growing fear in the West Bank that the uprising is leading nowhere, and a growing disaffection with the PLO as a result."

The PLO's number two man, Salah Khalaf, gives the organization about six months to achieve "international legitimacy" for its program before it is politically defeated by the pressure of Zionist hardliners in Israel and Islamic fanatics in the Palestinian camp. If Shamir and Arafat aren't going to beat their swords into plowshares, what are the chances that Jehovah and Allah can work it out?

### Smash Zionism Through Socialist Revolution!

The handful of European Jewish settlers who first came to Palestine (then part of the Ottoman Empire) in the late 19th century did not for the most part want to expel or subjugate the indigenous Arab population. Many of them were utopian socialists who sought to build a collectivist peasant society. They thought they could go to an Arab land and recruit other Jews to join them or, with some chutzpah, sought to win over some Muslim and Christian Arab *fellahin* to their way of thinking. The first was more likely than the second, but neither was bent on sowing willful hatred among peoples.

The Zionists were destined to take a third road. After devoting their efforts to soliciting sponsors from among the most reactionary imperialists in Europe with the aim of making common cause around ridding Europe of Jews (including Yitzhak Shamir's Stern Gang proposing alliance with Hitler), they finally got their big chance with the Nazi Holocaust. Until the late 1930s there was *very little support* for Zionism among European and American Jewry, even in countries which fiercely persecuted Jews such as tsarist Russia and later Pilsudski's Poland. Politically-minded Jews in Europe were *overwhelmingly* socialist internationalists, who saw their struggle alongside their proletarian class brothers against their own capitalists. And in Palestine, Jewish Communists like Leopold Trepper were expelled by the British colonial masters for engaging in joint class struggle with Arab workers.

After the wave of Holocaust survivors who were refused entry into Britain or the U.S. and ended up in Palestine, since the formation of the state of Israel in 1948 relatively few European and American Jews have emigrated there. Significantly, when 50,000 French Jewish *colons* left Algeria in the early 1960s following independence, practically all of them went to France. Immigration to Israel has consisted overwhelmingly of Sephardic Jews who had lived for centuries in the Arab East. Even there, the Mossad deliberately provoked anti-Semitic campaigns in the Arab countries to frighten Jews into leaving.

For decades the European-derived Ashkenazi elite of Israel lorded it over and looked down upon the more culturally backward Sephardic Jews, who became the bulk of the Israeli proletariat. Many observers have compared Israel's Sephardic Jews with poor whites in the American South. Deeply resentful of the Ashkenazi elite above them, they channeled their social hatred into a brutal racism toward the Arabs below them. The Sephardim thus became the main electoral base for Likud and the further right Zionist parties. Today Kahane targets them for his fascist appeals. But these oppressed layers are not necessarily wedded to Zionist fanaticism. Mordechai Vanunu was a Moroccan Jew.

American and European Jews are overwhelmingly assimilationist, seeking to live among their non-Jewish neighbors, not to engage in "holy war." A letter to the *Jerusalem Post* signed by officers of the Holocaust Survivors Association USA denounced proposals for "transfer" as "violating the traditional Jewish principles of justice and compassion, and as repugnant because of the memories of deportations of European Jews in the 1940s." The cause of "Greater Israel" has a very *narrow* base worldwide.

In the recent U.S. elections, almost 70 percent of American Jews voted for Michael Dukakis, who is no anti-Semite but neither is he a supporter of Israeli expansionism. American Jews prefer Dukakis to George Bush, who simultaneously harbors East European Nazis in his entourage while strongly backing the Israeli government

*continued on page 10*


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# Trotsky...

*(continued from page 7)*

sharp contradiction not only to all previous Marxist writings, but to Stalin six months earlier, when he wrote in the first edition of *Lenin and Leninism*:

> "For the final victory of socialism, for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of such a peasant country as Russia are insufficient."

The isolation of the Soviet Union was not preordained, as Medvedev and his cothinkers would have it. The subsequent opportunities to extend the revolution beyond the borders of Russia were squandered by the ruling bureaucratic caste, which placed attempts at rapprochement with imperialism above support to the international proletariat. Trotsky's letter to the Bureau of Party History indicted Stalin for crimes against the international revolution:

> "...the cruel massacre of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese Revolution at its three most important turning points, the strengthening of the position of the trade union agents of British imperialism after the General Strike of 1926, and, finally, the general weakening of the position of the Communist International and the Soviet Union, the party owes principally and above all to Stalin."

By 1935, the CI had been transformed into an agency for shackling the international proletariat to its imperialist rulers under the aegis of the "People's Front." "Stalin Has Signed the Death Certificate of the Third International," wrote Trotsky and later that year called the Seventh Congress the "Liquidation Congress." In 1943, Stalin formally liquidated Lenin's International in order to appease his imperialist allies.

In the end Stalin succeeded in imprinting his nationalist outlook on the Soviet peoples. Today, proletarian internationalism is sneered at as an obscure Trotskyite heresy of "export of revolution" or, at best, emptied of any content while paid cynical lip service. But it took years to uproot the internationalist heritage of October from the consciousness of the Soviet workers. In the 1920s, as Soviet historian Vladlen Sirotkin recently wrote, "ordinary Soviet men and women were raised on the idea of a world revolution." He refers to a recent letter to *Ogonyok* from a veteran soldier "stating that Red Army men were learning the Esperanto language in 1922-23 because it was the language of a world revolution" (*XXth Century and Peace*, July 1988).

Yet Sirotkin emphasizes the pervasive belief in international revolution only to emphasize the fundamental "conceptual difference" with Gorbachev's "new ideas."

Behind the banners of the Bolshevik Revolution were united Jewish intellectuals and Russian *muzhiks* (peasants), Armenian Christians and Azerbaijani Muslims, Russians and non-Russian minorities. But the "ideological struggle" against Trotskyism which Gorbachev hails brought to the surface the worst, most backward excrescences of

Basil Blackwell Inc.

**Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. Center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."**

prerevolutionary Russia, including the use of anti-Semitism, and not just under Stalin. (To this day, the Stalinists go out of their way to note that Trotsky's real name was Bronstein, and Volkogonov even falsely Yiddishizes the first name from Lev to "Leiba.") Today the deadly heritage of Stalinist nationalism is evident particularly in the Great Russian Nazis of Pamyat, who are allowed to openly strut around in the cradle of the revolution itself. Leningrad II the workers of heroic Leningrad take it into their hands to crush this fascist obscenity, it will greatly advance the prospect of a revival of internationalism in the Soviet Union.

### Against Stalinism—For World Revolution!

Today the Soviet intelligentsia praises Bukharin as the alternative to Stalin. But Bukharin did not fight Stalin—and that's fine with them. Trotsky did—and they denounce him for it. Volkogonov's preface to his book on Stalin, published earlier in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (9 December 1987), raved: "No one else in the world wrote as much caustic, malicious, insulting, lampooning and belittling material about Stalin as Trotsky did. In this way, he showed his true colors even more openly. He was not fighting for the truth but only for himself, the dictator who never was." Well, had the Left Opposition won out it would have led to *a dictatorship of the proletariat in both Russia and Germany!*

"New thinkers" like Volkogonov deny that Trotsky had any support. Yet *tens of thousands* of Trotskyists were shot in the camps. The Left Opposition had a significant base among the party cadre in the Soviet Union and internationally, including central figures of the Bolshevik Revolution like Christian Rakovsky and Adolf Joffe. And the Left Opposition left behind a legacy for the Soviet and international proletariat in the program of the Fourth International, founded in 1938. The Right Opposition left in its wake nothing but a record of confusion and capitulation. The Bukharinites did not fight Stalinism because, in its essentials, the perspective of the Stalinist bureaucracy was accepted, indeed authored, by Bukharin. The Right Opposition existed largely within the hierarchy of the party, while its popular appeal was primarily to those outside the party, the kulaks and the Nepmen, who benefited most from its platform.

Western social-democratic anti-communists have for years drawn an equal sign between Stalin and Trotsky *as part of equating Stalinism with Leninism*. It is not surprising that some Soviet intellectuals now echo the lie that Leninism led to Stalinism. Once the class line is erased and international proletarian revolution denied, they are left with no other measuring rod than vulgar (bourgeois) democracy. Columnist Flora Lewis reports (*New York Times*, 12 October) that *Ogonyok* editor Vitaly Korotich complains, "I'm tired of labels. I want a normal country" without any taint of revolution and internationalism.

In the final analysis, soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism are inextricably intertwined. In the absence of international socialist planning, an isolated workers state, no matter how developed and powerful, cannot move forward to socialism. For the Soviet peoples, an understanding of the real history of the October Revolution of 1917 and the degeneration which followed it is the key which unlocks the problems which surround them today. Not surprisingly, there is a vast abyss of ignorance of who Trotsky was and what he stood for.

Soviet workers must demand that all the writings of Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders be published. In Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936) they will find *the* indictment of Stalin's perversion of Leninism and of his assault on the Soviet working people. In the program of Trotskyism, they will find the continuity of Lenin's Communist International: the struggle for world socialist revolution to smash imperialism and for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy which leeches off the gains of October. The road forward lies in rediscovering the internationalist legacy of the Trotskyist Left Opposition and again blazing a path for all humanity. ■

# Palestinian Uprising...

*(continued from page 9)*

In the U.S., the creatures of the Mossad have a lot of pull, goading Washington's anti-Communism in order to funnel billions in arms to finance Israel's war against "Soviet surrogates." But American Zionists would do well to recall that Texas oil millionaires are not exactly the most consistent friends of the Jewish people.

The *Intifada* is posing pointblank to the Hebrew-speaking people that their future lies either in becoming the Nazis of the Near East—increasingly isolated even from Jews internationally and their future looking increasingly dismal, deprived of even that bit of European culture represented by Saturday soccer and Friday night movies and dance clubs—or turning against their own rulers.

The Zionist state does not even have the relative stability of white-ruled South Africa. Its industrial base is too narrow and, more importantly, its population is too small. And the bloody course of Israeli expansionism makes the four million Jews of Israel the automatic scapegoat for the Arab rulers seeking to prevent the 100 million Arabs of the region from rising up against their exploiters at home. Sooner or later the Israeli bunker is going to crack in a war with the surrounding Arab states, and then the Zionist madmen—the Shamirs, Rabins and Sharons—could well launch their massive nuclear arsenal.

Flung into their own diaspora, the Palestinians, one of the most radicalized and educated elements in the Arab East, can be key in bringing down the whole wretched array of Zionist state terrorists, feudal monarchs, religious fanatics and nationalist colonels. Palestinians constitute a majority of King Hussein's Jordan, a substantial minority in that feudal patchwork called Lebanon, and a strategic section of the labor force in Persian Gulf oil fields. By breaking with petty-bourgeois nationalism and embracing proletarian internationalism, Palestinians can be in the vanguard of socialist revolution in the Near East.

The Palestinian Arab people have been sacrificed by every nationalist demagogue and sheik, every "progressive" colonel and feudalist mullah in the Near East. Their own petty-bourgeois leaders, who will be no less corrupt than the rest if their aspirations to be a ruling class are realized, will oppress them as readily as the Zionists do today. It did not need a Sharon to perpetrate Black September nor a Rabin to level the Syrian town of Haama. This is normal for the Near East—and it is normal for nation-building in the epoch of imperialist decay. The only way out is social revolution against the Arab and Islamic masters and winning over sections of the working-class Jews in struggle against the Zionist rulers.

We have no illusion it will be easy to overcome the intense chauvinism, the hatred and fear of the Arabs, which now animates the Hebrew-speaking masses, especially their Sephardic component. Probably only great historic events, such as Israel's defeat and humiliation in war or a cataclysmic economic crisis, could break a section of the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from the Zionists and thereby lay the basis for a mass revolutionary workers party in Israel. For a successful outcome to be possible a Trotskyist nucleus must be crystallized in Israel from among militant workers, left-wing students and especially the oppressed Palestinian Arab population.

The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the bloody Ba'athist regime in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and shatter the Zionist garrison state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of the Near East.

Then it will be possible to satisfy the just national demands of the mosaic of national peoples in the Near East. It will even be possible to arrange for rabbis to pray at the Wailing Wall and mullahs at the Al Aqsa mosque without killing each other. And the rest of us, those many non-believers from all religious and cultural backgrounds, will be able to meet again in Jerusalem in peace. ■


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**Bay Area**
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# Drug Testing...

*(continued from page 12)*

said Bill Hawkins, business manager of Ironworkers Local 481 (*Denver Post*, 27 August).

### From Red Scares to Dixie Cups

The Reagan administration waited until George Bush was safely elected before unleashing this latest assault on the American working people, part of a package of vicious cuts and anti-labor rulings including eliminating restrictions on work in the home, foreclosing farm loans, cutting Social Security and Medicaid. "The fact that they waited until after the election says to us that they had some concern about the popularity of these rules," said John Sturdivant, president of the American Federation of Government Employees (*New York Times*, 15 November).

The purpose of this drug witchhunt is to break the resistance of the labor movement to the government's all-sided assault on American working people. They want to turn the clock back to the eve of World War I, when Henry Ford's "social workers" inspected workers' homes "to make sure that workers used 'plenty of soap and water...' and that they brushed their teeth 'every morning and night'" (*UAW Solidarity*, December 1986). Back in the 1950s, Joe McCarthy's hysterical anti-Communist witchhunting, the "reds under the beds" scares, the "Legion of Decency" pushing family prayer sessions, and polygraph "lie detectors" were used to regiment the population for the "Crusade against Communism."

Today, it's your urine they're after—General Jack D. Ripper, muttering about "vital bodily fluids" in *Dr. Strangelove*, meets the Yuppie eco-freaks! This bizarre campaign to ensure the "purity" of American workers through thousands of lab assistants checking millions of dixie cups of piss is truly insane.

### Defend the Unions—Bust the Union-Busters!

The Airline Pilots Association quickly filed suit against the DOT guidelines, as did the independent truckers organization. Edward Yule, United Transportation Union chairman at the Long Island Rail Road, noted that "If they don't like you, they can find a way to get rid of you over this stuff" (*New York Times*, 20 November). Transportation unions have repeatedly challenged random drug testing in the courts. But as Congress and the Supreme Court, which is currently considering two key "random" drug-testing appeals, gear up to get the unions, it will take class-struggle action to defeat the "drug war" on labor.

Many of the same union tops who are currently pleading with Congress and filing court cases against random drug testing have rolled over in the face of the drug-testing witchhunt against their own unions' members. In the New York City subways, the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 bureaucrats have let the Transit Authority bosses scapegoat transit workers for years. Even without the draconian DOT regulations, over *15,000* new-hires and almost *9,000* current TWU members have been forced to take drug tests. One older Irish worker whose test turned up false positive was suspended for six months, labeled a "substance abuser" and forced to go through the humiliation of "drug rehab."

This year there have been scores of "draggings" (train doors closing on passengers) caused by faulty, dilapidated equipment and the elimination over the past 30 years of 1,250 platform conductors. After each incident, the motorman and conductor are hauled in for forced urine and blood tests, and when the TA doesn't know which train it was they round up every crew in the area. Workers are fed up with being scapegoated for the "draggings" and want union action. Instead, this month they were set up for victimization by the TWU tops, who told individual workers to "work safe"—drive trains into and out of stations slowly—then abandoned them to TA discipline.

In October TWU president Sonny Hall pulled out nine Manhattan and Bronx bus barns in a two-hour strike against the TA Medical Department's vicious blackballing of workers with high blood pressure and other medical problems. *But when the TA fined 500 workers two days' pay under the no-strike Taylor Law, Hall refused to lift a finger to fight this victimization.*

The TWU bureaucracy uses the threat of the Taylor Law to force transit workers to knuckle under to the fruits of its collaboration with the TA: deadly dangerous working conditions, the multi-tier pensions, absentee control and drug testing. And the current "opposition" slate, New Directions, joins Hall in diverting TWU workers' anger into support for Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party, which is *leading* the drug wars. So these "Rainbow" reformists *don't even mention* the TA's drug-testing attacks in their program. The government's use of drug testing to discipline NYC labor must be smashed by transit and rail unions in subways and commuter railroads like Metro North! Tear up the Taylor Law through strike action!

Morris/NY Times

WV Photo

**Cops terrorize Manhattan's Upper West Side with mass roundups in racist "drug war" against minorities.**

### Smash the Drug Witchhunt!

This campaign is not only unconstitutional, it's utterly hypocritical—Bush and Reagan sponsor some of the biggest international drug dealers around the world, from the reactionary Afghan feudalist guerrillas to the contras in Central America. So former CIA head George Bush isn't about to interfere with the CIA's drug-running connections with the contras. The Democrats are partners with the Republicans in whipping up drug hysteria: Congress overwhelmingly passed an anti-drug bill in the closing days of the election campaign, including heavy $10,000 fines for those with even a small amount of drugs and the death penalty for "drug-related" crimes.

Certainly the explosion of crack, and the drug gang wars that from Los Angeles to Washington and New York are turning the ghettos into war zones, are of desperate concern to the blacks and other minorities struggling to survive in America's inner cities. The capitalist politicians have simply abandoned the ghettos to death—as deadly AIDS rages among intravenous drug users, the capitalists fight tooth and nail against even such an elementary preventive act as handing out free, clean needles to IV users to check its spread. And meanwhile they unleash their "TNT" narc squads to sweep black and Hispanic neighborhoods, from Bushwick and East Harlem to Watts and East L.A., putting everyone in sight literally up against the wall.

Something can be done, to put a stop to the drug mafia wars, to cut down on street violence: take the superprofits out of drugs by *legalizing* them. Everybody knows that all Prohibition did was make the mob and the Kennedys rich. It's none of the state's business what people want to do in private—and that includes indulging in tobacco, liquor or other substances, if they choose. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will provide the housing, decent schools or jobs that can lift ghetto youth out of the despair that makes many turn to drugs. Instead they send in more cops, which necessarily means more corruption, more violence and more death on the streets.

The heavily integrated unions of transit workers, bus drivers, seamen and airline workers have the power to tear up the Democrats' and Republicans' dixie-cup union-busting. Sharp political strike action can make quick work of their assault on labor and would be a hugely popular blow for the democratic rights of all. ■

# Skinhead Terror...

*(continued from page 12)*

7 October, and "Skinheads: Psycho Killers On the Loose," *WV* No. 464, 4 November).

When the Ku Klux Klan and skinheads threatened to show up at Philadelphia's Independence Mall November 5, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor-centered, united-front November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK, endorsed by over 350 groups and individuals, which forced the fascists to back down. On that day, over 1,000 unionists, blacks, students, gays, socialists occupied the site of the Klan's threatened rally.

At Philly's Temple University, the African American Student Union, Temple Lambda Alliance, fraternities and sororities were early endorsers of the November 5 Mobilization. Now, only days after that successful anti-Klan action, a racist "white pride" student group has sought and won official recognition at Temple. This is a threat to minority groups and everybody on campus.

The racist terrorists can and must be stopped. An *Amsterdam News* (19 November) article on skinhead terror quoted a PDC spokesman: "We believe the Skinheads, KKK and Nazis can be stopped by mobilizing the power of the labor movement, the community and other intended victims of fascist terror. The effectiveness of this strategy was dramatically demonstrated just a few weeks ago in Philadelphia when the Black/labor mobilization initiated by PDC forced the Skinheads and Klan to call off their planned white pride rally Nov. 5. We must counter them. The Skinheads are the young stormtroopers of a growing fascist movement in this country." ■


## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

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Cleveland, OH 44101
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(213) 380-8239

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Madison, WI 53701
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New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

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Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

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Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

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Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

**Washington, D.C.**
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

# Drug Testing: Threat to the Unions

## Four Million Workers Targeted

On November 14 the Federal Department of Transportation (DOT) ordered that four million American workers be "randomly" tested for drugs, with those testing positive to be fired. The November 14 order is a stunning and sinister attack on organized labor. The largest group being targeted is some three million bus drivers and interstate truck drivers—including the Teamsters union. The order also would cover civilian pilots, navigators, flight attendants, mechanics, railway engineers, brakemen, conductors, workers in mass transit, seamen and pipeline workers. Government workers have already been subject to this drug witchhunt—over 50,000 have already been tested, and the feds plan to extend testing to another 200,000 of the 3.1-million-strong federal workforce.

This capitalist government has let America's industry rust, thrown hundreds of thousands out onto the streets, cut safety standards across the board. When the PATCO air controllers union protested unsafe working conditions, it was smashed. Today the skies are deadly, all right—because of Reagan's anti-labor policies. Now the government is trying to scapegoat workers for the mess capitalism has created. They're going after people's private lives, creating hysteria over things like tobacco, liquor or drugs as an excuse to bust the unions—meanwhile this government's leaky nuclear weapons plants spew radioactive wastes across whole towns, homeless people are recruited to remove deadly asbestos without protection, industrial "accidents" skyrocket and industrial pollution is choking us.

"Safety" has nothing to do with this campaign for a "drug-free transportation system." Transportation Secretary Jim Burnley, in announcing the new regulations, claimed that the January 1987 Conrail-Amtrak crash, which killed 16 people, was caused by drugs. But that disaster was *capitalist murder*, as we pointed out:

> "U.S. freight railroads *removed* automatic braking devices from their engines when Amtrak was created in 1971 and they no longer had to carry passengers. If the Conrail engines had been equipped with such fail-safe systems, Brother Evans [the Amtrak engineer] and 15 others would be alive today.
>
> "When the Northeast Corridor was planned and built 20 years ago, American imperialism was spending billions of dollars on its bloody, losing slaughter in Vietnam, and a safe rail system was 'deemed prohibitively expensive'."
>
> —"Amtrak Murder," *WV* No. 420, 23 January 1987

WV Photo

The Machinist

**Union action can stop drug witchhunters. Metro North rail workers in NYC on one-day strike, September 9 (left). IAM machinists at Louisville Naval Ordnance Station protest union-busting, drug testing.**

The "urine tests," notoriously unreliable in any case, are used punitively to get rid of troublemaking workers. Everything from poppy seed bagels to the pain reliever ibuprofen can get you a positive test result. Studies indicate that blacks, with high amounts of the skin pigment melanin, can show up as marijuana smokers. Urine samples have been used to find out whether employees have sexually transmitted diseases, or if women are pregnant. The American Civil Liberties Union has taken up the case of two women working at a nuclear power plant in Georgia. They turned over information on safety violations to the government, so their supervisor submitted them to drug tests. One tested positive and was fired; the other was fired for insubordination because she couldn't urinate in front of a company observer.

In perhaps the most grotesque case, last August more than 200 construction workers in Dallas, Texas were ordered to kneel before drug-sniffing dogs or lose their jobs. "When they make you get down in front of an animal on your knees, that's getting back into slavery,"

*continued on page 11*

## From Oregon to Brooklyn

# Murderous Skinhead Terror

In Brooklyn, New York, a 13-year-old black youth, Ikeem Davis, was viciously beaten by a gang of shaved-head white racist punks on November 22. Three weeks earlier, swastika-tattooed skinheads in jackboots attacked a white family who had objected to their racial epithets at a PATH train stop in Greenwich Village. And on November 13, in Portland, Oregon skinheads beat to death a black Ethiopian immigrant. Over the last two years, skinhead terror has exploded across the U.S. These neo-Nazi filth are disgusting, dangerous and *deadly*.

It was just two days before Thanksgiving when Ikeem Davis was viciously beaten in his neighborhood of Park Slope, a "gentrified" middle-class pocket of Brooklyn, a place where interracial couples had thought it relatively safe to be on the streets. The eighth grader was walking home from visiting his mother at Methodist Hospital when he was set on by four whites with shaved heads, who called him "black boy," beat him and broke his jaw with a large piece of wood.

Violent skinhead youth have recently been proliferating in Brooklyn from their base in Greenpoint, while outlying gangs are terrorizing New Jersey. In Staten Island, where there has been a series of recent attacks on blacks, skinhead gangs are "affiliated with the California-based White Aryan Resistance (WAR)," according to *Newsday* (14 November). In mid-November, Park Slope residents found their neighborhood covered with spray-painted skinhead graffiti. A week later Ikeem Davis was the target of a skinhead attack.

Mulugeta Seraw, the Ethiopian who was beaten to death by skinheads in Portland, emigrated to this country seven years ago. A bus driver at a Portland airport car rental agency, he was a well-liked worker. On November 13, he was jumped in front of his own home by white racists who also brutally beat two of his companions. Following mass outrage in Portland over this racist murder, police have arrested three skinheads. One of the killers' roommates has been charged with the 1987 desecration of a Redwood City, California synagogue.

From their origins in Britain where they became notorious for immigrant-bashing, the skinhead racists are "growing exponentially" in the United States in the last two years, according to the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, which estimates 3,500 active Nazi skinheads, compared with only 300 in 1986 (cited in *Rolling Stone*, 1 December). *Workers Vanguard* has been warning of this ominous development (see "Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs," *WV* No. 462,

*continued on page 11*

# WORKERS VANGUARD

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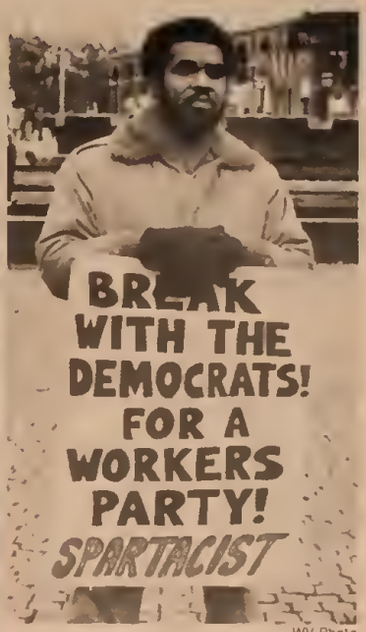
No. 467 | 16 December 1988


## Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

# For a Workers' America!

UPI




WV Photo

**Teamsters show their muscle in support of striking Greyhound workers, Philadelphia, November 1983. Right: demonstrator at November 5 labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan and skinheads in Philly.**

*In the wake of the successful November 5 Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Philadelphia, the Spartacist League held a series of educationals in New York City, Chicago and the Bay Area. We print below an edited version of a presentation on "The Struggle for a Workers Party" given by comrade Joseph Seymour of the SL Central Committee in Chicago on December 4.*

In December 1941, the United States entered World War II after Franklin Roosevelt provoked the Japanese into attacking Pearl Harbor. Most professional athletes in this country were either drafted into the army or they volunteered. But for some inexplicable reason they decided to go ahead with the 1942 major league baseball season. They used teenagers and old-timers and players who had flunked their army physical. They even had a World Series, with teams consisting of such sterling players. Some reporter asked Casey Stengel which team he thought would win. He scratched his head and said, "I don't think either of these teams could win."

Well, we just had a presidential election like that. I frankly didn't think either of these turkeys could win. I don't remember when there was more generalized disgust at what's called politics in this country, more cynicism and indifference to the contest for high government office between the Republicans and the Democrats. But a few days before this election, which was a big yawn, a political event occurred that was very different, and very meaningful.

A few months ago the Ku Klux Klan and the skinheads said they were going to hold a "white pride day" rally at the founding site of the American government, the Constitution area in Philadelphia. But instead there was a mobilization of trade unionists, black activists, radical and liberal student activists. It was made clear to the Klan that if they did show up, they were going to face thousands of working people, both white and black, and that they would suffer a humiliating political defeat. So they canceled, and did suffer a humiliating political defeat.

What happened in Philadelphia was not a spontaneous outpouring of rage. The rage was spontaneous, but not the organization. Black shipbuilders from the Virginia Tidewater area, Philadelphia activists who organize in defense of the homeless, gay liberation activists at Temple University do not normally get together in common actions against a common enemy.

This mobilization, heavily built by the Spartacist League, was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. It was organized with the Marxist understanding that the main social force in fighting all forms of racist and capitalist reaction is the organized working class, which must rally and lead other oppressed sections of society. On a small but important scale the November 5 Labor/Black Mobilization showed the power of a workers party, and pointed toward workers power and a workers government.

### "American Exceptionalism"?

Now, the United States is the only advanced country in which there is no mass party which calls itself socialist or communist or labor, which has the support of the organized labor movement. In the 1920s James P. Cannon, who became the leader of the American Trotskyist movement, was then a leader of the Communist movement. He said, in Europe the labor bureaucrats resort to demagogy, they say they're fighting for socialism, they're fighting for a workers government, and they betray the workers in practice. Here they don't even do that. They're militantly *pro*-capitalist and *anti*-radical.

There was a big debate in the Communist Party in that period over what was called "American exceptionalism." Is the class struggle in American capitalism exceptional? And if it is, how and why and what can be done about it? Well, in one sense the difference with Europe is fairly obvious, namely, that European capitalist societies developed out of feudal society, very often through revolutionary struggle. You always had a rigid class structure. But in North America, you had the creation of a mercantilist capitalist society on sort of virgin social soil.

In fact, you had two societies in North America, one in the South and one in the North. In the South you had a resurrection of an ancient form of class society, namely slavery, within the framework of a world capitalist economy. Moreover, the class divisions under slavery coincided almost 100 percent with racial divisions. In the North, there was no permanent working class prior to the Civil War. Factories were small, equipment was primitive. Most workers could realistically aspire out of their wages to save up enough money to become a small artisan, or maybe go West and buy a farm somewhere.

Now, that Northern society was destroyed by the Civil War, which opened up a rapid period of industrialization. By the 1880s, you clearly had a permanent working class in this country. Nonetheless, this working class did not, as in Europe, organize into parties or even unions. You did not have mass trade unions in this country until the 1930s, until long after the industrial revolution had been completed. Why not? The main reason is that the American working class, unlike the European working class and the working class of even the most backward countries, was created through successive waves of immigration from different countries. Therefore there were always deep national and racial divisions which blocked class consciousness.

In the decades following the Civil War, the Democratic Party consolidated on a seemingly contradictory basis, a character which continued well

*continued on page 8*

**After Labor/Black Mobilization Stopped the KKK**

**Natural Blowback?**

**Black Nationalists Assault Marxist Organizers**

SEE PAGE FOUR

# On Marshal Zhukov

21 September 1988

To the Editor,

In reading the article, "Kim Philby: In Memoriam" (*WV* No. 454, 3 June), I see that you quoted from an earlier 1977 article, "Heroic Soviet Spies":

> "But how can it be that within one and the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there can be such mortal enemies: the Zhukovs and Tukhachevskys, the Abakumovs and Ireppers, the Zborowskis and Reisses—the jailers and those who tomorrow will be their prisoners, the assassins and those who will be their victims, all loyally working in the interests of the Kremlin? The answer is to be found in the fundamentally contradictory character of the Soviet deformed workers state."
>
> —*WV* No. 166, 15 July 1977

This is a well-balanced illustration of Trotsky's point about the dual nature of Stalinism, except for one thing, the name of Marshal Zhukov seems out of place here. Within the spectrum of Soviet Stalinism, Zhukov does not belong alongside the vile assassins, Abakumov and Zborowski, and he certainly seems miscast as an enemy of Marshal Tukhachevsky. While there is a good deal that Zhukov would have had to answer for to a tribunal of a proletarian political revolution, he also had enormous services to Soviet power to his credit.

When Tukhachevsky and the cream of the Soviet officer corps were massacred on the eve of World War II, Stalin relied on Zhukov's superior and mentor, Timoshenko, to step in. This advanced Zhukov's position as well. But nothing indicates that Zhukov played any part in facilitating the purge. He was much too junior and remote to be in on a cabal with Stalin. Basically, Zhukov's whole career was shaped by the fact that he was a man of the army first and the party second. And the purge of the generals was a conspiracy of Stalin's clique against the army. In his memoirs, Zhukov wrote glowingly of Tukhachevsky. It is suggested by one author (Otto Chaney Jr.) that Zhukov prompted the rehabilitation of Tukhachevsky and that this contributed to his own final demise.

Zhukov was a loyal lieutenant of Stalin. As the highest-ranking Soviet military observer in the Spanish Civil War, he couldn't have had clean hands. Having become chief of staff on the eve of WW II, he later caught heat for not having done more to prepare for the Nazi attack. In the first hours and days after Hitler invaded, local commanders calling into Stavka for instructions were told not to return fire, worsening the rout of Soviet forces. Later in the war, Zhukov astounded the German generals with the Russian casualties he was willing to accept in the course of the battles he won. But he didn't do it like Stalin, senselessly. And his military leadership contributed greatly to saving Soviet power from a desperate situation set up by Stalin.

No doubt the proletarian, internationalist traditions of communism had become remote for the imperious, privileged officer whose career rose in the flood tide of Thermidor. So it does not come as a surprise that when the first rumblings of workers political revolution against Stalinism broke out in Eastern Europe, Zhukov came out as a hardliner for military suppression. When Khrushchev brought an entourage of Kremlin heavies to confront Gomulka in Warsaw '56, Zhukov was commanding an armored column on the approaches to the city. After Khrushchev called him off he reportedly told a Western ambassador, "We could have crushed them like flies." Within a few weeks his tanks were shooting down revolutionary workers in Budapest.

Georgi Petrusov

**Marshal Georgi Zhukov**

Zhukov's military service in crushing the Nazi invasion (and battling the Japanese invasion at Kholkin Gol in '39) is well known. His political profile reflects the *contradictory* imperatives of Stalinist rule. Casting him as a "jailer" or "assassin" and suggesting that he was a "mortal enemy" of Tukhachevsky is way off the mark. In fact, the only person whom Zhukov personally arrested and jailed was Beria, in 1953, who was a *real* example of the bureaucracy's capacity to generate venal assassins of the proletariat! Marshal Zhukov must be judged differently.

Communist greetings,
Victor G.

TROTSKY

LENIN

### Lenin to the American Workers

*In an open letter to American workers written toward the end of World War I, the Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin noted that they "have to play an exceptionally important role as uncompromising enemies of American imperialism," the latest and strongest imperialist power. He appealed to the revolutionary traditions of the American people, particularly in the Civil War which destroyed chattel slavery. The struggle to finish the Civil War, to complete the emancipation of black people, requires a third, proletarian revolution to sweep away the capitalist system of wage-slavery.*

The American people have a revolutionary tradition which has been adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who have repeatedly expressed their complete solidarity with us Bolsheviks. That tradition is the war of liberation against the British in the eighteenth century and the Civil War in the nineteenth century. In some respects, if we only take into consideration the "destruction" of some branches of industry and of the national economy, America in 1870 was *behind* 1860. But what a pedant, what an idiot would anyone be to deny on *these* grounds the immense, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1863-65!

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand that for the sake of overthrowing Negro slavery, of overthrowing the rule of the slaveowners, it was worth letting the country go through long years of civil war, through the abysmal ruin, destruction and terror that accompany every war. But now, when we are confronted with the vastly greater task of overthrowing capitalist *wage*-slavery, of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie—now, the representatives and defenders of the bourgeoisie, and also the reformist socialists who have been frightened by the bourgeoisie and are shunning the revolution, cannot and do not want to understand that civil war is necessary and legitimate.

The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us, for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and of the American labour movement strengthens my conviction that this is so. I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote in the *Appeal to Reason*, I believe towards the end of 1915, in the article "What Shall I Fight For"... that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote credits for the present criminal and reactionary war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and, from the proletarian standpoint, legitimate war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war to liberate mankind from wage-slavery.

—V. I. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers" (August 1918)

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

**Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.**

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Jorge Ramírez

CIRCULATION MANAGER Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, Jorge Ramírez, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO New York NY 10116

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint*

**No. 467** **16 December 1988**

**Dick Fraser**

WV Photo

**1913-1988**

**MEMORIAL MEETING**

**Sunday, January 8**
**2:00-6:00 p.m.**

Sheraton Town House
Terrace Room, 2961 Wilshire Blvd
(Entrance and parking at Commonwealth)

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**LOS ANGELES**

## Washington State Protest Against Fascist Terrorists

# Metzger's Skinheads and The Order

## Racists "Honor" Kill-Crazy Nazi– Died in Shootout with FBI

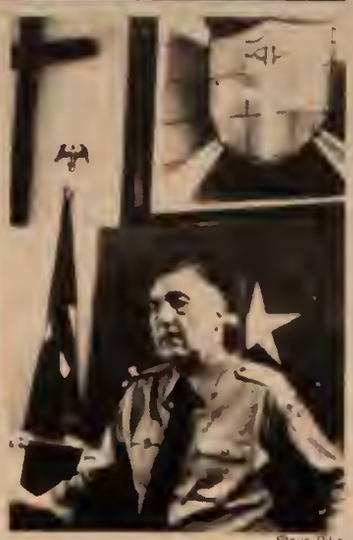
Last month a gang of racist skinheads with baseball bats beat a black Ethiopian man to death in Portland, Oregon—a brutal example of the wave of murderous fascist terror in the U.S. Now this past weekend, in a state park on Whidbey Island just north of Seattle, Washington a cabal of top neo-Nazis and skinheads met under the guise of a so-called "Martyrs Day" to "honor" Robert Mathews, the founder of the white supremacist terrorist group called "The Order." Some 300 leftists and community activists from the Seattle area protested this fascist conclave, as a couple dozen skinheads wearing swastikas, Confederate flags and other fascist regalia filtered into the park.

The Order's fuhrer Mathews died in a blazing inferno in 1984 after a shootout on Whidbey Island with FBI men. In December 1986 a Seattle federal jury convicted ten members of The Order on conspiracy and racketeering charges stemming from a two-year rampage of armed robbery, terror and murder, a $3.6 million robbery of a Brinks armored truck and the assassination of Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg. A five-man Order hit squad using a MAC 10 machine-pistol killed Berg outside his Denver home in June 1984. Ordinarily the capitalist government protects the fascists, keeping them in reserve; The Order went *too far*, not only targeting blacks, Jews and leftists, but declaring war on the feds, calling to overthrow the so-called "ZOG," or "Zionist Occupation Government."

The Order was an offshoot of Richard Butler's "Aryan Nation" outfit, a bunch of Hitler-lovers operating out of Hayden Lake, Idaho. A July 1986 gathering of fascists at Butler's bunker brought together Klansmen, Nazis, racist survivalists, Posse Comitatus and TV evangelists who burned crosses, gave stiff-arm salutes, brandished AR-15 automatic rifles and swapped hit lists for their personal computer networks. Among those present was Tom Metzger, the former California KKK "grand dragon" and now head of the "White Aryan Resistance" (WAR). During the 1985-86 trial Bruce Carroll Pierce, The Order's honcho after the death of Mathews, testified that over $250,000 of the money stolen by that group went to Metzger, and the rest was divided among other fascist groups. Of course the feds never followed up on this revelation.

Metzger, who refers to The Order criminals as "POWs," has now turned his attentions to organizing the growing racist skinhead movement with the help of his son John. Both Metzger and Butler came to Whidbey Island this past weekend in a so-called "private vigil" for the "martyr" Mathews. According to the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* (11 December), Metzger's skinhead followers distributed a press release accusing federal officials of murdering Mathews and threatening, "Someday, those who murdered our people will be brought to Aryan justice."

Galley/L.A. Times


Steve Pike

**American fascist would-be führers: Tom Metzger (left), Aryan Nation's Richard Butler.**

Metzger likes to put on a "respectable" cover at times, even running in the Democratic Congressional primary in San Diego, while operating his vigilante "border patrols" against Hispanic immigrants. But with his ties to the Nazi Order, Metzger is in the thick of this conspiracy of kill-crazy bombers, armed robbers and murderers. In the home of Mathews' sidekick Gary Lee Yarbrough, the FBI found an arsenal including a .45 calibre machine-pistol, 100 sticks of dynamite, plastic explosives, hand grenades, semi-automatic rifles, infrared night vision scopes, gun silencers, booby traps, police scanners and 6,000 rounds of ammunition.

Documents seized in Mathews' house on Whidbey Island include a "Declaration of War" on the "ZOG." According to federal court charges, The Order had a point system for becoming an "Aryan warrior" which included "the murder of federal judges, FBI agents and other federal officials and employees as well as the murder of Jewish people, black people and others." The "Aryan Database" included hit lists of prominent Jews and government officials. With the violence-crazed skinhead psychos, the "Aryan" religious cults and paranoid survivalists, Metzger's California Reich swells its ranks with some of the most debased human garbage on the planet.

Alweis/Denver Post

**Alan Berg, Jewish talk-show host, murdered in Denver by The Order fascist terrorists.**

### Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Stop the Fascists!

The "United Front Against Fascism," which organized the December 10 protest, was initiated by the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party. *Workers Vanguard* spoke with Luma Nichols, an FSP organizer of the demonstration, who noted that the Seattle left came out along with black groups, gays and Native Americans to picket the isolated forested island camp. They were met by an army of cops who sealed off the fascist encampment. Nichols called the demonstration "a moral and political victory" as the media had whipped up a campaign of hysteria against the *anti*-fascists, while the fascists were supposedly just going to have a "nice little quiet Nazi family picnic."

The night before the demonstration some local residents held a candlelight vigil against the fascists, supposedly to avoid the "confrontation" which the media had threatened would happen the next day. As it turned out there were no incidents, especially since the Park Police protected the handful of violent fascist scum even as they spewed out racist epithets against a Japanese American photographer and a black TV reporter. Ironically, also present in the "United Front Against Fascism" was a large contingent of Guardian Angels, which has made itself notorious as racist vigilantes working with the cops on the New York City subways.

Whidbey Island is typical of the backwoods settings where the fascists typically hole up. Where they can be met and defeated is when they try to penetrate the major cities with their large working-class and minority populations. Last month, the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated, union-centered mobilization in Philadelphia spiked the Ku Klux Klan's plans for a provocative "white pride" rally in that heavily black city on November 5. The KKK canceled out, and that was a victory for the working class. It is the mobilization of *labor power* leading all the oppressed that is the key to stopping the fascists in their tracks. ■

# What Was the Workers League Doing at 207th St.?

The day before the November 5 mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead racists from terrorizing the streets of Philadelphia, a woman comrade selling *Workers Vanguard* was surrounded by six white thugs outside the 207th Street transit barn in New York City.

They physically tried to prevent her from talking to the members of this heavily black shop about coming down to Philadelphia on November 5. They screamed that the Partisan Defense Committee's call to bring out labor and black power against the KKK night-riders made the Spartacist League "anti-white racists." They could have been members of Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance, whose psycho skinhead killers scream about "anti-white racism." But they weren't. They were members of David North's shady and sinister outfit, the Workers League.

Members of the powerful New York City Transit Workers Union, Local 100 proudly served in the front lines of the November 5 mobilization against the KKK. They came with their own banner calling for "Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Terror!" TWU members were part of the disciplined and effective union defense guard which lined the perimeter of the rally to defend against fascist provocation. Those who couldn't make the bus to Philly bought seats for others.

Both the United Motormen's Division and the Track Division of Local 100 voted overwhelmingly to endorse the "All Out to Stop the KKK!" mobilization. At the October 19 evening meeting of the motormen, a Workers League supporter was *the only one* to vote *against* endorsing. At the morning meeting another WL supporter, Allen Cherry, abstained. Outside, he denounced the November 5 mobilization to a group of workers as "divisive" and "black nationalist." In fact it is the Northites who are united with the frenzied black nationalists in loathing the sight of the integrated power of labor and blacks mobilized in class struggle.

After the Spartacist League initiated a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the WL dismissed this victory as an "adventure which played right into the hands of the police"! They wrote that the Spartacists separate "the struggle against racism from the struggle of the working class." And in 1986, a *Bulletin* smear job on the SL indicted us for "An Obsession With Race"—in this deeply racist country!

The Northites are cynical hustlers who have for years been trying to recruit among minority youth while in the unions they push "colorblind" economism reflecting *their* obsession with

*continued on page 10*

# After Labor/Black Mobilization Stopped the KKK

# Natural Blowback?

The November 5 Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Philadelphia was bitterly opposed by some who claim to speak for the oppressed but hate above all our Marxist strategy of integrated class struggle to interdict the fascists. Now we are seeing the blowback to this successful action initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

In Washington, D.C. on December 2, a Hispanic supporter of the Spartacist League, Dr. Cesar Armendariz, was stocking a bookstore near Howard University with *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the anti-Klan mobilization when he was brutally attacked by two followers of Black Muslim leader Farrakhan. The next day, at the University of California at Berkeley, a group from the African People's Socialist Party (Uhuru House) assaulted the opening session of the Spartacist educational. These thugs were repulsed.

With the violence come the lies. A leaflet by the APSP falsely claims we called the police at Berkeley; we did not need to, nor do we believe in calling the cops. An article in their paper *Burning Spear* (November 1988) pretended the PDC and Spartacist supporters did not oppose the police presence at an October 18 meeting in Philadelphia on the KKK threat; in fact, we were among the few who voted for the motion to expel the cops.

Moreover, when two APSP leaders were arrested the next day while distributing anti-Klan leaflets, the PDC protested to the Philadelphia D.A. (see page 5). Asked about the APSP's plans at an October 24 press conference, PDC spokesman Al Nelson replied that "any efforts on that day to stop the Klan are certainly welcome."

But when our mobilization of labor power forced the Klan to back off, the APSP put out repugnant leaflets denouncing us as "Ku Klux Kommunists" and calling on people *not* to demonstrate. So they fell in behind Mayor Goode, the Zionist ADL and the rest who were telling Philadelphians to stay home.

This unscrupulous outfit was driven into a murderous frenzy by the integrated, mass mobilization which allowed people with different viewpoints to join together in common action; which was endorsed by class-war prisoners and former Black Panthers Mumia Abu-Jamal and Geronimo Pratt; and was addressed by Greensboro Massacre survivor Nelson Johnson and by Beverly Africa on behalf of the MOVE family.

We must add that *Burning Spear*'s claim that we said the demonstration would be "perfectly 'non-violent'" is a provocative lie, since in the face of violence-baiting from the bourgeoisie we repeatedly stated that it would be "disciplined, democratic and militant." Whether November 5 would be peaceful was not up to us alone, given the fascist skinheads and the cops who tried to escort them into our protest.

We reprint below two Spartacist League statements on the attacks in Washington, D.C. and the Bay Area.

## Black Nationalists Assault Marxist Organizers

## Howard University Spartacist Leaflet

Last Friday, December 2, a Spartacist League supporter was assaulted while distributing literature about the November 5 Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Philadelphia. Our comrade Dr. Cesar Armendariz was leaving the Pyramid Bookstore in the "House of Knowledge" on Georgia Avenue near Howard University after dropping off copies of our press, the *Workers Vanguard* special supplement, "Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan!" Two men working in the Tape Connection in the same building menacingly "invited" Cesar into their shop. As Dr. Armendariz left the building, they warned him: we don't like what you say about Farrakhan. He was grabbed, struck and thrown against a wall. He was hit on the back of the head by a blunt instrument. Cesar broke free and ran, bleeding profusely from the head, into the street. Horrified onlookers called 911. An ambulance took him to Howard University Hospital where doctors treated the half-inch deep head wound.

This was a vicious, cowardly, potentially lethal attack. Mercifully, our comrade was not critically injured. This outrage was directed not only at him, but is aimed against every student at Howard who supported the successful mobilization against the Klan lynchers and skinhead thugs in Philadelphia.

Dr. Cesar Armendariz has been an activist and opponent of injustice for more than ten years. He is also a doctor at a clinic in the integrated working-class community of Landover, Maryland, specializing in family practice. In the weeks prior to November 5, Cesar was the main person organizing at Howard for the demonstration, and met spokesmen of many campus groups and many other students concerned about the Klan and the rise of official racism and its terroristic "fringe" in America.

In Philadelphia, in D.C., and throughout the country, especially against the backdrop of the elections, anti-Klan organizers found a real appetite to do something useful and strike back against years of right-wing reaction, civil rights "rollback," union-busting, etc. The "White Power" KKK and Nazis, and now especially their very active youth movement of racist, violence-cultist skinheads, are a spearhead of reaction and a felt threat. When the mass sentiment to stop them got organized, the fascists called off their provocation.

WV Photo

**Dr. Cesar Armendariz, Spartacist supporter assaulted by followers of Black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan in Washington, D.C.**

The November 5 rally against the KKK, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, provided a platform for the victims of racist state terror, particularly death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and the MOVE family whose causes the PDC has championed. Also speaking at the rally was a representative of the New Alliance Party who urged support for their candidate Lenora Fulani, whose campaign Farrakhan endorsed. Other speakers had different perspectives on building an alternative for blacks, labor and others to the racist Democratic Party. But this was as it should be in a united-front action—we all shared the common determination to stop the Ku Klux Klan.

This modest but satisfying victory for the multiracial working people has evidently driven some Farrakhan supporters into a murderous frenzy. The supporters of Farrakhan oppose the fight against Klan terror. For Farrakhan, the Klan is the logical organization for "white devils." Farrakhan has friendly relations with Klansman Tom Metzger because they share hatred of integration ("race-mixing"). Farrakhan said that "Hitler was a great man" because Hitler was a nationalist. The anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan has a lot in common with the Zionists, who prior to Hitler were a small minority among Jews. The Zionists welcomed Nazi atrocities against Jews to reverse the assimilation of Jews in European society and drive them desperate into a "Jewish homeland" carved out of Palestine. Today every racist crime helps Farrakhan recruit to his own program of segregation based on despair at the possibility of an integrated struggle for liberation.

The fascists have a long list of intended victims—blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, Asians, gays. So it was not surprising that the labor mobilization to stop them was very popular in Philadelphia. Notable exceptions—who were very hostile indeed to mobilizing labor's multiracial power against the Klan and skinheads—were the racists themselves, the mayor Wilson Goode, the cops, and unfortunately most of the organized Jewish groups, who represent the interests of Jews about as well as Farrakhan represents the real interests of black people, which is to say not at all. The Zionist "Anti-Defamation League" professional redbaiters, who claim to speak for Jewish people, leveled slanders about "violence" at those who stopped swastikas and Dixie flags from invading the city. The organized Zionists, consciously hostile to the fight for black freedom, help the deadly enemies of Jews. Whose interests are the

WV Photo

**Howard University students join with union militants at victory rally over KKK in Philadelphia, November 5.**

# Bay Area Spartacist League Statement

Supporters of African People's Socialist Party (Uhuru House) today staged a deliberate and violent attack on the Marxist organizers of the recent victory against the Ku Klux Klan lynchers in Philadelphia. This potentially murderous attack took place outside an educational meeting sponsored by the Spartacist League to build on the victorious Partisan Defense Committee-initiated November 5 mobilization against the KKK and to draw the lessons of that victory for all anti-racists and labor movement activists. These APSP provocateurs were quickly repulsed and removed; their provocation spiked, they left.

*This was a violent, vicious, potentially murderous assault.* The black separatist thugs of Uhuru are driven by spleen over the success of *integrated* labor centered mobilization in stopping the KKK race-terrorists and vented it on interracial couples. One of the Uhuru hoodlums karate kicked the face of a Hispanic woman—*a blow which could have killed her*; another victim of the assault was her husband, a longtime trade unionist who has been on the Executive Board of his union. Another trade unionist received a deep gash over his eye, while his black wife was thrown to the ground.

WV Photo

**Richard Bradley, a Labor Black League and Spartacist supporter, tears down Confederate flag of slavery in San Francisco, 1984.**

Whose interests do this violent provocation serve? Not the interests of black liberation. Not the interests of successful struggle against race-terror and reaction. No, the APSP plays right into the hands of the racist police, of the Klan/skinhead terrorists, of all the enemies of black people.

The Uhuru House separatists claim a monopoly to speak on behalf of all black people everywhere, just like the Zionists of the Anti-Defamation League claim a monopoly to speak on behalf of Jews. Yet together they stand out as being the two most outspoken organizations that sought to *prevent* the mobilization which stopped the terrorist enemies of blacks and Jews cold in their tracks in Philly.

Uhuru earned the contempt of the decent people of Philadelphia, black and white, for their attempted wrecking operation against the *united* mobilization of all the intended victims of racist terror—blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Asians, trade unionists, socialists. While mouthing macho rhetoric about stopping the KKK "by any means necessary," in fact the only means these pseudo-socialist nationalists pushed was an obscene and groveling petition begging Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode—bomber of the black MOVE commune and an entire black neighborhood—to "oppose" the Klan march and "lead city government in the fight against Klan anti-black terror."

The APSP, passive in the face of Klan terror, reserves its violence for the people who actually initiated the mobilization that stopped what was intended to be a massive racist KKK provocation against the people of Philadelphia and the whole country. This is not the first time the APSP has launched a violent physical attack on supporters of the Spartacist League. The last time was after we succeeded in tearing down the Confederate flag of slavery raised by Mayor Dianne Feinstein in San Francisco in 1984. To these politically bankrupt gangster nationalists, integrated working-class struggle against racism is a crime against nature which they obviously hate far more than they hate the Klan killers of black people.

WV Photo

**Interracial couple viciously attacked by APSP/Uhuru thugs in violent provocation against Spartacist League educational in Bay Area.**

Let the APSP/Uhuru House know: we will not be intimidated from fighting for mass, militant labor/black mobilizations—the only strategy which can crush the racist terror of the Klan/Nazi killers. We state our determination to pursue our program of organizing integrated class struggle, as in Philly on November 5, to defend the interests of the multiracial American working class and to lead it in the fight for a victorious socialist revolution.

Bay Area District
Spartacist League
3 December 1988

**Despicable stayaway call distributed by APSP/Uhuru black nationalists, who tried to wreck integrated labor/black action against the KKK in Philadelphia.**

community faces themselves. In this context they called the counter-demonstration to stop the Klan by any means necessary.

**The White Left and the Klan Go Hand in Hand!**

The Partisan Defense Committee, actually led by the Spartacist League, called the Uhuru House several times from New York to ask what to do about the KKK. But instead of coming out to support the black working class led demo they insisted on leading their own contending demonstration with the plentiful resources they had on hand. This was just another attempt to hold back the re-emerging Black Power Movement.

That is why the APSP calls these white left groups the Klu Klux Kommunists. The Klan works to take power away from the black community, and so do these left groups like the Spartacist League, the All People's Congress etc!

**Philadelphia is South Africa!**

This is a call to white people to break away from the white nationalism of this society that tells us that we are somehow more valuable than other human beings. This is a call to white people to take a genuine stand with humanity, in solidarity with the Black Power Movement.

This is a movement of white workers who refuse to tolerate the conditions [illegible] which [illegible]

in solidarity--fundraising, building political support for the Black Power Movement and securing skills and resources to complete the renovation of the Uhuru House building.

**White People--Take a Stand Against the KKK and the Klu Klux Kommunists!**

**DON'T DEMONSTRATE ON NOV. 5!**

**Join the Campaign for White Citizens' Reparations to the Black Communtiy!** 726-

Farrakhanite thugs serving?

Black people in America don't need "leaders" who love Hitler. Howard University doesn't need Farrakhan's friends behaving like the KKK. They have no answer to the Klan's deadly program—which is race war and genocide. Their own program is cynical "black capitalist" hustles, and as for black women, you should sit at home under a veil. When Malcolm X split from the Black Muslims in 1964 because he wanted to fight the racist rulers of this country, Farrakhan wrote that "such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death" (*Muhammad Speaks*, 4 December 1964). Two months later, Malcolm X was dead.

Those who are sunk in the deep despair of black nationalism were jolted by the sizable mobilization from black neighborhoods and integrated trade unions to stop the KKK, Nazis and skinheads from openly parading their violence throughout Philadelphia. This mobilization was a victory. But the struggle goes on. The fascists can be stopped for all time only when the working class of this multiracial, multinational country comes to power on a program to do away with the largely white capitalist political and economic rule over *all* the working people—the most conscious of whom have fused together in a Leninist vanguard party to struggle for this goal.

Don't let Louis Farrakhan's "militant"-sounding gospel of despair turn you away from the struggle against racism and injustice! A handful of violent elements who have appointed themselves thought-police must not intimidate the campus community. Students must make it clear that the right to read socialist literature will be defended at Howard. Revolutionary struggle by the multiracial working class is the road to a future for us all.

Spartacist League
Washington, D.C.
5 December 1988

## Partisan Defense Committee Wins Retraction of Violence Slander

The successful November 5 Mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which stopped the KKK in Philadelphia was forged in political battle against such forces as the anti-communists of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. On WCAU-TV October 28, Barry Morrison, Philadelphia regional director of the ADL, called the PDC "responsible for bringing about a great amount of violence and damage" in the 27 November 1982 demonstration that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. This deadly slander was lifted from the ultrarightist Moonie *Washington Times*, which was forced to retract it in print when confronted with a libel suit by the Spartacist League.

The PDC demanded a retraction from WCAU, citing the documentary record which showed the broadcast to be "false and the knowledge of its falsity known to you." On November 8 WCAU aired the following retraction: "A clarification on a story we aired previously involving the Partisan Defense Committee and its plans to protest a proposed KKK demonstration in Philadelphia. In our reports, we broadcast comments about violence during a 1982 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Material provided by the Defense Committee indicates that they were not involved in any violence during that demonstration."

22 October 1988

Ron Castille
District Attorney
Philadelphia, PA

Dear Mr. Castille:

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the beating and arrests of Clarence "Doc" Hatter and Frank Moses, members of the African People's Socialist Party.

Mr. Hatter and Mr. Moses were arrested on October 19 for their opposition to a proposed Ku Klux Klan rally on November 5. Philadelphia's minorities and working people are revolted at the prospect of the KKK and their skinhead allies parading for genocide in their city. These arrests are an affront to all those, of varying viewpoints, who honestly seek to keep Philadelphia's streets safe from the KKK, skinheads and all racist terrorists.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that all charges against Clarence Hatter and Frank Moses be dropped!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein
for the PDC

cc: APSP

# Canada Trade Pact Elections

*The following is a joint editorial statement of* Workers Vanguard *and* Spartacist Canada.

The November 21 Canadian elections became a referendum on the "free-trade" agreement negotiated between Canada's ruling Conservative Party and the Reagan White House, which would eliminate all tariffs between the two countries over the next ten years. Despite an outburst of Canadian nationalism from the union bureaucracy and the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), cynically played up by the opposition Liberals who accused Tory prime minister Brian Mulroney of "selling out" Canada, the Conservatives won a 38-seat parliamentary majority. Passed by the U.S. Congress in September, the trade pact is set for parliamentary approval in Ottawa by January 1.

Initiated by the Canadian government in an attempt to get around increasing protectionist measures passed by the Democratic-controlled Congress, for the U.S. imperialists the trade agreement is an attempt to shore up the declining American Empire on its northern flank. Over the past decade the United States has gone from being the world's leading creditor nation to the biggest debtor. Its international competitiveness and solvency have deteriorated, especially vis-à-vis Japan. Now the American bourgeoisie is faced with the European Economic Community's plans to create a unified internal market by 1992, which financially and industrially would be the world's largest economic unit.

The *Washington Post* (21 November) headlined American rulers' "*Big* Stake" in the outcome of Canada's free-trade elections, noting a "real concern in the United States about a possible Fortress Europe after 1992." In Canada, major business organizations forked out $1.3 million for pro-free trade advertising in all the major newspapers. The plan is to build "Fortress North America" centered on the world's two largest trading partners, drawing in Mexico (the U.S.' No. 3 partner) with something akin to Japan's "East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" of the 1930s for their Caribbean and Central American neo-colonies.

As Marxists we are *for* the increasing economic unity of the world on a democratic and egalitarian socialist basis. This is a very different kettle of fish from a deal aimed at strengthening the power of the U.S. bourgeoisie. With the abolition of all remaining tariffs between Canada and the U.S. a common customs board between the two countries will be established to levy protectionist tariffs against their imperialist rivals, primarily the Japanese and European Common Market. At the same time such imperialist economic alliances serve to reinforce the underpinnings of the imperialists' anti-Soviet military alliances such as NATO and the North American Air Defense (NORAD).

In opposition to the free-trade pact the labor bureaucrats on both sides of the border pushed for increased protectionism. An AFL-CIO leader argued against the abolition of tariffs "with our largest trading partner and one with which we have so many problems." The Canadian Labour Congress organized flag-waving demonstrations at the border, and the Canadian Auto Workers marched with signs reading "Free Trade Could Cost Us Canada." When the bourgeoisie talks of the benefits of free trade, they mean strengthening their hand against the unions and tearing apart social programs. Yet the way to fight this is not by protectionist poison, setting Canadian and U.S. workers at each other's throats, but by *common class struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their Canadian junior partners.*

Walker/Time

**Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney (left), junior partner of U.S. imperialism, meets with Reagan.**

### Free Trade or Protectionism: The Working People Lose

The 49th parallel dividing Canada and the U.S. is an artificial border, created by the British to safeguard their interests and the defeated counterrevolutionary Loyalists who fled the American Revolution. The English-speaking people of Canada and the U.S. share a common language and culture, and the two economies are already overwhelmingly integrated. But the free-trade agreement does not represent a coming together of the peoples of North America. Rather it is a cynical maneuver by the capitalists in Canada and the U.S. to maximize their profits, and it is the working people who will pay.

In her "independent review of the free trade agreement," titled *On Guard for Thee*, former Canadian judge Marjorie Bowker points out that the Canadian bosses will use the agreement as a club against Canadian social programs such as government-subsidized medical care and other universal social security programs with the argument of competing with two-tier wages and cheap labor in the U.S. The president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association put it baldly: "It is simply a fact that, as we ask our industries to compete toe to toe with American industries...we in Canada are obviously forced to create the same conditions that exist in the U.S...."

Only two days after the Conservative election victory the Gillette Company announced it was closing plants in Montreal and Toronto, throwing nearly 600 workers on the streets. This could be the first of many such closures, as American-owned companies, many of which were established in Canada to get behind the tariff wall, opt to supply the Canadian market from plants in the U.S. that have lower overall labor costs and taxes. And it's not just Canadian workers that will suffer. The erosion of living standards north of the border will reverberate in increased union-busting attacks in the United States. But the campaign by anti-free traders like federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent to "save" Canadian industry from U.S. "domination" is as ludicrous as it is reactionary.

As far as "takeovers" go, given the fewer restrictions on investment in the United States over the past few years, capital export has tended to work in the opposite direction. In 1987, while American investment in Canada amounted to $75 billion, Canada with one-tenth the U.S. population had $45 billion invested south of the border, making it the fourth largest investor in the United States. Most recently, Canada's Robert Campeau bought out Federated Department Stores, Inc. (owner of Macy's) for $8.8 billion. It was the largest foreign takeover of a non-energy corporation in U.S. history and more than 1,000 workers were axed by the Canadian entrepreneur.

The Maple Leaf nationalism of the labor tops and social democrats only serves to encourage feelings of national hostility among the working people, poisoning the possibilities for common class struggle while protecting "Canadian" bosses like the International Nickel Company. Inco squandered the millions it made in the brutal exploitation of mine workers in Northern Ontario and then made the miners pay through massive job slashing, which has turned its company town of Sudbury into a mass unemployment center.

The union bureaucrats and the NDP have tried to sell the lie that "backward" American workers are responsible for the layoffs and givebacks. Four years ago, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the great Flint sitdown strike that founded the United Auto Workers, Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White split the union. White claimed he was pulling the 120,000 Canadian auto workers out of the UAW in opposition to the giveback contracts negotiated by the International leadership. Having isolated Canadian auto workers, White is now signing his own giveback contracts. Rather than this reactionary nationalism, what's needed to take back the givebacks is a leadership that could unite auto workers from Hermosillo, Mexico to Detroit/Windsor and Ste. Thérèse, Quebec in joint strike action against the Big Three.

### A Greater North American Co-Prosperity Sphere?

"From the Yukon to the Yucatan" is the battle cry of the Reaganite right wing as they look not simply to shore up the flagging U.S. economy but to "roll back Communism" from Central America to the Soviet Union. This latest version of Manifest Destiny was behind Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (followed up by Ottawa's CARIBCAN scheme, to keep the islands profitable for Canadian banks). Now they're putting the screws on Mexico. But even the Mexican government, which has tightened the belts of Mexican workers to the point of starving them in carrying out Washington and Wall Street's austerity policies, recognizes that "free trade" with the U.S. would mean a wholesale Yankee takeover of Mexico's economy.

In contrast, Canadian capital overwhelmingly opted for a strengthened economic bloc with Wall Street in defense of their own imperialist interests. Nonetheless, as 19th century German "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismarck noted, in any alliance there is a horse and there is a rider. Bismarck should know: after the defeat of the 1848-49 German Revolution he unified Germany on the basis of Prussian dominance, centered on a customs union (the *Zollverein*) excluding Austria, which was given teeth by Prussia's military victory in three wars. In the U.S.-Canada trade alliance, the American imperialists are clearly the rider over their much smaller and weaker junior partners in Ottawa.

Unlike English-speaking Canada, the French-speaking nation of Quebec is a separate nation which was forcibly incorporated into Canada. While the Canadian labor tops and the NDP social democrats raised the spectre of "Yankee" domination, the only domination the Québécois feel is that of English Canada, which brought down the jackboot in 1970 when Pierre Trudeau's federal Liberal government ordered the military occupation of Quebec.

Quebec was the only province other than Alberta where the Tories won a majority of the popular vote. Moreover, both the ruling Quebec Liberals and the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) supported the free-trade pact, claiming it would aid Quebec business by opening up new markets in the U.S. PQ leader Jacques Parizeau, who had split from the party a few years

*continued on page 11*

Pacific Tribune

**Auto workers at Toronto demonstration. Opposition to "free trade" pact is channeled into "maple leaf" nationalism and protectionism.**

## Australia

# Demonstrators Defend Yugoslav Consulate

SYDNEY—500 pro-Yugoslav demonstrators came out December 3 at the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney to protest the threat by the Labor government of Robert Hawke to close this official representation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Australia's largest city. The protesters included Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, Macedonians and others. Also joining the protest against the Canberra regime's Cold War move was the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ), while the viscerally nationalist and Laborite reformist left kept their distance.

The next day, the anti-Soviet, pro-CIA Hawke government closed the Yugoslav consulate. The action by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans followed an armed attack on the consulate a week earlier by Croatian fascist Ustasha rabble "protesting" Yugoslav National Day. As the 1,500-strong crowd shouted "terrorists" and "gypsies" (a racist epithet among Yugoslavs), some 30 Ustasha youth invaded the consulate grounds and tried to rip down the Yugoslav flag. At one point they surrounded Consul-General Stanojlo Glisic, striking him in the face with a rubber hose before security guards fired warning shots in the air.

Holes in the consulate's first floor windows indicate that the Ustasha mob was firing projectiles from the street. In the melee one of the young scum was wounded in the neck, likely by a ricochet from a shot fired by one of his own. After this frontal assault on the territorial integrity of diplomatic missions, reactionary elements from the Hawke government to the Murdoch gutter press screamed for blood, threatening reprisals if the "gunman" *from the consulate* (!) wasn't turned over. The New South Wales Labor Council placed a ban on dealings with the consulate.

The Yugoslavs refused, and Yugoslav foreign minister Budimir Loncar later said: "Our envoys defended with honour, courage and dignity the country's sovereignty." With good reason. The remnants of Ante Pavelic's Nazi puppet Ustasha regime in wartime Croatia—aided and protected by the Australian secret police organization ASIO (which thinks and acts like a branch office of the CIA)—have a long history of violence and murder in both Australia and in Yugoslavia. On the day the consulate was expelled, the president of the Yugoslav Center in Adelaide had his taxi firebombed.

The SL/ANZ joined the December 3 demonstration with some placards reading: "Ustasha Fascists—Hitler's Mass Murderers—Anti-Yugoslav Terrorists!" "Stop Closure of Yugoslav Consulate! Down with Hawke/Evans Anti-Communist Hysteria!" and "Anti-Soviet War Drive Means Social Reaction at Home! Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" The small Spartacist contingent was cheered as we marched in, flanked by the red flag with the hammer, sickle and "4" of the Fourth International.

Demonstration organisers eventually banned our signs. This decision was not popular with many Yugoslav demonstrators. One protester had snatched up the Soviet defencist placard and waved it before TV cameras. Another grabbed the sign that nailed Hawke as the criminal and marched into the center of the demonstration, later explaining: "It was the best sign. The organisers don't want the truth told."

Australasian Spartacist Photos

**Sydney, December 3—Spartacists (above) join protest against Australian Labor government's Cold War moves against Yugoslav consulate.**

The truth is that the Cold War Hawke government is waging war on the unions, blacks and immigrants at home while working together with U.S. imperialism to exploit the nationalist turmoil in Yugoslavia for counterrevolution. As an 8 December *Australasian Spartacist* special supplement stated: "In this nasty country, where the Labor government takes its side with Ustasha fascists, it is urgently necessary to split the ALP [Australian Labor Party] along class lines and build a revolutionary internationalist workers party to fight for a workers government."

# Racist San Francisco Cops Attack Muni Worker

SAN FRANCISCO—Militants in the Muni bus drivers union here are mobilizing to beat back a racist frame-up against a black union brother. Transport Workers Union Local 250-A member Greg Wiggins, viciously beaten by cops two months ago, now faces a December 19 court hearing on charges of battery, resisting arrest and disobeying police orders. A leaflet is being circulated, signed by 89 TWU union members, calling on the local to go "All out in uniform to pack the courtroom at Greg's hearing." All transit workers, including BART and AC Transit, must join in mass labor action *now*, drawing in strategic unions such as the ILWU and Teamsters, to stop racist police terror!

**NOTICE**
**Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.**
**Our next issue will be dated January 6.**

While waiting to move his bus through a traffic roadblock on Bayshore Boulevard early in the morning of October 19, Wiggins was subjected to racial epithets by the cops. When he objected, one cop told him, "Don't you know by now we do what the fuck we want to do?" Wiggins radioed Muni central control for help, to no avail. Other cops approached the bus and one of them gave the signal: "Let's get this nigger."

After Muni inspector Carl Politis forced the bus door open, four cops stormed on, handcuffed Wiggins, grabbed him in a stranglehold and repeatedly slammed his head against the pole near the driver's seat. They kicked him off the bus, dragged him by the hair and, as he told *Workers Vanguard*, "put my head in the bushes and started dribbling it like a basketball." When he tried to protest that they were strangling him one of the cops said to Wiggins, "Die, motherfucker!"

Bleeding from his injuries, Wiggins was taken to Potrero Station and thrown in a holding cell. The cops refused him medical treatment while they continued to harass him and then shuttled him off to police headquarters for booking. Among the trumped-up charges against him was refusal to display a driver's license, which the cops had earlier removed from his jacket. Some seven hours after the beating occurred, coworkers took him to St. Francis hospital where he was *sent away without treatment!*

From the cop thugs who beat him to the company and city authorities, there was collusion against him down the line. Several days later he was *again* refused treatment, this time on orders from the city claims adjuster. Then Muni sent Wiggins a 30-day "pending dismissal" notice, and denied him all benefits including medical care, workmen's comp, and assault pay. He is seeing a physical therapist six times a week for his injuries. Progressive Labor/InCAR publicized the cop attack last month.

Wiggins told *WV* in a recent interview, "I've got rights and I believe in standing up for my rights to the best of my ability." To the marauding cops, if you're black, a trade unionist, a leftist or a homosexual—you have no rights, you're just another police target.

WV Photo

**Greg Wiggins, victim of vicious police assault, faces years of prison in legal frame-up.**

### For Union Action Against Racist Cop Terror!

From "Operation Zebra" under Mayor Joe Alioto in 1974, indiscriminately picking up young black men off the streets, the cops have periodically

*continued on page 11*

# Workers' America...

*(continued from page 1)*

into the 20th century. In the North its main electoral base was lower-class immigrants, initially mainly Irish Catholic, later Italian and East European, again predominantly Catholic. In the South, the Democratic Party was the party of the former slaveowners. You had a party which in a sense combined some of the most oppressed sections of Northern society with the most reactionary ruling sections of the South. With the successive waves of immigration, you got increasing divisions within the Northern working class. Frederick Engels writing to one of his German American followers in the 1890s explained

> "...these immigrants are divided into different nationalities which understand neither one another nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie knows better even than the Austrian government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each against the other, so that differences in workers' standards of living exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard of elsewhere."

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the most serious efforts to build a working-class socialist movement basically sought to ignore these divisions. Each in their own way, the principal left-wing leaders of this period—Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, Vincent St. John—simply appealed to the workers as workers. Take Debs, who was the most authoritative and popular socialist workers leader of this period. Debs fought, as it turned out unsuccessfully, within the American Railway Union to drop the color bar. But he never fought racism outside the narrow confines of the labor movement. He argued that the socialist movement has nothing special to offer black people, that insofar as blacks are workers they will benefit from socialism along with white workers, no more and no less.

Probably the most serious and subjectively revolutionary workers organization in pre-World War I America was the Industrial Workers of the World, known as the IWW or Wobblies. The doctrine of the Wobblies was known as revolutionary syndicalism. The Wobblies conceived of themselves as "one big union." They would recruit all workers and when they got big enough they would overthrow capitalism and run the economy. What's wrong with that conception?

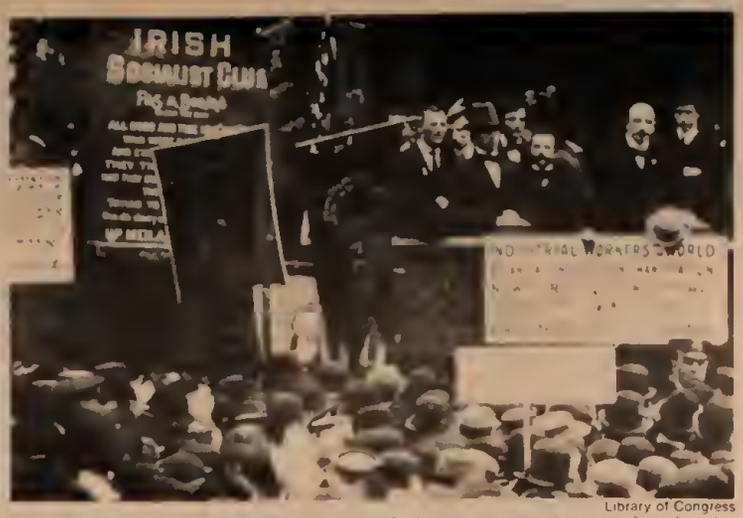
One, it confuses the role of a revolutionary party with the role of a trade union by attempting to combine them. On the one hand, the Wobblies said, we are a union, but in order to join this union you had to believe in the overthrow of capitalism, which the mass of American workers at that time did not. So the unintended effect of the Wobblies' policies was to consign almost all of the workers except the most advanced to the old Gompers AFL unions—corrupt, racist and reactionary. The IWW only was able to organize small pockets of very radical workers, mainly metal miners in the West and immigrant textile workers in the East.

There's another problem with revolutionary syndicalism. Workers do not live in the factory only. They're oppressed in other ways, they have other loyalties and other affiliations. The majority of the industrial workers in this period were first or second generation immigrants. They had problems of learning the language, they had problems of schooling, they had problems in becoming citizens of this country. But the Wobblies didn't directly address these broader social questions. As a result of this, the Democratic Party ward heelers were able to become their political representatives, claiming to service the immigrant Irish, Italian and Polish communities.

Another aspect—women did not have the right to vote in this period. There was a big movement for women's right to vote, the suffragette movement. The Wobblies said voting in capitalist elections is a sham. What difference does it make whether women don't have the right to vote in this sham? Well, it made a difference to women, because it was a symbol of male chauvinist society. There's a fundamental and important lesson to be drawn. If the workers party does *not* fight for the rights of other oppressed sections, including workers who are members of those oppressed sections, they will look to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties which claim to represent those interests.

What black worker is going to be attracted to a so-called revolutionary socialist party which does not protest loudly, forcibly and angrily when the Philadelphia police, the black Democratic mayor and the Reagan White House firebomb the MOVE commune, killing eleven black people? What woman worker would be attracted to a so-called workers party which does not defend her right to abortion?

Labor Defender

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**James P. Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, began his revolutionary career as organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World. Right: IWW rally in New York brought together East European Jewish workers and Irish socialists.**

Library of Congress

**During the early Depression years, the Communist-led International Labor Defense fought against racist capitalist injustice through integrated class struggle.**

## Formation of American Communism

In order to build an effective workers party, it was necessary to transcend revolutionary syndicalism with revolutionary Marxism. This happened not simply as a result of organic developments in this country, but rather as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution effected a regroupment of forces in the workers movement in every country. The American Communist Party was formed mainly from cadres of the IWW who broke from syndicalism and from the left wing of the Socialist Party, especially the foreign language federations.

The American Communists learned many things from the Bolsheviks. One of the main things they learned was how to combine being a real workers party with being a broad-gauged socialist party, which fought all kinds of social oppression and was able to attract other sections of society. As the founder of Russian Marxism, George Plekhanov, put it, the Marxists must be tribunes of the people as well as leaders of the working class. It was the Russian Bolsheviks who prodded the early American Communists to make a special effort to win over black people. They said this is clearly the most oppressed and therefore the most potentially radicalized section of American society. And the American Communists did win over black cadres, initially from a left-nationalist milieu.

During the 1920s, the Communist Party became the primary party of American leftism. The IWW pretty much disintegrated. The once large Socialist Party became a sterile collection of old fogies and young fogies. All the vital, live, real elements of working-class radicalism, as well as many radical intellectuals, grouped in and around the Communist Party. But the Communist Party of 1930 was not the Communist Party of 1920. It was deformed by the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. This had a profound effect on the history of the American working class. Because when the mass of American workers were not yet ready for a revolutionary party, the Communist Party was revolutionary. When they became ready for a revolutionary party, the Communist Party had become anti-revolutionary.

During the 1920s, the United States was experiencing relative economic prosperity, and there were enormous illusions in the continued, ever greater growth of the American economy. But then came the worst capitalist depression in the modern era. Between 1929 and 1934, millions of people were thrown out of work. You had slowly but gradually a general radicalization caused by the Great Depression, and not limited to the working class. In 1933 another event occurred, which deepened this radicalization, especially among the more politicized left-wing workers. Adolf Hitler came to power in Nazi Germany. It became clear to more politically knowledgeable workers what the capitalists would do if they felt they had to. It was no secret that the big German capitalists, the Krupps and the Thyssens, supported the Nazis. It was clear therefore that militant anti-Communism led to fascism.

## Mass Unionization, Stalinism and Roosevelt's New Deal

During the mid-1930s, you experienced a genuine mass radicalization in this country, centered on the proletariat but involving other oppressed sections of society. In 1934, you had three citywide general strikes in this country, all of them led by left-wing, avowedly revolutionary political parties: the Minneapolis general strike, led by the Trotskyist Communist League of America, a general strike in Toledo, Ohio, led by the American Workers Party, the San Francisco general strike led by the Stalinist Communist Party. In the follow-

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ing years you had the big struggles which built the CIO industrial unions.

If you look at every strike—auto, the Little Steel strikes, packinghouse, Teamster—in almost every single case these strikes were led by members of the various left-wing parties. They were not simply led by people who wanted just to build trade unions in capitalist society. They were led by people who were committed to the establishment of a new egalitarian socialist society.

What happened is a relatively small cadre of left-wing workers, of socialist and communist workers, served as a *bridge* between the different sections of the working class who in themselves did not trust one another. You had black socialists, especially black Communists, who could organize black workers who had good reason to distrust whites. You had white radical workers who could organize more backward workers, who still had racist prejudice. This is one of the reasons that you need a communist vanguard party. This party is a political collectivity of people who have transcended the prevailing bigotry and prejudices in society at large so that they can fight them.

Part of the mass radicalization was a generally sympathetic attitude toward Red Russia in this period. As a result of its work in the 1920s and early '30s, the Communist Party had become the most active political force in the black ghettos. In his autobiographical novel, *Invisible Man*, Ralph Ellison writes about a black intellectual who goes from the South to Harlem. One of the first things he sees is this old black woman being evicted. Her furniture's being put on the street. Fifteen minutes later a hunch of guys come and they bring the furniture back, sort of "unevicting" her. It turns out these are members of the Harlem Communist Party. As a result of this experience, he joins.

So the Stalinists were uniquely placed to link the black community to the trade-union movement. But the Communist Party was not communist. In 1935, Stalin and the Communist International proclaimed a new line, the "popular front against fascism," which meant in practice collaboration with liberal capitalist politicians. The Communist Party entered and supported the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt. They were the glue holding the so-called New Deal coalition together, holding the socialist-minded trade unionists and black militants and Jewish intellectuals with the racist Dixiecrats in the South, with the people who were allied with the Ku Klux Klan. In this way they set themselves up for the Cold War witchhunt in the late '40s.

### Cold War Red Purge and Anti-Labor Offensive

During World War II, the American Communist Party, in the name of national unity against the fascists, pursued a policy that was to the right even of ordinary business unionists. The American Stalinists not only opposed strikes in war industry, they opposed strikes in mail order houses! They discredited themselves among many advanced militant workers. So when after the war the Cold War with Russia began, the Stalinists had made it much easier to purge them from the unions. The Cold War against Russia coincided with the red purge, driving out not only the Stalinists, but the Trotskyists and other radicals from the union movement.

The Cold War also meant a war against the unions on the domestic front. In 1948, you had three events. Truman announced the so-called Truman Doctrine of fighting Russian influence in Europe. The remaining unions that were controlled by the Communists were expelled from the CIO. And the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, which was denounced even by right-wing, anti-Communist union leaders as the "slave labor act." It not only aimed at purging communists, but at weakening the unions. Because from the standpoint of the capitalist class, the *unions themselves* are the enemy, if not today, then tomorrow.

During the 1950s, the unions remained—despite Taft-Hartley and the red purge—economically fairly strong. One union in particular, the Teamsters, actually grew quite rapidly. Its leadership was politically right-wing. Beck and Hoffa supported the Republicans. But they were aggressive business unionists. They even made some headway in the South. So, in the late 1950s, you saw a new anti-labor offensive, not directed against the so-called reds, but against the Teamsters. You had the same kind of attempt to whip up hysteria against the Teamster leadership which you had seen a few years earlier against the Communists, and you'd see a few years later against the Black Panthers.

I have a book which was very influential at the time—it's called *The Enemy Within*. The only book ever ghost-written for Robert F. Kennedy, who declared:

> "The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in this country—aside from the United States Government itself.... They control the pickup and delivery of milk, frozen meat, fresh fruit, department store merchandise, newspapers, railroad express, air freight, and of cargo to and from the sea docks.
>
> "Quite literally your life—the life of every person in the United States—is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters.
>
> "But, though the great majority of Teamster officers and Teamster members are honest, the Teamster union under Hoffa is not run as a bona fide union. As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil."

The evil empire! The Teamsters union!

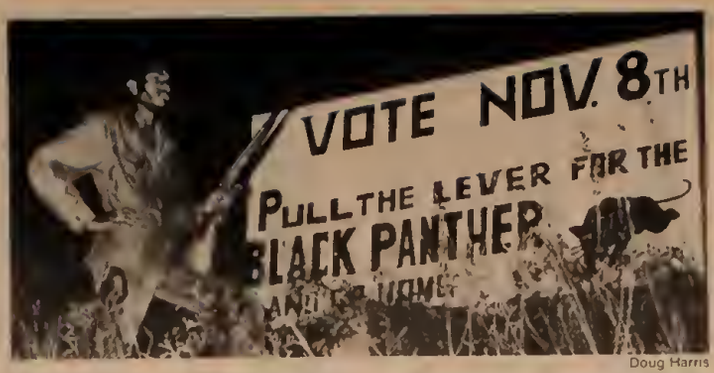
### Toward a Revolutionary Workers Party

The campaign against the Teamsters, which was really a campaign against labor, was spearheaded not by right-wing Republicans and the Dixiecrats, but by the new up-and-coming *liberal* wing of the Democratic Party, the Kennedy brothers. Kennedy came into power with a reputation as an enemy of "big labor" but a friend of the civil rights movement, as an enemy of Jimmy Hoffa but a friend and protector of Martin Luther King. The Kennedy White House pitted the emerging civil rights movement against the labor movement. You had a new generation of liberals, radicals and black activists who began to see the unions—especially the more predominantly white, the better paid, the more politically conservative unions—as an inherently reactionary and racist force.

The Spartacist League originated in this period of the early '60s, the Kennedy/Johnson years. We came out of the Socialist Workers Party which had ceased to be revolutionary. One of the main issues was the SWP refused to intervene in the civil rights movement. We said, this is a mass historic movement, an enormous opportunity. But we could see the growing danger of a split and counterposition between the black movement and the labor movement. And we threw in our small forces in an attempt to channel the civil rights movement into a working-class perspective. Specifically in the South, we called for a Freedom/Labor Party, that the civil rights movement should break with the Democrats on a program which is potentially capable of attracting white workers also.

During the 1960s, there was a lot of radical activity, especially aggravated by the growing opposition to the Vietnam War. But the union bureaucrats became ever more rabid in their hostility to the prevailing radicalism. The Meanyite bureaucracy and pro-war politicians incited construction workers in New York to attack antiwar student protesters. In Detroit, the UAW

*continued on page 10*




Doug Harris

**Seeking to break with Democratic Party liberalism, civil rights militants launch Lowndes County, Alabama Black Panther Party in 1966. Spartacist League called for Freedom Labor Party to link power of labor with struggle for black rights.**

WV Photo

**The fight for a workers party is the fight for a revolutionary program. Demonstrators at Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., November 1982.**

UPI

**Liberal Democrat Robert F. Kennedy (left), former counsel for Joe McCarthy, spearheaded anti-labor witchhunt against Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa (right).**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# Workers' America...

*(continued from page 9)*

hureaucracy did to the hlack nationalists what they had done to the Communists 20 years earlier: they connived with the hosses to fire them. On the other hand, the radical movement disdained and turned its hack on the organized labor movement. This was the heyday of hlack nationalism. The Panthers preached lumpen vanguardism. Students preached student vanguardism. Radicalized women preached feminist vanguardism. Gays preached gay vanguardism. Everyhody was the vanguard.

What was the effect of all this? After the Vietnam War, hy the mid-'70s hoth the lahor movement and the hlack movement were more isolated. You've seen over the past 15 years and especially during the Reagan years the simultaneous attack on the gains of the civil rights movement and efforts to weaken and hreak the union movement. Because without the support of organized lahor, the black community and the Hispanic community cannot defend themselves. And without broad and active support from other oppressed sections of society, centrally the hlack community, the union movement cannot go forward.

At the same time the American economy is going to hell. It's becoming deindustrialized. Much of the Midwest is now conventionally known as a "rust helt." The infrastrueture is crumbling. The whole war huildup has heen paid lor by horrowing from the Germans and Japanese. So that the United States went within the space of two-and-a-hall years from being the world's higgest creditor nation to heing the world's biggest debtor nation. A few days ago, the most authoritative financial spokesman in the American ruling class, Paul Volcker, the former head of the Federal Reserve, testified before Congress. Normally, when economists testify hefore Congress, it is a hig yawn. But this time when Volcker spoke, it was standing room only. What he had to say is that unless the United States cuts its budget deficit, and pronto, this country is heading for a big economic crisis, and perhaps a prolonged and deep depression.

We can easily see in the next few years a quite cataclysmic economic crisis in this country, perhaps giving rise to a new wave of lahor, hlack and popular radicalization. But without a revolutionary party, which can channel these struggles and these attitudes into a struggle for power, all we'll see is some kind of new popular front, some kind of new "New Deal." And there's a real danger under such conditions of the growth of a mass fascist movement.

Revolutionary parties are not built overnight. I want to emphasize again that the Communist Party could lead and mislead the radicalization of the black movement and the union movement in the '30s because it had been built as a solid and large cadre party in the '20s, *before* the crisis hit. We can't talk right now about a mass party. We want to build a solid cadre party, so that when the masses are ready, when they are looking for the reds, we will he there in sufficient numbers and with sufficient organization, just as on a small scale we were there in Philadelphia.

I've noticed very often when new people come around, they think: "I would love to see workers and blacks get together and fight their oppression. But is it going to happen? Can your program ever be accepted other than by a small group of idealists?" Let me answer with a historical anecdote.

A few years before the Bolshevik Revolution, I enin was in exile in the city of Cracow, Poland, and he made friends with a Polish liberal journalist. After the Bolshevik Revolution, everybody wanted to know, who is this character called Lenin? This Polish liberal wrote an article, saying, I knew Lenin a few years ago. He's a good chess player, an educated and intelligent man. But I regarded him as the most hopeless idealist romantic you could ever meet. Every time we started to talk politics, it was this Marxist principle and that Marxist principle. I believed that as a practical politician this guy was hopeless, that any Polish trade-union leader was more effective as a practical politician than Lenin. The next thing I know, he's the undisputed leader of the former empire of the tsars! ■

## Spartacist Video

# "The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"

WV Photo

UPI

WV Photo

Trade unionists at November 5 labor/black mobilization (above); aftermath of cop bombing of Philadelphia MOVE (left); Nelson Johnson, survivor of Greensboro Massacre by KKK/Nazis.

**The KKK lynchers and skinhead terrorists threatened to march in Philadelphia on November 5. Instead, over 1,000 trade unionists, students, gays—black and white, Hispanic and Asian—came out to Independence Mall in response to the call hy the Partisan Defense Committee to stop the racist terrorists.**

**A Spartacist video is now available telling the story of the mass, labor-centered mobilization which made sure "The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!" Contains footage of the Greensboro Massacre and the bomhing of Philly MOVE, and of the labor/black mobilizations in Detroit, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., which kept the fascists off the streets.**

**The video covers the political hattle in Philadelphia as the anti-Klan mohilization gathered forces. You see how the mobilization was built, in the unions, in the ghettos and on campuses. This documentary vividly shows the Spartacist League's Marxist approach of bringing out the power of labor and minorities to fight fascist terror.**

**The November 5 video is available for showing to unions, student groups and others. Write to the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Running time: 60 minutes.**

# WL at 207th...

*(continued from page 3)*

tailing after the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. In Local 100, when the class-struggle militants of the Committee for a Fighting TWU mohilized support for union action in defense of token clerk James Grimes, framed hy the company and the D.A. for defending himself against muggers, the *Bulletin* fingered Grimes for not following "required" procedure.

Currently, WL supporter Allen Cherry is onee again running for ollice in the motormen's division, on a program which *says not one word about racism*. And this is in Ed Koch's New York City, where TA cops killed black artist Michael Stewart, son of a retired transit worker, where a police "decoy" unit set up hundreds of black and Hispanic men, where transit police frequently shoot black youth as "farebeaters," where black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death hy a racist mob near the Coney Island yards. Ahout all this the Workers League has nothing to say.

In the pursuit of their outrageous years-long vendetta against the reformist Socialist Workers Party, the Northites have suddenly and cynically discovered the issue of hlack oppression in order to get a white SWPer in Iowa sent to prison for 25 years on a dubious rape charge. Beware of those who peddle conspiracy theories like the WL's claim that the SWP is "FBI-controlled"; such cop-haiters are not only frequently deranged, hut are thoroughly divorced from any working-class principles or elementary morality. For their despicable purposes they will do or say just about anything.

The class line is like a revolving door for the Northites, who more often than not find themselves on the wrong side of it. In their rahid opposition to the anti-Klan protest, the Workers League which yesterday hailed the murder of Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist colonels now find themselves in the company of the Zionists, the racist eops and their bourgeois masters. But when a TWUer reported hack at a union meeting on the successful November 5 mobe that stopped the fascists in Philly, transit workers applauded *their victory*. They know where the class line is. ■

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

**Boston**
Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

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**Toronto**
Box 7198, Station A
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# San Francisco Cops...

*(continued from page 7)*

behaved as though it's martial law in San Francisco. In July 1984, Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein authorized a virtual state of siege at the Democratic convention to smash liberal protests. In May 1986, undercover SF cops screaming racial epithets blew away Larry Lumpkin in a KKK-style execution, an atrocity accidentally recorded on police radio. The killer cops were exonerated.

The Police Officers Association actively campaigned for the new mayor, liberal darling Democrat Art Agnos. In return, Agnos gave the cops a license for untrammeled terror against this increasingly yuppified city's minority and working people. Last February the cops shot down a Samoan teenager who was playing with a toy gun in Potrero Hill. On Labor Day dozens of riot cops arrested people for the "crime" of feeding the homeless and hungry.

When United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta was nearly killed in a rabid cop assault at a September 14 protest, it blew the lid off the racist police reign of terror. But the grand jury "investigation" whitewashed the cop and instead called for more effective "crowd control" techniques—like what, plastic bullets? Condemning the "vicious wave of citizen bashing by SFPD undercover cops," *San Francisco Examiner* (29 November) columnist Warren Hinckle quotes a resident in the largely black Hunters Point area: "...they act like vigilante types. They come up the hill to the projects and they beat up the kids, they're hitting and kicking them, sometimes they even take their money and the little drugs they sell, and they laugh."

DaSilva/Daily Californian

**San Francisco cops beat up demonstrators at protest against George Bush, September 14.**

While fascistic skinheads beat up black workers in broad daylight in the Haight, the trigger-happy racist killers in blue showed their true colors in August 1986 when they flaunted a Nazi swastika poster in a police van at a Spartacist League protest over hangings in South Africa. San Francisco is still a labor town and the heavily black Muni drivers union must mobilize *now*, together with other unions, in a fight to defend Wiggins. As the TWU militants' leaflet said:

> "The police in this city are terrorizing black people from Muni drivers to little kids in Hunters Point. This racist frame up of Greg Wiggins must be stopped by a mass show of support by his union brothers and sisters. He must not stand alone. Chicago ATU driver Cassandra Seay beat back similar frame-up charges because of the solid union support she received including from members and officers of our local."

The leaflet appealed to all members to turn out for the December 15 union meeting to fight for a union-centered show of strength and to demand that all charges against Greg Wiggins be dropped, that he receive retroactive workmen's comp, assault pay, full medical treatment, and withdrawal of the 30-day pending notice. Transit workers: All out on December 19, 9:00 a.m. at SF Hall of Justice! Defend Greg Wiggins! Let Agnos and his thugs know that the working people of San Francisco will not tolerate the terrorizing of blacks and other minorities! ■

# Canada Elections...

*(continued from page 6)*

ago complaining that it had abandoned the cause of Quebec separatism, now crows that with open access to U.S. markets Quebec independence can be won without the compromise of an "economic association" with English Canada. But the trade deal and sharply increased integration with the U.S. could prove to be fool's gold for the Quebec nationalists.

Already an oppressed minority nation within the Canadian confederation, on a continental scale Quebec would be far more isolated and up against a greater English-speaking mass. The November 8 American elections saw the passage of reactionary "English Only" laws in several states. In the context of this backlash of bigotry against growing numbers of Spanish-speakers, the much smaller Québécois population can hardly hope that French will be recognized as an "official" language. As Gérard Docquier, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America, asked: "Under the free-trade deal, will we still be able to demand that the labeling of products be done in French, if the product is produced in Texas?" (*Globe and Mail*, 30 November 1987).

Spartacist Canada

**Trotskyist League of Canada at Vancouver May Day rally, 1982.**

### For Proletarian Internationalism!

Meanwhile, the nationalist crusade against so-called American "cultural imperialism" is purely reactionary. The attempts to legally enforce "Canadian content" by blacking out the two principal centers of English-language culture—New York and London—only enforce ignorance, backwardness and isolation. Cultural and economic protectionism feeds bigoted xenophobia and racism. In the U.S. 23-year-old Vincent Chin was beaten to death with a baseball bat by a foreman who mistook Chin for Japanese and blamed him for the auto layoffs. In Canada, desperate refugees fleeing terror from Sri Lanka to El Salvador have been the target of the most vicious racism, from the halls of Parliament to fascist demonstrations in the streets.

Racism, union-busting and anti-Sovietism go hand in hand. The Cold War social democrats' campaign to preserve Canada's "sovereignty" from "Yankee" domination does not extend to the anti-Soviet military alliances between Canada and the U.S. During the election campaign federal NDP leader Broadbent disappeared any mention of the NDP's paper demand for "Canada out of NATO." Rather, he promised to continue "cooperating" with the U.S. on defense matters.

The Canadian imperialists have long served as the loyal junior partners of U.S. imperialism in anti-Communist military adventures from Korea and Vietnam to the Near East. Where the "Yankees" aren't welcome, Canadian "peacekeeping" troops are sent in as the policemen for the American rulers. Most recently the Canadian government has offered to send troops to Central America to hold the line against revolutionary struggle in a region where Canadian bankers and industrialists have vested interests to protect.

To shore up the power of their decaying system the imperialists are making a bid to establish one North American imperialist common market through the increasing exploitation of the working class and the oppressed. What is desperately needed is a revolutionary, *internationalist* leadership of the working class that can unite the proletariat of this continent in class struggle.

Labor must champion the rights of all the oppressed: Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Defend Quebec's right to self-determination! Against the imperialists' attempts to drive down the living standards of all workers through the superexploitation of undocumented workers and the establishment of "free trade" zones in Mexico and the Caribbean, organized labor must launch a real fight to organize the unorganized. And as the imperialists take aim at the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution, which abolished capitalist rule on one-sixth of the planet, we demand: Down with NATO! Down with NORAD!

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats call for more tariffs to protect "our" industries, "our" mines, "our" country. The factories, the mills, the resources of North America do belong to the working people. But to make them "ours" we have to break the power of the bosses through socialist revolution. When we workers have the wealth in our hands, then we can begin to work toward the genuine economic integration and fraternity of the world's people through building a planned socialist economy on an international scale. ■


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**Spartacist Canada**

Newspaper of the Trotskyist League of Canada

No. 72, Fall 1988
25¢ (16 pages)

$1.00 four-issue subscription

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6, Canada

# Subject Index...

*(continued from page 16)*


**CENTRAL AMERICA**

- **General**—See **Mexico.**

Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!, #449, 25 Mar. (1, 12, 13)

- **El Salvador**

Salvador Workers Strike Against Death Squad Regime, #448, 11 Mar. (11)

Labor Solidarity Frees Humberto Centeno, #449, 25 Mar (3)

10,000 March Against Anti-Strike Law, #458, 29 July (4)

Free Salvadoran Bank Workers' Leaders!, #461, 23 Sept. (2)

- **Nicaragua**—See **U.S.: International Relations.**

George Washington vs. *La Prensa* (L), #444, 15 Jan (2, 14)

Honor Nora Astorga (by Jimmy Breslin [reprint]), #444, 15 Jan. (3)

Finish Off the Contras—Complete the Revolution!, #445, 29 Jan (1, 10, 11)

Sandinista-Contra Pact: Revolution in Grave Danger, #450, 8 Apr. (1, 4, 5)

Nicaragua in Turmoil, #452, 6 May (1, 10, 11)

Nicaraguan PRT: Centrists in a Quandary, #454, 3 June (12, 13)

Spartacist Brigadista Eyewitness Account (YSp), #462, 7 Oct. (10)

- **Panama**

CIA-Contra Drug Connection, #448, 11 Mar. (1, 10, 11)

U.S. Out of Panama!, #450, 8 Apr. (4)

- **U.S. Antiwar Protests**—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Navy Ordered Death Train, #445, 29 Jan. (3, 4)

Harvard Protest Against Contra Terrorist (YSp), #446, 12 Feb. (5)

Reagan's War Moves Provoke Coast-to-Coast Protests, #449, 25 Mar. (1, 13)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—See **Central America: Panama; U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Elections.**

**CHICAGO**—See also **Abortion; Civil Liberties: Cases; Transit Workers.**

Chicago After Harold Washington, #444, 15 Jan. (4, 5)

Racism and Anti-Semitism in Chicago, #458, 29 July (10)

**CHILE**

Smash Pinochet Plebiscite! #461, 23 Sept. (1, 9)

CISPES—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

**CIVIL LIBERTIES**

- **General**—See also **AIDS; Campus Repression.**

Smokers Revolt Against "Health Fascism", #445, 29 Jan. (8)

Supreme Court Gags High School Students (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (8)

The Legal Murder of Willie Darden, #449, 25 Mar (16, 14)

Librarians to Feds: We Won't Fink! (YSp), #449, 25 Mar. (10)

U.S. "Drug War": License for Global Terror, #453, 20 May (1, 10)

Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights, #453, 20 May (6, 7, 8)

Smoking Letters (L), #453, 20 May (7)

*WV* Cuts Through Smokescreen, #462, 7 Oct. (3)

Drug Testing: Threat to the Unions, #466, 2 Dec. (12, 11)

- **Cases**—See **Central America: El Salvador; Miners; Near East; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Puerto Rico.** See also **San Francisco; South Africa.**

Cassandra Wins!, #443, 1 Jan. (12, 10)

Chicago Victory Party for Callie and Cassandra, #446, 12 Feb (2)

FBI Witchhunts Central America Protesters, #446, 12 Feb. (3, 10)

FBI "Terrorist" Scare Targets Arabs, #459, 12 Aug (3)

Free All the MOVE Prisoners!, #463, 21 Oct (9)

- **Abu-Jamal, Mumia**—See **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.** See also **Fascism: Philadelphia.**

Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #454, 3 June (6, 14)

Black Militant on Death Row, #454, 3 June (7)

What You Can Do, #454, 3 June (7)

- **Pratt, Geronimo**—See **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

"60 Minutes" Exposes Frame-Up of Geronimo Pratt, #443, 1 Jan. (3)

Geronimo Pratt Put in Chains, #451, 22 Apr. (12, 11)

Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!, #455, 17 June (2)

Reaganite Court Throws Out Pratt Appeal, #457, 15 July (6, 7)

Mumia Abu-Jamal: "Free Pratt from Net of Naked State Terror!", #457, 15 July (7)

**CIVIL RIGHTS**—See **Civil Liberties; Fascism; New York City; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Students.** See also **San Francisco.**

Cop Terror Stalks Black America, #444, 15 Jan (16, 15)

Racist Roundup Seizes Thousands of Black, Latino Youths: LAPD—The Deadliest Gang in Blue (YSp), #453, 20 May (4, 5)

Grand Jury Can't Wash Blood Off Mayor Goode's Hands, #453, 20 May (12, 11)

Gruesome Racist Murder in Cleveland, #453, 20 May (11)

Atlanta Cops Attack Blacks, Homeless, #455, 17 June (12, 11)

Hispanic Outrage Over Racist Cop Terror, #455, 17 June (12)

Loyal Garner Was Victim of Racist Murder!, #458, 29 July (12, 11)

Columbia University—See **Students; Fascism: Philadelphia.**

Communist Parties: International—See **France.** See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; West Germany.**

**COMMUNIST PARTY USA (CPUSA)**—See **New Alliance Party.** See also **Campus Repression; History of the Marxist Movement; Students; *Workers Vanguard*.**

A Reply to CP's Jim West: Workers Revolution—The Only Road to Peace, #451, 22 Apr. (5, 10, 11)

Report from CP Youth Convention (YSp), #460, 9 Sept (9)

Resignation from the YCL (YSp), #464, 4 Nov. (7)

**CONSTRUCTION WORKERS**

San Francisco: "Scabs Out!", #448, 11 Mar (5)

Bay Area Labor Tops Wave Flag for Democrats, #449, 25 Mar. (6)

Cornell University—See **Students.**

Cuba—See **Angola.**

Death Penalty—See **Civil Liberties: General, Abu-Jamal Case; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

Defense Cases—See **Civil Liberties.**

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—See **Labor.**

Détente—See **Communist Party USA; Soviet Union; U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Quote of the Week; United Secretariat.**

Disarmament—See **Soviet Union; U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Quote of the Week; United Secretariat.**

Drugs—See **AIDS; Central America: Panama; Civil Liberties: General.**

**EAST EUROPE**—See **Poland; Soviet Union; Yugoslavia.**

"Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe (S)

Part 1—The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model, #444, 15 Jan. (8, 9, 10, 11)

Part 2—Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust, #448,11 Mar (6, 7, 8, 9)

Part 3—For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy, #454, 3 June (8, 9, 10, 11)

East Germany—See **East Europe; West Germany.**

Economics—See **East Europe; Soviet Union.**

**ELECTIONS**—See **Black Question; France; Mexico.** See also **AIDS; Armed Forces; Homosexual Rights; New Alliance Party; Quote of the Week.**

Jesse Jackson Fronts for Party of War and Racism, #449, 25 Mar. (16, 14, 15)

Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party, #451, 22 Apr (1, 8, 9)

Unchain Labor, Blacks—Break with the Democrats!, #456, 1 July (1, 9, 10)

Democrats' Racist "Unity", #458, 29 July (1, 4, 5)

Bush-Dukakis: The Bad News Bores, #460, 9 Sept. (1, 11)

Bush's Nest of Nazis, #461, 23 Sept. (12, 11)

We Need a Workers Party!, #464, 4 Nov. (16, 15)

CIA's Man in the White House, #465, 18 Nov. (1, 13)

El Salvador—See **Central America.**

Farm Workers—See **San Francisco.**

**FASCISM**

- **General**—See **France; West Germany.** See also **Elections; Quote of the Week; San Francisco; Soviet Union.**

Berkeley Students Protest Fascist (YSp), #446, 12 Feb. (4, 5)

"The Klan Must Not Ride in Berkeley!" (YSp), #446, 12 Feb. (4)

Liberal Muddleheads Make Way for Fascist Metzger (YSp), #447, 26 Feb. (5, 9)

Dallas: Integrated Protest Routs KKK, #448, 11 Mar. (12, 10)

1,000 Protest Philadelphia Area KKK March, #454, 3 June (2)

KKK Gets Hot Reception in Atlanta, #458, 29 July (5)

Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs, #462, 7 Oct. (6, 12)

Skinheads: Psycho Killers on the Loose, #464, 4 Nov. (3, 13, 14)

Skinhead Racists Assault Family, #464, 4 Nov. (3)

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: How Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan, #464, 4 Nov. (4)

From *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*: Nightmare of KKK Terror (YSp), #464, 4 Nov. (7)

In Memory of the Greensboro Martyrs (PDC Statement) (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (12)

Murderous Skinhead Terror, #466, 2 Dec. (12, 11)

Metzger's Skinheads and The Order, #467, 16 Dec (3)

• **Philadelphia (November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK)**—See also **Zionism.**

Klan Lynchers Target Philly, #463, 21 Oct. (3, 10, 11)

All Out to Stop the KKK!, #463, 21 Oct (12)

PDC Demands: Let Mumia Speak!, #463, 21 Oct. (9)

It'll Take $$$ to Stop the KKK!, #463, 21 Oct. (11)

Partial List of Endorsers, #463, 21 Oct. (11)

The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!, #464, 4 Nov. (1, 11, 12)

Partial List of Endorsers, #464, 4 Nov (10)

A Victory Against the Klan! (PDC Press Release), #464, 4 Nov. (11)

It Takes $$$ to Make Sure the Klan Won't Ride in Philly!, #464, 4 Nov. (11)

Students Build Anti-Klan Mobilization (YSp), #465, 18 Nov. (3, 4)

Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan! (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (5, 6, 7)

A Victory Against the Klan! (PDC Press Release) (Sup), #465, 18 Nov (6)

Excerpts from speeches (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (8, 9, 10)

Telegram from Guadeloupe (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (8)

Excerpts from labor support statements (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (9)

List of Endorsers (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (10, 11)

Support the November 5 Mobilization (Sup), #465, 18 Nov (11)

Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (12, 10, 11)

Stop the Klan Through Class Struggle!, #466, 2 Dec. (5)

Black Press Covers November 5 Mobilization, #466, 2 Dec. (5)

Partisan Defense Committee Wins Retraction of Violence Slander, #467, 16 Dec. (5)

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.** See also **Black Question; Civil Liberties: General; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

Firemen—See **San Francisco.**

**FRANCE**—See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Quote of the Week.**

Trotskyists in United-Front CP Protest: Thousands March Against Fascist Le Pen, #446, 12 Feb. (12, 10, 11)

Le Pen—Enough Is Enough!, #446, 12 Feb. (11)

Revolutionary Regroupment in France, #450, 8 Apr. (6, 7, 8, 9)

Behind French Elections: Fascist Threat Mounts, #452, 6 May (1, 8, 9)

Bolshevik Campaign in French Elections, #454, 3 June (16, 15)

French Trotskyists' Program of Struggle, #454, 3 June (15)

A Trotskyist Voice in French Elections, #455, 17 June (3)

French Printers Roll Back Union-Buster, #459, 12 Aug. (5)

Fraser, Dick—See **Obituaries.**

Freedom Socialist Party—See **Fascism: General.**

Gay Rights—See **Homosexual Rights.**

**GUARDIAN ANGELS**

Guardian Angels—Racist Vigilantes, #457, 15 July (4, 9)

**HAITI**

Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution (S)

Part 1—Birth of the First Black Republic 1791-1804, #446, 12 Feb (6, 7, 8)

Part 2—Slave Revolts in the Americas, #447, 26 Feb. (6, 7, 8)

**HARVARD**—See **Campus Workers.** See also **Airline Workers; Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests.**

Confederate Soldiers in Harvard Yard? (YSp), #453, 20 May (4)

Health Care—See **AIDS; Hospital Employees.**

Hispanics—See **Civil Rights; Puerto Rico.** See also **AIDS; Campus Repression; New York City.**

**HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**—See **Soviet Union; Trotsky.** See also **France; Quote of the Week; West Germany; Workers League.**

Shachtman and Stalin, Again (L), #444, 15 Jan. (2, 14)

Russian Revolution Shows the Road to Black Liberation (YSp), #449, 25 Mar. (7, 8, 9)

Honor Ignace Reiss, #452, 6 May (7)

In Honor of Christian Rakovsky, #455, 17 June (7)

The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power (YSp)(S)

Part 1, #460, 9 Sept. (7, 8, 9)

Part 2, #462, 7 Oct. (7, 8, 9)

The Bolsheviks in World War I: A Correction (YSp)(L), #462, 7 Oct. (8)

Homeless—See **New York City.** See also **AIDS; Civil Rights; San Francisco.**

**HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS**—See **AIDS.**

Boston Gay Democrats Push Dukakis, #455, 17 June (4)

1,000 in NYC Protest Attacks on Gays, #461, 23 Sept. (3)

**HOSPITAL EMPLOYEES**—See also **AIDS.**

S.F. Hospital Workers Back Bosses Down, #460, 9 Sept. (13)

**HOTEL WORKERS**

Boston Union Maids Refuse to Kneel, #443, 1 Jan. (10)

Housing Question—See **Black Question.**

Hungary—See **East Europe.**

Imperialism—See **United States: International Relations.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

International Association of Machinists (IAM)—See **Airline Workers.**

International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT)—See **Labor; Teamsters.**

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—See **Longshoremen.**

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)—See **Longshoremen; Tugboat Workers.**

International Spartacist Tendency (iSt)—See **France.** See also **Australia; Spartacist League; West Germany.**

Iran—See **Kurdish Question; U.S.: International Relations.**

Iraq—See **Kurdish Question; U.S.: International Relations.**

Ireland—See **Britain.**

Israel—See **Near East; Zionism.** See also **Students.**

Jackson, Jesse—See **Black Question; Elections.**

Japan—See **Auto Workers; World War II.**

Jewish Question—See **Near East; Poland; Quote of the Week; Zionism.**

Kampuchea—See **Vietnam.**

Ku Klux Klan—See **Fascism.**

**KURDISH QUESTION**

Defend the Kurdish People!, #462, 7 Oct. (11, 12)

**LABOR**—See **Civil Liberties: General; Elections;** specific occupations.

Rogue's Gallery of Labor Traitors: William Serrin on AFL-CIO Tops, #448, 11 Mar. (3, 4)

Smash Feds' Vendetta Against Teamsters! Unchain the Unions!, #459, 12 Aug (1, 10, 11)

Latin America—See **Central America; Chile; Mexico.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Left Organizations—See **Afghanistan; Trotsky;** specific organizations.

Lenin, V.I.—See **History of the Marxist Movement; Soviet Union; Trotsky.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

**LONGSHOREMEN**—See also **Construction Workers; Tugboat Workers; *Workers Vanguard.***

Northwest Port Shutdown, #445, 29 Jan. (9)

Malcolm X—See **Fascism: General.**

Mandel, Ernest—See **United Secretariat.**

Medicine—See **Abortion.** See also **AIDS.**

**MEXICO**—See also **Trotsky.**

Starvation Elections (S)

Part 1, #456, 1 July (12, 11)*

Part 1 (C), #459, 12 Aug (9)

Part 2, #457, 15 July (12, 10)

Mexico Erupts Over Elections, #457, 15 July (12, 11)

Militarism—See **U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Armed Forces; Quote of the Week.**

**MINERS**—See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; West Germany.**

Feds, Finks Convict Kentucky Miners, #444, 15 Jan. (6)

Free the Kentucky Miners!, #447, 26 Feb. (12)

Morenoites—See **Central America: Nicaragua; Mexico.**

MOVE—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; Civil Rights.** See also **Fascism: Philadelphia; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

**MOVEMENT FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (MRCI)**

Workers Power: The Baggage of State Capitalism, #456, 1 July (8)

National Question—See **Britain; East Europe; Kurdish Question; Near East; Soviet Union.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Nazism—See **Fascism.**

**NEAR EAST**—See also **Zionism.**

Palestinian Rebellion Against Zionist Jackboot, #443, 1 Jan. (1, 6, 7)

Free Mordechai Vanunu!, #443, 1 Jan. (6)

Israeli Stormtroopers Terrorize Palestinians, #445, 29 Jan. (12, 11)

Palestinians Defy Israeli "Iron Fist", #447, 26 Feb. (1, 10)

Mordechai Vanunu Sentenced to 18 Years, #450, 8 Apr. (3, 5)

Pogrom Unleashed Against Palestinian Villagers, #451, 22 Apr. (1, 3)

Palestinian Uprising—A Year of Defiance, #466, 2 Dec. (1, 8, 9, 10)

**NEW ALLIANCE PARTY (NAP)**

Stalinists vs. Fulani at the End of the Rainbow, #460, 9 Sept. (4, 5, 14)

NAP Gave Platform to Anti-Union Lorenzo Stooges, #460, 9 Sept. (5)

**NEW YORK CITY**—See **AIDS; Transit Workers.** See also **Black Question; Guardian Angels; Homosexual Rights.**

Howard Beach Was Racist Murder!, #443, 1 Jan. (12, 10, 11)

They're Waging War on the Homeless, #445, 29 Jan. (3, 9)

NYPD: Dial 911 for Murder, #448, 11 Mar. (5)

Racist NYPD Guns Down Women, #452, 6 May (12, 11)

New York Bridges Are Falling Down, #456, 1 July (4, 5)

Ed Koch: Enemy of the People of New York, #460, 9 Sept. (16, 15)

Racist Cops Burn Over Larry Davis Verdict, #466, 2 Dec. (9)

Nicaragua—See **Central America.**

North Korea—See **South Korea.**

**OBITUARIES**

In Memory of a Yugoslav Communist (L), #452, 6 May (3)

Kim Philby: In Memoriam, #454, 3 June (4, 14)

Dick Fraser, 1913-1988, #466, 2 Dec. (3)

**PAKISTAN**

Pakistani Women March Against Zia's Islamic Terror, #459, 12 Aug. (2)

Palestinians—See **Near East.** See also **Spartacist League; Students; Zionism.**

Panama—See **Central America.**

**PAPER WORKERS**

Solidarity Rally for Maine Paper Strikers, #447, 26 Feb. (2)

International Paper Strikers Shafted, #463, 21 Oct. (2)

**PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**

• **General**—See **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case, Pratt Case; Fascism.** See also **Central America: El Salvador.**

• **Class-Struggle Defense Notes**

Holiday Appeal Success, #443, 1 Jan. (2)

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #445, 29 Jan. (2)

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter Finally Wins Fight for Freedom, #448, 11 Mar. (2, 10)

Save the Sharpeville Six! Free Moses Mayekiso!, #450, 8 Apr. (2, 5)

Geronimo Pratt Back Safe—Free Him Now!, #452, 6 May (2)

Free Leaders of Turkish CP!, #456, 1 July (2, 10)

Lexington Women Win Case Against Hellhole Prison, #458, 29 July (2)

Free All Victims of Turkish State Repression!, #462, 7 Oct. (2)

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, #466, 2 Dec. (2, 3)

Persian Gulf—See **Kurdish Question; U.S.: International Relations.**

Philadelphia—See **Fascism.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases, Abu-Jamal Case; Civil Rights.**

Philby, Kim—See **Obituaries.**

Phone Workers—See **Central America: El Salvador.**

**POLAND**—See **East Europe.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Hail Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!, #452, 6 May (5, 6)

What's Behind Polish Strikes, #453, 20 May (3, 9)

Solidarność' Dirty Dollars, #458, 29 July (3)

Police—See **Civil Rights; New York City; San Francisco.**

Public Employees—See **San Francisco;** specific occupations.

**PUERTO RICO**

Free All Victims of U.S. Colonial Repression!, #461, 23 Sept. (12, 10, 11)

**QUOTE OF THE WEEK**

Lenin vs. Gorbachev on "Peaceful Coexistence" (V.I. Lenin), #443, 1 Jan. (2)

Finland Yesterday, Afghanistan Today—Defense of the USSR! (Leon Trotsky), #444, 15 Jan. (2)

For a Strong Revolutionary Government (V.I. Lenin), #445, 29 Jan. (2)

France: The Fight Against Fascism (Leon Trotsky), #446, 12 Feb. (2)

The Appeal of Tom Mooney, Labor Martyr (James P. Cannon), #447, 26 Feb. (2)

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! (Communist International theses), #448, 11 Mar. (2)

Class War Against Colonial War (*Cahiers du Bolchévisme*), #449, 25 Mar. (2)

Soviet Power in the Caucasus (Leon Trotsky), #450, 8 Apr. (2)

History Will Avenge the Crimes of Stalin (Leon Sedov), #451, 22 Apr. (2)

Return to Lenin's International! (Ignace Reiss), #452, 6 May (2)

The End of Empires (Leon Trotsky), #453, 20 May (2)

Only Socialist Revolution Can Prevent Nuclear War (*Militant*), #454, 3 June (2)

Socialism Through World Revolution (Leon Trotsky), #455, 17 June (2)

Behind the Moscow Trials (Leon Sedov), #456, 1 July (2)

Latin America: For Revolutionary Working-Class Independence (Leon Trotsky), #457, 15 July (2)

Break With the Bosses' Parties! (James P. Cannon), #458, 29 July (2)

Imperialist War Crime Against Japanese Americans (*Militant*), #459, 12 Aug. (2)

For Working-Class Political Action (James P. Cannon), #460, 9 Sept (2)

Teach the Fascists a Lesson (Leon Trotsky), #461, 23 Sept. (2)

For Rebirth of the Fourth International! (Leon Trotsky), #462, 7 Oct. (2)

Organized Workers Power Can Stop Fascists (*Socialist Appeal*), #463, 21 Oct. (2)

Socialist Revolution or Fascist Barbarism (Leon Trotsky), #464, 4 Nov. (2)

Fight Fascism and Anti-Semitism! (Leon Trotsky), #465, 18 Nov. (2)

Marxism vs. Nationalism (V.I. Lenin), #466, 2 Dec. (2)

Lenin to the American Workers, #467, 16 Dec. (2)

Racial Discrimination—See **Black Question; Civil Liberties; Civil Rights; Fascism; South Africa.** See also **AIDS; Campus Repression; Chicago; Haiti; History of the Marxist Movement; New York City; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Students; World War II.**

**RAILWAY WORKERS**

Metro North Workers Flex Their Muscle, #461, 23 Sept. (5)

Rakovsky, Christian—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Reiss, Ignace—See **History of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Russia—See **Soviet Union.**

Russian Question—See **Soviet Union; Trotsky.** See also **Bolshevik Tendency; Communist Party USA; Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International; Quote of the Week; Workers League.**

**SAN FRANCISCO**—See also **Hospital Employees.**

Swastika Targets S.F. Minority Firemen, #444, 15 Jan. (5)

S.F. Racist Cops Target Minorities, #448, 11 Mar. (12, 10)

S.F. Mayor Targets City Workers, #454, 3 June (3, 14)

Arrested for Feeding the Homeless and Hungry, #461, 23 Sept. (3, 9)

Racist San Francisco Cops Attack Muni Driver, #467, 16 Dec. (7, 11)

Service Employees International Union (SEIU)—See **Hospital Employees; San Francisco.**

Shachtman, Max—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

**SHIPYARD WORKERS**

Victory to Electric Boat Strikers!, #457, 15 July (3, 9)

Shut It Down—Win the Strike!, #458, 29 July (3)

Skinheads—See **Fascism.**

Smoking—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Social Democrats USA—See **Labor.**

**SOCIALIST ACTION (SA)**

Hormel Strike: Where Were You When It Counted? Socialist Action Strikes Out, #466, 2 Dec. (4)

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)**—See **Workers League.** See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

Sweep Jack Barnes into the Dumpster of History!, #443, 1 Jan. (3)

**SOUTH AFRICA**—See also **Angola; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

3 Million Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid, #455, 17 June (1, 10, 11)

Free the Alexandra Five! Save the Sharpeville Six!, #455, 17 June (10)

Urgent Appeal to Free the Sharpeville Six!, #457, 15 July (9)

**SOUTH KOREA**

South Korea's Police-State Olympics, #460, 9 Sept. (1, 12, 13)

**SOVIET UNION**—See **Afghanistan; East Europe; History of the Marxist Movement; Trotsky; U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Angola; Communist Party USA; Obituaries; Poland; Quote of the Week; Vietnam.**

Peaceful Coexistence with Imperialism *Is* a Pipe Dream, #444, 15 Jan (7, 13)

Soviet Workers Protest in Yaroslavl, #445, 29 Jan. (4)

Gorbachev's Afghan Sellout: Some Russians Say *Nyet*, #449, 25 Mar. (4, 11)

Behind the Armenia Crisis, #450, 8 Apr. (12, 9, 10, 11)

The Bukharin Dossier, #455, 17 June (6, 7, 8, 9)

Perils of *Perestroika*, #458, 29 July (6, 7, 8, 9)

Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!, #461, 23 Sept. (1, 4)

*Perestroika* Fuels Nationalist Turmoil, #462, 7 Oct. (16, 14, 15)

On Marshal Zhukov (L), #467, 16 Dec. (2)

**SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL)**

Cops, Palestinian Nationalists Seal Off Reds, #444, 15 Jan. (3, 6)

*L.A. Times* Retracts Deadly Libel (YSp), #451, 22 Apr. (6)

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! (YSp), #464, 4 Nov. (6, 7)

Spartacus Youth Clubs—See **Fascism: General; Spartacist League; Students.**

Stalinism—See **East Europe; France; Poland; Soviet Union; Trotsky.** See also **Communist Party USA; History of the Marxist Movement; Obituaries; Quote of the Week.**

Steel Workers—See **Construction Workers.**

**STUDENTS**—See **Campus Repression; Campus Workers; Fascism.** See also **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; Civil Liberties: General; South Korea.**

UMass Amherst: Campus Contras Assault Gus Hall Meeting (YSp), #443, 1 Jan (5, 9)

Ann Arbor: Students Seize Racist Dean's Office (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (7)

Columbia University: Protesters Drive Off Israeli General, #446, 12 Feb. (5)

Smash Racist Attacks at Amherst! (YSp), #447, 26 Feb. (4, 9)

Radical Student Confab at Rutgers (YSp), #447, 26 Feb. (5, 9)

Gus at UMass Amherst: You Read It Here First (L), #448, 11 Mar. (2)

Anti-Soviet Psychos Foiled at Cornell (YSp), #451, 22 Apr. (6, 7)

Stop the Attacks on Minority Students! (YSp), #452, 6 May (4, 11)

Madison: Drive Out Racist Frat Rats! (YSp), #465, 18 Nov. (3)

**TEAMSTERS**—See **Agricultural and Food Workers; Labor.** See also **Railway Workers.**

Teamster Revolt Over Contract, #452, 6 May (9)

**TRANSIT WORKERS**—See also **Civil Liberties: Cases; Railway Workers; San Francisco; Workers League.**

NYC Transit Workers: Tear Up the Taylor Law!, #449, 25 Mar. (6)

Chicago Transit Militants: Don't Bring Back CTA Cops!, #454, 3 June (3)

NYC Transit Workers Mourn Slain Union Sister, #457, 15 July (4)

**TROTSKY, LEON**—See also **History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week; Soviet Union.**

NYC Meeting on Moscow Trials Victims, #451, 22 Apr. (4, 10)

Fighter for World Revolution, #456, 1 July (3)

Fighter for World Revolution (C), #459, 12 Aug (9)

Trotsky Belongs to Workers of the World, #461, 23 Sept. (2)

Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification (S)

Part 1, #464, 4 Nov. (8, 9)

Part 2, #466, 2 Dec. (6, 7, 8)

**TUGBOAT WORKERS**

ILA: Shut Down New York Harbor!, #447, 26 Feb. (2)

Exchange on the Sellout of the S.F. Tug Strike, #448, 11 Mar. (3, 4, 5)

Turkey—See **Kurdish Question; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

**UNITED SECRETARIAT (USec)**

Ernest Mandel: La Guerre Est Finie, #444, 15 Jan. (11)

**UNITED STATES**

- **General**—See **Civil Liberties: General; Civil Rights; Elections.** See also **Central America: El Salvador; Labor; New York City.**

What Do Nancy, Hitler and the Tsarina Have in Common? Reagan's Star Wars, #453, 20 May (1, 10)

737 Rips Apart in Midair, #455, 17 June (5)

Genocide U.S.A., #463, 21 Oct. (1, 4, 5)

Greed Beyond Belief (Reprint from *New York Times Magazine*), #463, 21 Oct. (5)

For a Workers' America!, #467, 16 Dec. (1, 8, 9, 10)

- **International Relations**—See **Afghanistan; Central America: General, Nicaragua, Panama; Soviet Union.** See also **Angola; Canada; World War II.**

Gorbachev Talks "Peace" with War Crazy Reagan, #443, 1 Jan. (1, 8, 9)

Democrats Shift U.S. War on Nicaragua, #446, 12 Feb (1, 9)

Soviet Navy Sends U.S. Warships Packing, #447, 26 Feb (1, 8)

Nuclear Nut Hits Moscow, #454, 3 June (1, 13)

Massacre in the Persian Gulf, #457, 15 July (1, 8, 9)

Iranian Airbus Massacre Made in Washington, #459, 12 Aug. (12, 11)

Democrats Push Aid for Contra Terrorists, #459, 12 Aug (12, 11)

Daniloff Guilty As Charged, #462, 7 Oct. (3)

University of California at Berkeley—See **Fascism: General.**

University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)—See **Campus Repression.**

University of Michigan at Ann Arbor—See **Students.**

University of Wisconsin at Madison—See **Students.** See also **Fascism: Philadelphia.**

Vanunu, Mordechai—See **Near East.**

**VIETNAM**—See also **Armed Forces.**

Vietnam—Don't Abandon Kampuchea!, #461, 23 Sept. (6, 7, 8)

Washington, Harold—See **Chicago.**

**WEST GERMANY**—See also **Fascism: General.**

Fissures in the West German Reich, #447, 26 Feb. (3, 11)

German Trotskyists Honor the "Three L's", #447, 26 Feb. (11)

Anti-Nazi Protests in West Germany, #448, 11 Mar. (9)

West German Mine Disaster, #455, 17 June (3, 4)

Over the Berlin Wall: Escape from the "Free World", #459, 12 Aug. (3)

West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis, #464, 4 Nov. (16, 15)

Kristallnacht: Reign of Nazi Terror, #465, 18 Nov. (16, 15)

Woman Question—See **Abortion; Afghanistan; Pakistan; Quote of the Week.**

**WORKERS LEAGUE (WL)**

David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son, #456, 1 July (6, 7, 8, 9)

What Was the Workers League Doing at 207th St.?, #467, 16 Dec. (3, 10)

Workers Power—See **Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International.**

***WORKERS VANGUARD***—See also **Civil Liberties: General.**

Longshoremen Read *WV*, Stalinist Hacks Fume: *Glasnost* on the Waterfront?, #453, 20 May (5, 9)

*Workers Vanguard* Subscription Drive

Week One of Six Totals, #460, 9 Sept. (10)

Week Three of Six Totals, #461, 23 Sept (11)

Week Five of Six Totals, #462, 7 Oct (12)

Final Totals, #463, 21 Oct. (2)

World Politics—See **U.S.: International Relations;** specific countries.

**WORLD WAR II**—See also **Quote of the Week.**

The Infamy of America's Concentration Camps, #459, 12 Aug. (6)

Racism, Anti-Semitism and Atomic Holocaust, #459, 12 Aug (7, 8, 9)

On Atom Bombing of Japan (L), #459, 12 Aug. (8)

**WRITERS**

Victory to the Writers Guild Strike!, #451, 22 Apr. (11)

Young Communist League (YCL)—See **Communist Party USA.**

**YUGOSLAVIA**—See **East Europe; Obituaries.** See also **Australia.**

Yugoslavia Inflamed, #463, 21 Oct. (6, 7, 8)

**ZIONISM**—See **Near East.** See also **Poland; Students.**

ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest, #465, 18 Nov (2, 14)

WORKERS VANGUARD

# 1988 SUBJECT INDEX

1 January to 16 December 1988 (Issues Nos. 443-467)

## GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1988, from Issue No. 443 (1 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 467 (16 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The tallest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Bush's Nest of Nazis, #461, 23 Sept. (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 461, 23 September, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Death Penalty—See **Civil Liberties: General, Abu-Jamal Case; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

  means that articles on the death penalty can be found by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Abu-Jamal**, and by going to the subject head **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE** and looking under the subcategory **Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C: | Correction | Sup: | Supplement |
| L. | Letter | YSp. | *Young Spartacus* article |
| S: | Series | | |


**ABORTION**

Let American Women Have Safe Abortion Pill!, #451, 22 Apr. (2)

Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!, #452, 6 May (12, 11)

Chicago: Protest Stops "Right to Life" Bigots, #453, 20 May (12)

Moral Majority Bigots Target Atlanta, #460, 9 Sept. (6, 13)

Defend Abortion Rights!, #464, 4 Nov. (2)

Abu-Jamal, Mumia—See **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case; Fascism: Philadelphia; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.** See also **Black Question; Civil Liberties: Pratt Case.**

**AFGHANISTAN**—See **Soviet Union.** See also **Bolshevik Tendency; Pakistan.**

Russia Must Win Afghan War!, #444, 15 Jan. (1, 12, 13)

Soviet Pullout Would Mean Bloodbath: Fake-Lefts Caught in Cold-War Vise, #449, 25 Mar. (5, 11)

Afghan Women Fight for Their Lives, #452, 6 May (7)

AFL-CIO—See **Labor.**

**AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD WORKERS**—See also **San Francisco; Socialist Action.**

Watsonville Cannery Workers Won't Touch Scab Broccoli, #443, 1 Jan. (4)

**AIDS**—See also **Homosexual Rights.**

The Politics of Death in New York City: AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos, #462, 7 Oct. (1, 5, 13)

California Referendum Targets AIDS Victims, #462, 7 Oct. (4)

Congressional Bigots Shaft D.C., #462, 7 Oct. (5)

**AIRLINE WORKERS**—See also **New Alliance Party; U.S.: General.**

Eastern Flight Attendants Defend Air Safety: Ice? No Dice!, #443, 1 Jan. (4)

Mr. Air Disaster Sues Unions, #455, 17 June (5, 11)

Eastern Workers: Sock It to Lorenzo!, #461, 23 Sept. (5)

Eastern Unions: Fight or Die!, #463, 21 Oct. (8)

All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP)—See **Black Question.** See also **Fascism: Philadelphia.**

American Civil War—See **Black Question.** See also **Harvard.**

Amherst—See **Campus Repression; Students.**

**ANGOLA**

Bitter Fruit of Gorbachev's "Peaceful Coexistence": Rotten Deal with Apartheid Terror, #458, 29 July (12, 11)

Anti-Semitism—See **Fascism; Zionism.** See also **Chicago; Elections; Poland; Quote of the Week.**

**ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**—See **Quote of the Week.**

1921 Leninist Resolution on Organization, #460, 9 Sept. (2)

**ARMED FORCES**—See also **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; U.S.: International Relations.**

Imperialism's Gutless Wonders (L), #460, 9 Sept. (3)

Armenia—See **Soviet Union.**

Asian Americans—See **World War II.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Atlanta—See **Abortion; Civil Rights.** See also **Fascism: General.**

**AUSTRALIA**

Demonstrators Defend Yugoslav Consulate, #467, 16 Dec. (7)

**AUTO WORKERS**

GM/Toyota, UAW Tops Team Up Against Workers, #459, 12 Aug. (4, 5, 9)

Azerbaijan—See **Soviet Union.**

**BLACK QUESTION**—See **Civil Rights; Elections; Fascism; History of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Chicago; Civil Liberties; Haiti; Students; U.S.: General.**

Down with Dixie Flag of Slavery! (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (5, 6)

Pan-Africanist Kwame Ture Goes for Jesse (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (6)

Norfolk NAACP Forces Down Dixie Flag of Racist Terror, #449, 25 Mar. (15)

Jackson Action—Same Old Reaction (by Abu-Jamal) (L), #455, 17 June (2)

Integrate Boston Housing!, #457, 15 July (2, 11)

Racist Backlash in Yonkers, #460, 9 Sept. (16, 15)

The Case of Al Sharpton, FBI Fink, #460, 9 Sept. (14)

Battle of Christiana: A Blow Against Slavery, #464, 4 Nov. (5, 14)

After Labor/Black Mobilization Stopped the KKK: Natural Blowback? Black Nationalists Assault Marxist Organizers, #467, 16 Dec. (4, 5)

**BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY (BT)**

From the BT... (L), #446, 12 Feb. (2)

BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan, #449, 25 Mar. (10)

BT Protests Too Much (L), #453, 20 May (2)

Boston—See **Black Question.** See also **Hotel Workers.**

Boston University—See **Campus Repression.**

**BRITAIN**—See **Fascism: General.** See also **Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International.**

Thatcher's Death Squads Hit IRA, #449, 25 Mar. (2, 14)

North Sea Workers Burned Alive, #457, 15 July (5)

*Burning Spear*—See **Black Question.**

**CAMPUS REPRESSION**

UMass Amherst: CP Youth Barred from Office (YSp), #451, 22 Apr. (7)

UCLA: Latino Student Barred from Office (YSp), #454, 3 June (5)

No Sex Under Silber (YSp), #462, 7 Oct. (9)

**CAMPUS WORKERS**—See also **Airline Workers.**

A Union Victory at Harvard (YSp), #454, 3 June (5)

Victory to NYU Clerical Workers! (YSp), #460, 9 Sept. (10)

**CANADA**

Canada Trade Pact Elections, #467, 16 Dec. (6, 11)

Cannery Workers—See **Agricultural and Food Workers.**

Capital Punishment—See **Civil Liberties: General, Abu-Jamal Case; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

Carter, Hurricane—See **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**


*continued on page 12*